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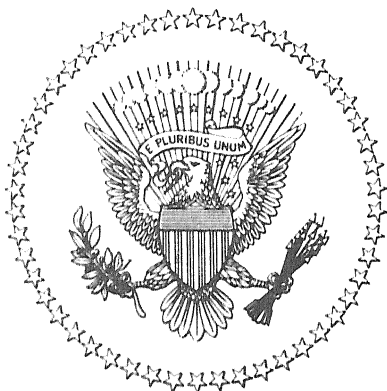
PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS  
OF THE  
UNITED STATES





PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS  
OF THE  
UNITED STATES

# George Bush



1991

(IN TWO BOOKS)

BOOK II—JULY 1 TO DECEMBER 31, 1991



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# *Foreword*

In the last six months of 1991, America continued to help change the world for the better. We witnessed the end of three quarters of a century of Communist domination over what is now the former Soviet Union and planned ways to help those nations make the transition from Communism. We recognized the independence of the Baltic States and concluded the START Treaty, presaging dramatic reductions in our nuclear arsenals. Every American can sleep a little sounder at night knowing that the threat of nuclear confrontation has been greatly diminished.

In a televised address on Christmas Day, I discussed the principles of our policy towards the states of the former USSR and announced that we would recognize the independence of all twelve states and grant diplomatic recognition to Russia, Ukraine, Byelarus, Kazakhstan, Armenia, and Kyrgyzstan.

The great changes in the former Soviet Union afforded us the opportunity to make significant changes in our defense policy. In September, I spoke to the American people of the far-reaching realignment of our Nation's defense and the historic changes I made to the deployment of our strategic forces.

After the successful liberation of Kuwait, we saw Terry Anderson, the last American citizen held in Lebanon, returned safely to his family and country. The United States and the Soviet Union announced sponsorship of bilateral and multilateral talks between Israel and her Arab neighbors, and I travelled to Madrid for the opening session of this historic peace conference. We hold great hope for peace to come, finally, to the Middle East.

During the second half of 1991, my domestic agenda continued to focus on strengthening America's economic competitiveness. My first priority was stimulating economic growth and creating jobs. By year's end, interest rates had declined to the lowest level in almost two decades, and the signs of economic recovery were encouraging.

Unfortunately, though, many elements of my domestic agenda including comprehensive legislative proposals to promote excellence in education, combat violent crime, restructure financial services, and implement a national energy strategy were not enacted by Congress.

The Congress did, however, enact our surface transportation legislation—a bill that authorized \$151 billion for highway construction, safety, and transit spending over six years. This major legislation pumped some \$11 billion into the U.S. economy immediately, supporting more than 600,000 jobs in FY 1992.

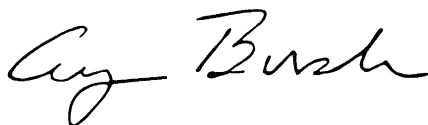
While the Congress considered but failed to act upon my education reform proposals in the "America 2000 Excellence in Education Act," our four-track AMERICA 2000 national education strategy began to be adopted by States and localities across the country.

America's future in a global economy depends on our ability to compete in open markets around the world. I have continued to reject attempts to promote protec-

tionism and managed trade. To this end, we continued our efforts in the Uruguay Round of GATT to eliminate trade barriers and to protect intellectual property. Likewise, I have sought to liberalize investment principles through the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), my Enterprise for the Americas Initiative, and a series of bilateral investment treaties signed with countries around the globe.

Environmental stewardship continued as a top priority of my Administration. Through balanced, cost-effective environmental measures, we can ensure that our natural resources are protected for future generations while simultaneously guaranteeing private property rights and maintaining a healthy economy.

In August, my Administration proposed some 50 recommendations to address America's "litigation explosion." By reforming our civil justice system so that litigation is made more cost-effective, these proposals will help make America more competitive by making America less litigious.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "George W. Bush". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style, with the first name "George" and the last name "Bush" clearly legible.

# *Preface*

This book contains the papers and speeches of the 41st President of the United States that were issued by the Office of the Press Secretary during the period July 1–December 31, 1991. The material has been compiled and published by the Office of the Federal Register, National Archives and Records Administration.

The material is presented in chronological order, and the dates shown in the headings are the dates of the documents or events. In instances when the release date differs from the date of the document itself, that fact is shown in the textnote. Every effort has been made to ensure accuracy: Remarks are checked against a tape recording, and signed documents are checked against the original. Textnotes and cross references have been provided by the editors for purposes of identification or clarity. Speeches were delivered in Washington, DC, unless indicated. The times noted are local times. All materials that are printed full-text in the book have been indexed in the subject and name indexes, and listed in the document categories list.

The Public Papers of the Presidents series was begun in 1957 in response to a recommendation of the National Historical Publications Commission. An extensive compilation of messages and papers of the Presidents covering the period 1789 to 1897 was assembled by James D. Richardson and published under congressional authority between 1896 and 1899. Since then, various private compilations have been issued, but there was no uniform publication comparable to the Congressional Record or the United States Supreme Court Reports. Many Presidential papers could be found only in the form of mimeographed White House releases or as reported in the press. The Commission therefore recommended the establishment of an official series in which Presidential writings, addresses, and remarks of a public nature could be made available.

The Commission's recommendation was incorporated in regulations of the Administrative Committee of the Federal Register, issued under section 6 of the Federal Register Act (44 U.S.C. 1506), which may be found in title 1, part 10, of the Code of Federal Regulations.

A companion publication to the Public Papers series, the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents, was begun in 1965 to provide a broader range of Presidential materials on a more timely basis to meet the needs of the contemporary reader. Beginning with the administration of Jimmy Carter, the Public Papers series expanded its coverage to include all material as printed in the Weekly Compilation. That coverage provides a listing of the President's daily schedule and meetings, when announced, and other items of general interest issued by the Office of the Press Secretary. Also included are lists of the President's nominations submitted to the Senate, materials released by the Office of the Press Secretary that are not printed full-text in the book, acts approved by the President, and proclamations and Executive orders. This information appears in the appendixes at the end of the book.



Volumes covering the administrations of Presidents Hoover, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford, Carter, and Reagan are also available.

The Public Papers of the Presidents publication program is under the direction of Gwen H. Estep. The Chief Editor of this book was Karen Howard Ashlin.

White House liaison was provided by Marlin Fitzwater, Assistant to the President and Press Secretary. The frontispiece and photographs used in the portfolio were supplied by the White House Photo Office. The typography and design of the book were developed by the Government Printing Office under the direction of Robert W. Houk, Public Printer.

Martha L. Girard

*Director of the Federal Register*

Don W. Wilson

*Archivist of the United States*

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Secretary of the Interior.....	Manuel Lujan, Jr.
Secretary of Agriculture .....	Edward R. Madigan
Secretary of Commerce.....	Robert Adam Mosbacher
Secretary of Labor.....	Lynn M. Martin
Secretary of Health and Human Services ...	Louis W. Sullivan
Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.....	Jack Kemp
Secretary of Transportation .....	Samuel Knox Skinner
Secretary of Energy.....	James D. Watkins
Secretary of Education .....	Lamar Alexander
Secretary of Veterans Affairs.....	Edward J. Derwinski
Director of the Office of Management and Budget.....	Richard G. Darman
United States Trade Representative.....	Carla Anderson Hills

# Administration of George Bush

1991



## The President's News Conference in Kennebunkport, Maine *July 1, 1991*

*The President.* I am very pleased to announce that I will nominate Judge Clarence Thomas to serve as Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court. Clarence Thomas was my first appointee to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, where he served for over a year. And I believe he'll be a great Justice. He is the best person for this position.

Judge Thomas compiled an excellent record at Holy Cross. He graduated from Yale Law School and served with distinction in the Missouri attorney general's office, in the Reagan-Bush administration, and in my administration. He's a native of Pinpoint, near Savannah, Georgia, where he was raised by his grandparents. His background includes a strong emphasis on education as the key to a better life. And he attended rigorous Catholic schools where he excelled. After spending a year at the Immaculate Conception Seminary in Conception Junction, Missouri, Clarence transferred to Holy Cross College in Worcester, where he supported himself through loans and scholarships and jobs, and graduated with honors in 1971.

After graduation from Yale Law School, he worked for then-Missouri attorney general John Danforth and spent 2½ years litigating cases of all descriptions. In 1977, Judge Thomas practiced law in the private sector, and in 1979, he rejoined Senator Danforth as a legislative assistant in the U.S. Senate. In 1981, President Reagan appointed him Assistant Secretary for Civil Rights in the Department of Education. From 1982 to 1990, he served as President Reagan's Chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. And I appointed him to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia in 1990.

I have followed this man's career for some time, and he has excelled in everything that he has attempted. He is a de-

lightful and warm, intelligent person who has great empathy and a wonderful sense of humor. He's also a fiercely independent thinker with an excellent legal mind who believes passionately in equal opportunity for all Americans. He will approach the cases that come before the Court with a commitment to deciding them fairly, as the facts and the law require.

Judge Thomas' life is a model for all Americans, and he's earned the right to sit on this Nation's highest Court. And I am very proud, indeed, to nominate him for this position, and I trust that the Senate will confirm this able man promptly.

And now, Judge Thomas, if you'd like to say a few words. And then what we'll do is questions for either of us, and then if you finish those, then I'll be glad to stay and take questions on a wide array of subjects.

*Judge Thomas.* Thank you, Mr. President. I'm honored and humbled by your nomination of me to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

As a child, I could not dare dream that I would ever see the Supreme Court, not to mention be nominated to it. Indeed, my most vivid childhood memory of a Supreme Court was the "Impeach Earl Warren" signs which lined Highway 17 near Savannah. I didn't quite understand who this Earl Warren fellow was, but I knew he was in some kind of trouble.

I thank all of those who have helped me along the way and who helped me to this point and this moment in my life, especially my grandparents, my mother, and the nuns, all of whom were adamant that I grow up to make something of myself. I also thank my wonderful wife and my wonderful son.

In my view, only in America could this have been possible. I look forward to the confirmation process and an opportunity to be of service once again to my country and to be an example to those who are where I

was and to show them that, indeed, there is hope.

Thank you again, Mr. President.

*The President.* Now either of us will take questions. As you can understand, Judge Thomas—the next important step for him is going up for confirmation. And as with every predecessor for the Supreme Court, I'm sure you'll understand if he won't take questions on specific issues or philosophy or things of that nature. But if you have any for him or for me about this appointment or matters relating to the Court, I'll be glad to respond; I know he would. And then, as I say, it's been a while, and we want to go ahead and just have a general press conference on any other subjects that come to mind.

#### *Supreme Court Nominee*

*Q.* Mr. President, how will you answer concerns stemming from Judge Thomas' days as Chairman of the EEOC, that in that post he was somewhat insensitive to the concerns of the elderly and civil rights advocates and that he didn't aggressively pursue their complaints?

*The President.* Well, obviously, that complaint, if it was even raised in his confirmation hearings for the second highest court in the land, were satisfactorily answered. It is my view that the complaints are unfounded, of course. But I doubt if anybody had strongly felt that, that he would have been confirmed for his present position.

*Q.* Mr. President, last year you vetoed the civil rights bill, saying it could lead to quotas. Today you've made a nomination that could be easily seen as quota-based. How do you explain this apparent inconsistency?

*The President.* I don't even see an appearance of inconsistency because what I did is look for the best man. And Clarence Thomas' name was high on the list when the previous nominee went forth, Judge Souter, Mr. Justice Souter now. And so, I don't accept that at all. The fact that he is black and a minority has nothing to do with this in the sense that he is the best qualified at this time. And we had a very thorough screening process then; we had one now that we put into forward gear very fast, but we didn't have to start from square one.

So, Clarence Thomas, seasoned now by more experience on the bench, fits my description of the best man at the right time, or the best person at the right time because women were considered as well.

*Q.* But do you see how it could be perceived so?

*The President.* No, I can't see it.

*Q.* Was race a factor whatsoever, sir, in the selection?

*The President.* I don't see it at all. The fact that he's a minority—you heard his testimony to the kind of life he's had, and I think that speaks eloquently for itself. But I kept my word to the American people and to the Senate by picking the best man for the job on the merits. And the fact he's minority, so much the better. But that is not the factor, and I would strongly resent any charge that might be forthcoming on quotas when it relates to appointing the best man to the Court. That's the kind of thing I stand for, not opposed to.

*Q.* If I could ask the question—

*The President.* Yes.

*Q.* Was race a factor whatsoever, though, sir?

*The President.* Well, I tried to answer it just then as best I could. Nice try for the second go-around.

*Q.* If I could follow up. There are many people who felt that in fact, that that was a plus. Not that it was a factor or a quota, but that, in fact, since the Court represents all the people, there ought to be a minority member. Did you at all feel that way, that this was the best—

*The President.* Oh, yes, but I don't feel there's a quota; I don't feel that I had to nominate a black American at this time for the Court. I expressed my respect for the ground that Mr. Justice Marshall plowed, but I don't feel there should be a black seat on the Court or an ethnic seat on the Court, if that's what your question is. I would reiterate, I think he's the best man. And if credit accrues to him for coming up through a tough life as a minority in this country, so much the better. So much the better.

I love what he said at the end; it proves he can do it, get the job done. And so, that does nothing but enhance the Court, in my

view. But I just really want you to know, we looked at this list with an idea of really finding the best, and I think that's what we did.

Yes, Charles [Charles Bierbauer, Cable News Network].

*Q.* I wonder if I could ask a question of Judge Thomas, Mr. President.

You made reference, sir, to Chief Justice Warren, the Warren Court known as a liberal Court but one that advanced a lot of things in the way of civil rights and on behalf of minorities. How do you feel about that Court vis-a-vis the very conservative Court that you seem to be joining?

*Judge Thomas.* Well, I think that many of the questions that I will be asked during my confirmation process will perhaps bring that comparison out. And I think, out of respect for that process, I'll have to refrain from making that sort of comparison at this time.

*Q.* Not even a personal reflection, sir, on what the Warren Court did for minorities?

*Judge Thomas.* Not even a personal reflection.

*Q.* Judge, a question for you. What do you say to critics who say the only reason you're being picked is because you're black?

*Judge Thomas.* I think a lot worse things have been said. I disagree with that, but I'll have to live with it.

*The President.* Refer them to the President. [Laughter] How about that for an answer?

*Judge Thomas.* Well, I'll also say I didn't make the selection. [Laughter]

*Q.* Mr. President, civil rights groups, in particular Ben Hooks has signaled that you're in for the "mother of all confirmation hearings" if you nominated Judge Thomas. What do you have to say about that?

*The President.* Well, one, I find that very surprising from a man that's as fair as Ben Hooks. And I learned something in this job that some of the others that cover us regularly here understand, and that is that I don't like to comment on a statement attributed to somebody until I've actually read it. But I think, when you go back and look at the support that Judge Thomas had for the bench that he now serves on, that that in itself will take care of any arguments that someone—I just don't want to feel that

Ben Hooks said that. I know him. I respect him. And I don't think that he would say that about Judge Thomas. I'll be honest with you.

*Q.* At his confirmation hearings before, it was said that he was accepted to the bench, but if you brought him back for the Supreme Court, that they didn't feel that he would be ready for that.

*The President.* Well, he's not President, and he isn't the Attorney General, nor the General Counsel to the President, nor the Chief of Staff, nor those of us who screened this nomination. It is our judgment he will. I think you're going to find many Senators that disagree with the fact he's not ready.

Look, I'm not suggesting there will be no opposition, but you've put it on quite a personal one with Ben. And I just can't believe he would make a statement like that. I've differed with him on a lot of things and agreed with him on many, but I simply do not want to accept that until I see it. I'm not questioning your motives or challenging your authenticity of the statement, but please let me just defer until I take a look at it.

*Q.* Mr. President, when you selected Judge Souter your aides very clearly put out the word that Edith Stone of Houston was the runner-up and likely would be the nominee if another vacancy came up. What happened to change the equation this time?

*The President.* Well, she's a very able judge. She was given consideration then and now. And I just felt that Judge Thomas, with his seasoning now, is best prepared to serve. It was that. It was not a demeaning or putting down of anybody else because there were some very good names brought to my attention.

You know, this just happened last week, and some will be saying, "Well, was the screening process thorough?" And the point I want to make is that I have met several times since Judge Souter's sending to the Bench to discuss what would happen if a Supreme Court Justice stepped down, with no one particularly in mind, but just to be ready. So, consideration was given to a wide array of candidates, but we'd already done a lot of homework.

But you ask about Edith, who comes from



my hometown, and I have nothing but high regard and high esteem for her. But I decided, on the advice of people that I trust, that this is the way to go.

*Q.* Mr. President, the appointments made by President Reagan and you have put the Court on a conservative road. Is that what you would like to see for the next 10 or 15 years, to reverse some of the more liberal rulings in the past 20 years?

*The President.* Look, I don't know how Judge Thomas, when he becomes Mr. Justice Thomas, will come down on every issue. And indeed, I didn't discuss specific issues with him. I didn't discuss them with Judge Souter before he became Mr. Justice Souter. But I did look at this: Would he faithfully interpret the Constitution and avoid the tendency to legislate from the Bench? And that's a broad consideration, but that was certainly in his favor in my view. And I don't know whether he'll agree with positions that our administration takes or overthrow decisions or change positions that we think are right. But that doesn't matter. What matters is that he faithfully interpret the Constitution, and I am 100-percent convinced that that's exactly what he'll do.

So, we're not trying to put a philosophical balance on this Court. We're not trying to philosophically affect it. And I said this long ago, long before I became President, that the main consideration in addition to excellence and qualification is this concept of interpreting the Constitution and not legislating from the Federal Bench.

*Q.* In the last several weeks you, or you and your White House Counsel, have had to act to tighten the restrictions on travel of your subordinates. During this period of time has Governor Sununu come to you at all and expressed any apology for any embarrassment that this might have caused you?

*The President.* John [John Mashek, Boston Globe], I'll take your question in one second, but have we done the Supreme Court questions? Because I don't want to get Clarence Thomas, on the eve of his hearings, caught up in a lot of domestic questions of one kind or another, including this one which I'll be glad to respond to. But if you'd let me come back to you as

soon as I ask him to go into the cool office that is behind us. But if there's a couple more on this, and then we'll move on to Mr. Mashek.

*Q.* Could I ask Judge Thomas his feelings about quotas?

*Judge Thomas.* Again, I'd give you a similar answer. When I was in a policy-making role, I said what I had to say about quotas. As a judge, I have not had an opportunity to rule on that issue. But to the extent that I have any additional comments, I think, again, out of respect for the advice and consent process, I'll have to leave it for that moment.

*Q.* Would that also apply to questions involving whether or not there's a constitutional right to privacy?

*Judge Thomas.* Yes.

*Q.* Can I have another question for the President? [Laughter] Did your list of possible candidates include anyone with known pro-choice views or any candidate whose views on abortion you were unsure of?

*The President.* Probably. Because I don't know, I didn't ask about that.

*Q.* Mr. President, there was a lot of talk about the possibility of an Hispanic being named—

*The President.* Yes.

*Q.* —and indeed, Judge Garza was interviewed.

*The President.* He was.

*Q.* Could you tell us what your thinking on that was—why it was that you turned to Clarence Thomas instead of an Hispanic?

*The President.* Well, I think experience in government, experience on the higher court figured into this, but listen, that should not degrade Judge Garza at all. The man is a very well-qualified individual. Indeed, he flew up and had a conversation with Boyden Gray and with the Attorney General. And I just had to make a very tough call, and I did it. But he's a good man.

*Q.* Mr. President, when did you make this decision in your own mind, and when did you call Judge Thomas to—

*The President.* Well, I called him yesterday and told him I was getting very, very close. And keeping the faith with those who were at the golf course, I called him after I

came back from the golf course. [Laughter] And then I closed the deal today. I had one or two points that I wanted to make to him to see that he felt comfortable with them. I wanted to be sure that he knew from me that there was no litmus test involved. I told him, if it's not violating a privacy, that he ought to do like the umpire: Call them as you see them. And I'm satisfied he will.

But I guess I could say the final decision was made sitting in our living room, but it was pretty well-established when I talked to him yesterday afternoon that that's what I wanted.

Q. Did you talk to any other candidates personally?

*The President.* No, I did not.

Q. Mr. President, do you feel as though this appointment will have any effect on your ability to get a civil rights bill through the Congress?

*The President.* I don't think it has anything to do with it at all.

Q. Do you anticipate any problems in the confirmation hearing?

*The President.* Nope. Not if everyone is as fair as I think they will be. I think that there will be questions raised. I would hope there would not be political considerations. But look, you've seen confirmation hearings before, and you know that different people come in with a wide array of different questions, many of them philosophical. But I'm satisfied that this man will pass muster. Got it?

I don't want to keep you, get you messed up in domestic politics here, Judge, so good luck, and I'll see you in a few minutes. [Applause]

May I duly note that that's the first press conference my family has attended and the first one at which there's been any applause. [Laughter] I hope this will continue.

John [John Mashek, Boston Globe].

### *Chief of Staff's Travel*

Q. Well, the question is, sir, over the last several weeks you, or you and the White House Counsel acting together, have been forced to tighten the restrictions on travel regarding your subordinates. Has Governor Sununu come to you during any of this time and apologized to you for any embarrassment this may have caused?

*The President.* Yes. He's told me right from the heart that he regretted very much any controversy and anything that this may have done to diminish the ethical standards of this Presidency. And I told him, look, I understand this. He went into the staff with essentially the same message. He said it publicly.

And very candidly, no laws having been violated, I think we ought to move on to something more important. And in this instance, it gives me a chance to express my full confidence in him as we work some very complicated issues through the Congress. I respect him. I value his advice and counsel. And I'm hoping that this matter is laid to rest.

I think John said, "If mistakes were made, I made them." What more can a man be asked to say? And so, I'd like to see this matter laid to rest.

Q. But at the very outset of your administration you cautioned against even the appearance of impropriety, which you said this brought into—

*The President.* That's why I think he came in. And we had a good heart-to-heart talk, more than one, about it. I'll be very honest with you. My heart aches for his family because they've been through a lot on some of the stories unrelated to this, kind of what I refer to as a piling-on syndrome. So, I'm glad this matter came up because I'd like to try to clear the air, get it behind us, and move on.

But he's done the right things in terms of expressing his own personal feelings to me and to our staff and to others. And I made a mistake once. Let's see, it was back in 1970—something or other; I can't remember exactly. [Laughter]

### *Soviet Union*

Q. Mr. President, what's the point of meeting President Gorbachev at the G-7 summit if all you're apparently willing to offer is moral support and technical advice, which are things that have been offered before?

*The President.* You mean his coming to the summit? Well, I think it's quite important, now that ground rules are getting worked out, that he come and present his

case for reform to the G-7. And I feel comfortable with what's been worked out by Prime Minister John Major and Mr. Gorbachev. I look forward to having a one-on-one with President Gorbachev there, and we've got a lot to talk about, a lot of things that aren't related to the arms control agenda. And then I think there's going to be a bigger meeting with all seven that night after the formal part takes place. So, I think it will be a good chance to narrow down the differences, to see where we stand, the Soviet Union and Western Europe and Canada, the United States and Japan. And so, I'm looking forward to it.

On our one-on-one talk, if that's what you're referring to, I don't think we'll have that much time. I think we've got a couple of hours set aside—Bob? A couple of hours. But there's some issues that I need to talk about, global issues. And we've got a lot of things that we look at identically. And we can go back and talk about those, such as the United Nations action against Iraq's aggression and things like that.

But I think it's appropriate now. You know, you read a lot of stories that Gorbachev was coming there hat in hand, asking for a big check. That was never his intention; I'm assured of that. And I don't think that did him a lot of good by even the speculation on that in some quarters, in the United States, for example. But I think the ground rules or at least the broad parameters are now set out, and I look forward to hearing what his plans are for a vigorous reform and the continuation of *perestroika*, *glasnost* being all but a given these days.

Q. Doesn't his mere presence in London raise expectations that are unlikely to be realized?

*The President.* Well, yes, some might argue that. And some might say, well, his mere presence would indicate that if he didn't get something, that the meeting would be a failure. I don't view it that way. There is so much change taking place. The economic problems in the Soviet Union, and elsewhere, are so enormous that it's very important that we get as close together in agreement. But yes, I can see where some might suggest that, but I wouldn't view it that way. And I'll be resisting it if people say that. We've got an awful lot of

consultation before concrete economic programs can be agreed to.

#### *Iraq*

Q. On Iraq, there's news that the U.N. team went out looking again for that equipment and couldn't find it. Are you anticipating taking any action?

*The President.* Well, we're anxious to see what this inspection, this two-person team, gets when they come back. But let me say this: Everybody, everyone, knows that the man was cheating and lying. Everyone knows that he did that which the resolutions say not to do. And he should give unfettered access to these inspectors. He didn't do that. He surreptitiously moved the equipment. We've presented the evidence to certain parties. And all I'd say is he'd better get on with keeping his word, and he better get on with total, free, open inspection.

And I said the other day, perhaps you missed it, that we are not foreclosing, nor putting on the table, any options at this point. We have a lot of diplomacy to do. We want to be sure that world opinion is as strong as I'm convinced it will be because this isn't a unilateral U.S. problem. This is a problem now of which the United Nations has seized, you see.

Q. Have you talked to any of the allies, the leaders, in the past days?

*The President.* No, but others have been talking. I've not gone to the chiefs of state. I anticipate—maybe I indicated this the other day—that I will be doing that. High-level diplomatic initiatives will be called on, and decisions might follow.

Q. Mr. President, on Iraq, the other day as we came to Kennebunkport, you were in a sort of highly agitated mode, hinting of possible renewal of military action, although you also stressed diplomacy. But in the interim, has there been any news on this nuclear situation or anything that has caused you to think that maybe the situation is calming down there, or are you still saying that we have all options out there?

*The President.* No, Rita [Rita Beamish, Associated Press], to be honest with you, I haven't seen anything that makes me think it's calming down. I'm not sure I would

have used the word agitated, but certainly concerned. And what we've got to have is evidence that full inspection on challenge will be granted. And I don't want to mislead you; I'm very concerned about this situation. This is a fundamental part of what the United Nations resolutions is about. So, there's still a feeling out there, on my view anyway, and I'm sure it's true of the neighbors, that he has to make this right and satisfy us or we'll figure out what else happens.

*Q.* Is there still a possibility of renewed military action by the U.S.-led coalition?

*The President.* Well, again, I just keep resisting saying what we will do or what we won't do. But you've seen speculation, and I'll just steer you that it's not all warrantless. But on the other hand, I'm not saying what will be recommended that I do as President of the United States. I'm very interested in getting the views of other world leaders, and the diplomacy leading up to that has already started.

#### *Israel*

*Q.* Mr. President, this fall, Israel intends to ask the United States to guarantee \$10 billion in loans to build housing for Jewish refugees from the Soviet Union. Could you tell us how you feel about linking approval of these loans guarantees with some pledge from Israel to decrease the building of new settlements in the occupied territories?

*The President.* Well, I don't think it ought to be a quid pro quo. What I do think, and I've said this over and over again, that it is against U.S. policy for these settlements to be built. So, I'll leave it right there and avoid the linkage that you understandably ask about, but say that the best thing for Israel to do is to keep its commitment that was given at one point not to go in and build further settlements. It is counterproductive to the peace process. Now, having said that, I want to be fair: There are other things and by other countries that are counterproductive to the peace process. I'd love to see direct talks between these countries.

But we have not changed our position on sanctions, I mean on settlements, and we're not going to change our position on settlements. So please, those in Israel, do what you can to see that that policy of settlement

after settlement is not continued. It is counterproductive. And having heard the Secretary of State say that and seen what followed on, I will promptly add, as he has, that we want to be sure that others move forward in the peace process, too. But it's not constructive to getting these parties to come together and work for a peace that I think the entire world wants and that all of them want. So, we'll keep working it, but we're not giving one inch on the settlements question.

#### *Military Base Closings*

*Q.* Mr. President, the Courter Commission has made its recommendations, as you know, on base closings, subject to your review. Isn't it highly unlikely, though, that you would overrule any of those decisions, given the amount of time that the Commission put into it?

*The President.* Yes, with one exception. Yes, it is highly unlikely, but I will rely heavily on what Secretary Cheney tells me after he reviews the base closing recommendations, has a chance to talk to them with General Powell and the Joint Chiefs. Because what I'm interested in: One, saving the money that we've said we'll save; two, being sure, and this comes first actually, that we have a proper structure from which to conduct military action that we might be called upon to conduct in the future. And so, it would be unlikely, but I just would suggest, John, that I would like very much to sit down with the Secretary of Defense and say, "Dick, are you happy with these? Do you see something that ought to be changed?" And that's the way I'll conduct it.

But I'm not going to go in there and override some decision on a political basis. These are tough calls. This Commission, I am satisfied, is approaching it without politics in mind. I was in the Congress; I know the old rule about cutting it out, but cutting it in the other guy's district. And we simply cannot approach something as sensitive and as important to our national security as base closing in that manner. And so, I won't participate in any political call, but I do reserve the right upon receipt of the Commission's report—I think it comes directly to

me—to discuss it with the Secretary of Defense after he's had an opportunity to talk to the Chiefs about it.

*President's Mother*

*Q.* Can you talk a bit about your mother and what she's taught you and why you chose her birthday to announce your nomination? [Laughter]

*The President.* Well, maybe it's fortuitous. Life goes on. Mother's 90 years old; been an enormous influence in my life and the lives of everybody that's in our enormous family. And I noted from Clarence Thomas what he had to say about the importance of family in his life. So, if there's some symbolism there, one, it was unintended, but two, I think it might be appropriate. Different backgrounds, but the same sense of strength of family. And I think there's a message not just for Clarence Thomas' family or our family but for families all across the country.

And as we celebrate Mother's 90th birthday, she's not all that well, but she is our moral leader, was since I was old enough to walk on this marvelous point of land here in Kennebunkport, which was just—from my days as an infant. And everyone in this family, young and old, direct or indirect relations, looks up to her. But I have a feeling that that's still true of a lot of families in this country.

*Military Base Closings*

*Q.* I wanted to follow on John's question as to whether you might be suggesting that the base closing Commission could have gone farther and deeper?

*The President.* No, I didn't intend to say that because, literally, I have not gone into the details of the base closing Commission.

*Crime Bill*

*Q.* Could I ask a separate then: Are you and the Attorney General going to discuss the crime bill, as you suggested you ought to?

*The President.* Yes.

*Q.* What's your sense of direction on that?

*The President.* Well, I want to get a good crime bill. We would like to have it all come down together, and options are open here. But in fact, Dick told me now we've

gotten, roughly in form we want, four of our five major objectives. The exclusionary rule did not come the way we wanted in the Senate. But I'll defer on more detail on that because it has to go to a conference, and then we'll see.

But I want a comprehensive crime bill. There are some very good things in the Senate bill. And I thank Senator Biden and, of course, Senator Thurmond and others for that. And I'll just wait and see what comes to my desk. And I urge that it be comprehensive, broad, and then we'll take some things that I like and maybe some things that I don't like because it is important to get on with the crime bill. But it better come down, I think in fairness to the American people, in a broad form, not nickel-by-nickel, dime-by-dime.

*Q.* Was he a little premature yesterday in suggesting it was close to acceptable?

*The President.* Well, I didn't see the story, but as I say, there are many good things in it. But my problem on answering it is I don't know what's going to happen in relation to the House of Representatives out of the conference.

*Saddam Hussein*

*Q.* Thank you, sir. As the Gulf war got closer, you sensed that Saddam Hussein wasn't getting enough information that our threat was real. There have been reports now, as you were talking about, about potential military action again. Do you think he's in the dark still?

*The President.* I don't know on this question. But you're right. I was reminiscing here, as I hit Walker's Point a couple of days ago, that there were two points that I still am convinced of as the pre-battle period went on: One, that he didn't think that we were for real on this, and secondly, that he thought he could prevail at least enough to have a standoff in the desert and be the hero of certain parts of the world over there. He was wrong on both counts. And if he assumes that he can get away with this kind of thing, he's just as wrong today as he was on August 2d when he sent his forces into Kuwait.

*Q.* You don't consider him a very smart man, do you?

*The President.* I don't consider him a very bright man to have done what he's done, if that's an answer to it, because I can't conceive of why you would directly think you could hide, given the sophistication of technology today, and secondly, why you'd think you could get away with it. So, there is some parallel there. I don't want to overdraw it.

#### *Middle East Peace Process*

*Q.* Mr. President, you spoke a bit ago about everyone in the Middle East wanting peace. Yet the Israelis seem to have stiff-armed your proposals. The Syrians don't seem to like the terms either. Is there more here than meets the eye?

*The President.* Probably more than meets the eye, but not as much as I'd like to see meet the eye. I mean, in other words, I think I'd like to see the process further along, but there are a few things that I think offer hope. In fact, in my last communication from President [Prime Minister] Shamir of Israel was a commitment to try to work for peace. There are some broad commitments, but frankly, I'd like to see us further along on some of the details. And please don't press me on what those details are. But I'm not going to give up hope on this, and I don't think the Secretary is. But we need to have more progress, and we need to have it sooner.

I am told that the credibility of the United States for being the catalyst for peace is still very, very strong and very good, not only in Israel but in the Arab countries as well. So, that is an ingredient that wasn't there before, that's still there, that I hope will lead to peace.

*Q.* It's been suggested that the United States might just call a peace conference and see who shows up. Is that an option?

*The President.* Well, I don't want to go into options, but yes, I've seen suggestions of that nature. And at some point, I think I owe the American people my view of the details I'm not willing to discuss right now. And that wouldn't bother me one bit, to get up and say, here's what we've been trying to do. So, there's no timeframe on anything of that nature. But I think there's a lot of people that are wondering what in the world is going on. And I've invoked quiet

diplomacy and the need for confidentiality, but I can't do that forever; I just simply can't do it. I owe it to the American people, and I think the people around the world, to say, hey, here's what the United States thinks is a good formula.

#### *Kuwait*

*Q.* Mr. President, in reminiscing about the war, can I ask your comments about, your feelings about what's happened in Kuwait since the end of the war with the atrocities there? Your feelings about it, and do you think there's any reason to believe that democratic reforms will take place?

*The President.* Well, let me say this, and I hope it doesn't come out wrong. The war wasn't fought about democracy in Kuwait. The war was fought about aggression against Kuwait. Having said that, the Kuwaitis have said that they want to move towards the democratic process, and I hope they do. And they should. This would be good. I think one of the things that concern people were the trials. There are different standards for law in all countries, but we want to see fair trials, open trials.

A friend of mine in our Government, who's quite knowledgeable on history, reminded me of what it was like in France after the liberation of France in World War II. I remember some of it, although I was in the Pacific theater. And the people that were liberated did not take kindly to those that had sold out to the Nazis. I think we're expecting a little much if we're asking the people in Kuwait to take kindly to those that had spied on their countrymen that were left there, that had brutalized families there, and things of that nature.

Having said that, I believe, and I've recommended this to the Kuwaitis, the most open, fair trial, free justice system is the best. It works best. It gets confidence back in your country. So, I can understand the outrage.

I'll give you one other example. Martial law. We had some problems, you know—why martial law? And it was explained to me, many citizens over there against the law have weapons, many of them that were in opposition to the Kuwaiti regime, threatening, using the weapons, showing the

weapons when the Iraqis were in power, now keeping the weapons. And they told me that martial law was essential if they were going to go in and disarm the people that had been helping the enemy.

I can understand that. Again, what I'd like to see is as much respect for what we see as legal principles as possible.

This guy hasn't had one. One, two, and that's it, unless you appeal.

#### *Upcoming Economic Summit*

*Q.* Back to the G-7 for a minute. Are you at all concerned in all the publicity with Mr. Gorbachev that the plight of the Eastern European countries is not going to get enough attention here? And do you feel any obligation on the part of the Western democracies to guarantee to them the same aid, whatever it is, that Gorbachev walks away with—

*The President.* You mean the Eastern European—

*Q.* In light of the fact that they have already done the sorts of things that he's only beginning to think about.

*The President.* I think we've got two different questions. But we must not, we must not send a signal to Eastern Europe: "Hey, we're neglecting you. You're on your own; figure it out for yourselves. We're going to turn our attention to Moscow." I don't think it has to be an either-or choice. The Eastern European countries are moving. They need certain kinds of assistance; they're getting some. They're making some progress; they still have problems. But I think your question raises to me a very good point. We don't want to send a signal of neglect or that we think that they should be cut loose to fend for themselves.

But there are many things we can do and are doing in Eastern Europe. And they should not be reduced as we work together to try to figure out how to get the Soviet market, how to get the Soviet economy, how to get the Soviet system moving along the same lines as the Eastern Europeans. This is a world problem; it's not a United States problem.

You know, I don't want to get too philosophical out here in the sun, but it comes up in another context because people in South America are saying, "With this major

goal of helping reform in the Soviet Union and, to some degree, in Eastern Europe, are you going to neglect us?" And one of the reasons we're having these, I think, very important appearances and a lot of diplomacy going along with it is that we want to reassure the democracies in this hemisphere, which is all but one country from being a totally democratic hemisphere, that we're not going to neglect them.

So, you raise a good point. We are not going to neglect Eastern Europe, but we are going to work with the others. And everyone knows that we're dealing at this juncture with limited resources. We are in this country; we've got enormous deficit problems. Other countries have economies that have done worse than ours. So, we've got to be realistic and find ways to help move these people towards market economies, open political systems when our advice is sought. And that's what we're trying to do.

#### *Soviet-U.S. Relations*

*Q.* Thank you. Some weeks ago you said you were very close to a decision on MFN for the Soviet Union. Have you made that decision? Do you expect to do it before London? Is it tied up in the SALT negotiations?

*The President.* No, it's not tied up in SALT, it's tied up on a trade agreement. And I think that's the only remaining problem, a trade agreement. And maybe—Bob, come help me on that. When do we think that will be resolved?

*Mr. Gates.* There are a couple of minor technical problems in the trade agreement because of laws that have been passed subsequent to its signature by the Soviet legislature. They're technical problems. We think they are being worked out, and it shouldn't be too long.

*The President.* It's not caught up in the other.

Last one.

#### *Supreme Court Nominee*

*Q.* Mr. President, did you consult with anyone else outside of your administration about your Supreme Court nominee? And did I understand you correctly to say that

you made your final decision, was it last night in your living room here or this morning?

*The President.* Actually, when I say final, the “i” was dotted and the “t” crossed up here just a little bit before lunch. But I’d—just to be very candid about it—all but made my mind up when I invited Judge Thomas up here. As I thought of any hypothetical things that could go wrong, I couldn’t think of any. So much so that I don’t think he felt confident enough after our conversation yesterday. I don’t think he told his wife, for example, that he was to be the nominee. And on your first part of your question, no, I stayed with the recommendatory process because many others talked to others.

And I must say, if you’ll let me off without telling you who I talked to, when this all came up at the time of Judge Souter, I think I did talk to one or two people in confidence that I respect that are outside of this so-called screening process. But I put all the emphasis on this one on our screening process. And yet, I am confident that as this process has unfolded, Boyden Gray and our Chief of Staff and the Attorney General and the Attorney General’s staff have gotten a wide array of views from others. It’s better if the President doesn’t do this because if I get out there and talk to somebody, then I think it is much more prone to open discussion and speculation. And I don’t think that’s helpful when you’re trying to reach a decision.

This is the last one.

#### *Secretary of Housing and Urban Development*

*Q.* There were some suggestions from a published report—I suspect that you’ve seen it—from Jack Kemp that there’s not enough attention within his own administration, your administration, on domestic social issues. And I was wondering if you could respond to that.

*The President.* I didn’t read the Kemp story. I’ve talked to Jack plenty, and he, I think, has referred to this administration and very generously to this President as the empowerment President and one that wants to see growth in this economy and, thus, have everybody have a better shot at

opportunity. So, we’re not apart on that. I understand there was a story in today’s paper. I haven’t read it, and I probably will. But I don’t think we’ve got any differences with Jack Kemp on this. I salute him for what he’s done. He takes a good, strong message out to the communities: homeownership, tenant management—

*Q.* But from the article, he suggested the administration has not been as forceful as he has been.

*The President.* Well, that may be true. He’s a real zealot out there. And he’s got all the time in the world to do it. That’s what his job is about, pushing that envelope, as we say in the space age, forward to include homeownership. And I think if it hadn’t been for his zeal, we never would have gotten through the Congress, the House, anything on homeownership or tenant management, and we did. So, I give him great credit. So, if he’s got more zeal on this, I don’t think he feels more strongly in his heart about it, but he is a salesman. He is out there going to places where a lot of Republicans have never been. And I’ve been at his side a time or two on that. And it’s darn good, and I’m proud he is a part of our administration. So, if you want me to say something bad about Jack Kemp, no way.

Last one, really.

#### *Soviet-U.S. Relations*

*Q.* Does a 2-hour lunch with Gorbachev make it less urgent to go to Moscow by the end of July?

*The President.* You can’t cover everything in 2 hours. But maybe we’ll be able to move the START process forward. I don’t know whether we will at a lunch of that nature. But no, it doesn’t, in my view, make it less urgent. I want to sit down over a period of time with him to really, in depth, discuss issues. It is most important.

And a lot of the talk would be philosophical talk, intentions: “What do you think our intentions are towards the Soviet Union?” I think there’s still some misunderstanding in the Soviet military about that, for example. And I’m no Jack Kemp in terms of my salesmanship perhaps, a little inarticulate and sometimes too prudent, but I think I



can convince Gorbachev that their military has nothing to fear from us. So, let's take a look. Let's have them do what we're doing in terms of defense spending. I think we can't do it in just a luncheon. But my respect for him is such that I find when we can sit down and talk over a reasonable period of time, you can get into a lot of subjects which I'm sure we can't do at a 2-hour lunch.

Q. Could that summit still happen by the end of July?

*The President.* Yes, yes, it could.

Hey, listen, thank you all very much.

*Note: The President's 86th news conference began at 2 p.m. at Walker's Point. The following persons were referred to: Benjamin L. Hooks, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; C. Boyden Gray, Counsel to the President; Prime Minister John Major of the United Kingdom; Robert M. Gates, Assistant to the President and Deputy for National Security Affairs; President Saddam Hussein of Iraq; and Gen. Colin L. Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.*

## Remarks at the Welcoming Ceremony for President Roh Tae Woo of the Republic of Korea

July 2, 1991

*President Bush.* Distinguished guests and members of the Korean delegation, and Mrs. Roh, President Roh: It is my great honor, on behalf of the American people, to welcome all of you to the White House.

Mr. President, we meet at a time of tremendous change, as the long era of cold war and conflict draws to a close and the world confronts the challenge of fashioning a new order where freedom can flourish.

The cold war cast its shadow across Korea for more than four decades. Mr. President, the Republic of Korea has stood fast at the frontier of freedom, your proud capital, Seoul, a scant 25 miles from the DMZ, the razor's edge that cuts a nation in two. Yet, through four decades of armed and uneasy peace, the Republic of Korea has prospered. You're building a thriving democracy, a dynamic economy that has prospered through free and more open access to the world's economies.

Korea's success stands as a testament to the resolve of the Korean people, but much credit belongs to you, sir, for the steady leadership that guides your nation. Just 4 years ago, you went before the Korean nation to proclaim a new commitment to democracy. In the succession of elections since then, the voice of the Korean people has spoken through their votes, and the

message is clear: Korea's commitment to democracy is steadfast and strong.

And so, sir, we meet today to chart a common course that moves forward in this world of change.

Mr. President, when we met one year ago, Korea was on the eve of a new opening in the Soviet Union, an opening that we fully support. That opening to the Soviet Union has eased tensions and increased the prospects for peace and stability not just for the Republic of Korea but across the Pacific Rim. Let me be very clear: Korea and the United States share an interest in seeing economic and political reform in the Soviet Union move forward.

But lasting peace will come to Korea only when Korea is made whole. And here, too, there is hope. Mr. President, only Koreans, North and South, can solve the problem of unification. But all Korea, North and South, should know that the United States stands ready to act in the interests of lasting peace.

Mr. President, our two nations are linked by ties of trade, by the bonds of friendship and family, the more than three-quarter of a million Americans of Korean ancestry who call this Nation their home. But here in America, Korea will always be far more than a distant land or just a name on a map.

One week ago the remains of U.S. servicemen lost long ago in Korea came home to rest, a reminder that Korea will always be the place where America came to freedom's defense.

In the summer of 1950, when the forces of the North swept down on the free Republic of Korea, the United Nations swiftly condemned the invasion and formed the UN Command to repel the aggressor. The United States and 17 other nations answered the call. Mr. President, the United States remains today fully committed to protecting the peace and security of Korea, even as Korea assumes a leading role in its own defense.

In 1950, the fate of the Republic of Korea was a test of the international ideal, a proving ground for the proposition that aggression meets a collective response. Forty years later, this same spirit of internationalism shines forth in Korea's contributions to Desert Storm, in the Korean medical unit that treated coalition casualties from the battle of Kaji.

Korea's commitment to internationalism has never wavered. This fall, at long last, four decades after the United Nations fought to keep Korea free, the Republic of Korea will take its rightful place among the family of nations in the United Nations. Mr. President, America, your ally, shares your pride.

Once again, Mr. President, it is a great pleasure to have this chance to meet and renew our friendship. Welcome to the White House, and may God bless the Republic of Korea.

*President Roh.* President and Mrs. Bush and citizens of the United States: I am deeply grateful to you, Mr. President, for your invitation to visit this great country and for the warm and cordial welcome extended to me and my delegation. I am also very pleased to bring warm greetings of friendship from the Korean people to the people of the United States.

The world has changed enormously over the past 2 years. The Iron Curtain, which used to divide the world into two camps, has collapsed, and the cold war has come to an end. With the sweeping reforms in Eastern and Central Europe as well as in the Soviet Union, freedom, human dignity,

democratic pluralism, and market economy are becoming universal values.

Mankind has been living in constant fears of war due to the East-West confrontation. Today, however, we share the belief that we may now successfully build a more peaceful world.

During the recent Gulf war, all peace-loving nations of the world rallied around the United Nations flag. The coalition victory made it clear once and for all that aggression will not stand. I pay my respects to you, Mr. President, for your superb leadership and to the American people for having inspired brighter hopes for a new era.

Having proudly joined the long march toward freedom shoulder-to-shoulder with the American people, the Korean people are very pleased to offer congratulations to America on its success. Because their land remains divided and because they acutely remember the tragedies of war, the Korean people are hoping that the current of peace and reconciliation will soon reach the shores of Northeast Asia and the Korean Peninsula.

Mr. President, since we met in June of last year, significant activities have, in fact, been taking place in Northeast Asia and the Korean Peninsula. The changing U.S.-Soviet relations, of course, lead the list of events. But we have also seen exchanges between China and the Soviet Union, and contacts between the Soviet Union and Japan, as well as between Japan and North Korea.

At the same time, the Republic of Korea ended decades of enmity and established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern and Central Europe. More significant, North Korea reversed its former position and announced a decision to apply for United Nations membership along with us. These encouraging activities have, of course, been spurred on by close cooperation between your country and mine.

We must now focus our attention to removing the legacies of the cold war from the Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asia so that a durable peace and stability may be secured for the entire Asia-Pacific region.

Our rapid economic development has made Korea a showcase to the former So-

cialist countries by demonstrating the merits of a capitalist economy and made us a model to the less developed countries by proving the efficiency of a free market economy and an open society.

Based on these achievements and having experienced enormous social-political difficulties, Korea has now entered an era of full-fledged democracy. As the world saw during the 1988 Seoul Olympic games, Korea's dynamic energies and cooperative spirit encourage a new faith in freedom and hope for prosperity around the world.

The Korean people have now become a dependable friend and ally of the American people, and they promise to assume appropriate international responsibilities and make a greater contribution to the international community. The United States has initiated the current change around the world and is successfully carrying out their

leadership role. And our two countries will march together into the 21st century as partners in trust, as we have come thus far.

Our coming meeting, Mr. President, will be my fourth opportunity to confer with you. Through it, and in my talks with other American leaders, I shall reaffirm my faith in a bright future for our two countries.

I wish you, Mr. President and Mrs. Bush, the best of health, and with the American people, everlasting peace and prosperity.

Thank you, and God bless America.

*Note: President Bush spoke at 10 a.m. at the South Portico of the White House, where President Roh was accorded a formal welcome with full military honors. President Roh spoke in Korean, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. Following the ceremony, the two Presidents met in the Oval Office.*

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on Yugoslavia July 2, 1991

The President deeply regrets the resumption of violent conflict in Yugoslavia and urges all parties to observe the cease-fire agreement worked out with representatives of the European Community. He also urges Yugoslav authorities to accept an EC offer of international cease-fire observers. The United States is prepared to endorse such a plan at tomorrow's emergency meeting in Prague of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The President has written a letter to President Mesic of Yugoslavia expressing his grave concern over the situation in the

country and urging him to ensure that civilian control over the military is reestablished and peace restored. He also expressed the hope that all parties in Yugoslavia would seek a dialog toward a new and democratic basis for Yugoslavia's future, in which the aspirations of all the Yugoslav peoples can be realized. The President reiterated U.S. support for the European Community's ongoing efforts to help resolve the Yugoslav crisis and urged President Mesic to continue cooperating with the United States, the EC, and others in the interest of a peaceful transition to a new Yugoslavia.

## Remarks at the State Dinner for President Roh Tae Woo of the Republic of Korea July 2, 1991

*President Bush.* Mr. President, I felt that we achieved today a true meeting of the minds on many issues. And I understand in

addition to meeting with me and the Cabinet, your busy schedule took you to separate meetings with the Secretaries of State

and Defense, individually—I guess you'll see Dick Cheney tomorrow. But best of all, we finally had time, after all the planning and talking, to get you out on the White House tennis court. *[Laughter]* And I know there's an awful lot of interest in this, so I'm proud to report that the President and I won both matches. *[Laughter]*

Mr. President, many ties bind our nations: Our devotion to democratic ideals; the fact that Korea is now our seventh-largest trading partner; the many Americans of Korean ancestry, more than three-quarters of a million strong, who are making their mark in this country as entrepreneurs and athletes and in the arts and in our universities, indeed, in every walk of life. They make a marvelous contribution to America.

And today, Mr. President, our two countries, mine and yours, are partners in a common challenge. As free nations it falls to us to maintain peace, liberty, and prosperity for our peoples and for men and women everywhere.

And so, once again we welcome you, sir. And tonight I'd like to offer this toast to the Republic of Korea, staunch ally in war, steadfast partner in peace, and a valued member of the community of free nations. So, let us raise our glasses to President and Mrs. Roh, to the proud Republic of Korea, and to the lasting friendship between the people of Korea and the United States of America.

*President Roh.* Mr. President, this afternoon I received the most precious gift of my life, which I shall treasure. I'm of course referring to the very rare original edition of the famous Lincoln-Douglas debates which you have so kindly secured for me. I'm all the more moved to discover the Lincoln portrait here at the State Dining Room.

Referring to common man, President Lincoln said that common men are the best kind, and that is why God created so many common men. To open a great era of common people was a slogan of my Presidential campaign, and it is still the motto of my government. When I decided the common people as my campaign theme, I of course did not have the foggiest idea that President Lincoln had already expounded on the subject. *[Laughter]* It was much later that I was told of this historical antecedent.

You see, I now realize that I may have violated, however unwittingly, President Lincoln's intellectual property rights. *[Laughter]* Please believe me, it was not a case of willful violation on my part. *[Laughter]*

Your Excellency, President and Mrs. Bush; distinguished guests; ladies and gentlemen: I would like to extend my deep appreciation to you, Mr. President, for the kind invitation to visit your great country and for the warm welcome and generous hospitality accorded me and my delegation.

Through our meetings this morning, Mr. President, I can reaffirm that we are indeed living in a great era of change. In the span of only 2 to 3 years, the world has undergone revolutionary changes. In your Inaugural Address, Mr. President, you said, "a new breeze is blowing, and the world refreshed by freedom seems reborn." The world is indeed being reborn.

The Fourth of July this year will truly be a unique day in American history. For the first time in 215 years, the American people will be able to celebrate a worldwide realization of the founding ideals of the Declaration of Independence: namely that life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are inalienable rights bestowed upon all man. On this occasion the entire Korean people who have been pursuing these common ideals join me in extending heartfelt congratulations to the American people.

The Gulf war victory has established that the international community will no longer tolerate wanton aggression and that the rule of law shall prevail in the international community. We are at an historical juncture toward establishing a new world order of freedom, justice, and peace. I salute you, Mr. President, for your courageous decisions and firm leadership and to the American people for their unflagging support for the cause of freedom.

Mr. President, it will be perhaps impossible today to separate American and Korean values and ideas in various aspects of Korean life, including the political, economic, educational, scientific, and cultural. In the course of developing such a strong bond between our two countries across the Pacific, many of your people rendered invaluable services and noble sacrifices. The

Korean people shall never forget the enormous contributions made on our behalf.

Even at this very moment, more than 40,000 American service men and women are on the other side of the Pacific on a vigil for peace on the Korean peninsula. You deserve to be proud that the Republic of Korea, which received so much encouragement and support from the United States, is now moving ahead toward a land of freedom and prosperity.

Today, Korea has entered an era of liberal democracy. Despite transitional difficulties, democracy in Korea is on course and is moving inexorably forward. Commensurate with its political, economic development, Korea is determined to assume appropriate roles and responsibilities in the international community. I believe that Korea and the United States should closely cooperate and

encourage changes that will remove tension, instability, and the barrier which divides the Korean peninsula.

Mr. President, as valued partners, Korea and the United States together shall usher in a free, new, peaceful, and prosperous Pacific era in the 21st century. Our meeting today heralds this commitment to the Pacific and to the world.

Ladies and gentlemen, please join me in a toast to the health of President and Mrs. Bush, to the ever-enduring prosperity of the United States of America, and to the lasting friendship between Korea and the United States. Thank you.

*Note: President Bush spoke at 8:07 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House. President Roh spoke in Korean, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.*

## Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the Presidential Medals of Freedom and Presidential Citizen's Medals

July 3, 1991

Thank you all very much. Welcome, all of you, to the White House. And particular greetings to those who have come from State, Defense, the intelligence community, the NSC, and other Agencies in this big Government. And a special welcome to the Cabinet members who are here and to our diplomats who are honoring us with their presence and to those outside of Government who played such a crucial role in building public support for Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm.

Tomorrow, all across this country, Americans will celebrate the birth of our Nation, a day of fireworks and family and parades. And I know many of us are going to participate. I'm looking forward to a smalltown parade and then another one in Michigan in the afternoon. And it will be a great Fourth of July. But I think this year these festivities take on a very special significance as we properly celebrate the safe return of our sons and daughters from the Gulf and we honor those who have fallen in the cause of freedom.

We date our independence from the Declaration of July 4, 1776. But the truth is that in the eyes of the world, the full meaning of America's triumph remained in question well after our revolution was won. And it wasn't until the War of 1812 and the decisive defeat—with all respect, Ambassador Acland—[*laughter*]—of the British forces—if I'd known you were going to be here, I'd have changed this—[*laughter*]—at the Battle of New Orleans. This is historical fact—[*laughter*]—that America truly seized the world's attention and Americans truly believed that they had arrived as a nation. That victory helped to shape our new Nation and move our country toward a destiny that few dreamed possible.

Like that early battle, Desert Storm marks another turning point in America's destiny. The young men and women we've welcomed home from the Gulf return to a Nation far different than the one they left. They come home to a country that is confident and proud, an America that is sure of itself and strong, an America other nations

look to for leadership. That's been true in the past, but I think there is a newfound credibility around the world. And Desert Storm proved once more that America's strength of character begins in the heart of every individual.

And it's always risky to single out a few for special honors, especially in this case, where so many inside the Government and out of Government played such vital roles in Desert Storm. Today, here in the White House, we honor 10 Americans, 10 of the hundreds of thousands of heroes who answered the call, who honored the American ideal in ways that warrant special recognition.

Normally, the honors conferred today are given for a lifetime of service or near the end of a long career marked by distinction. But in Desert Storm we have, you see, a watershed event so unique, so singular given the history of the past half-century, that it is fitting, particularly before our day of independence, that we recognize now the exceptional service which was rendered by a special few. The events of August 2d, Iraq's brutal invasion of tiny Kuwait, thrust today's honorees into the midst of history. Some were center stage, some behind the scenes.

And today we begin by honoring six whose work took place out of the spotlight, in the offices across from the White House, in the EOB, in the State Department, across the Potomac at the Pentagon and the CIA: Robert Gates, the Deputy National Security Adviser; Bob Kimmitt, the Under Secretary of State; the Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, Admiral Dave Jeremiah; Paul Wolfowitz, the Under Secretary of Defense; the Deputy Director of CIA, Dick Kerr; and Richard Haass, the NSC Director for Near East Affairs.

In the weeks and the months after August 2d of last year, these six men became known simply as the "small group." This was not an attestation to their intellect—[laughter]—but rather to the way in which they came together. And now you know that any committee in this city limited to six people alone is indeed small. It was miraculous. But despite the modest name, the contribution made by the "small group" to our success in the Gulf was really

nothing short of monumental. That small group met several times a week, and at the peak of the crisis, several times a day. And they made sacrifices; they spent long hours away from family and friends. And literally they worked late into the night, missed weekends at home and holidays and, in one case, a honeymoon, which I understand has been corrected now, Richard. [Laughter] But really I think the bottom line is, what they did made a difference.

In addition to these six men, we also honor the Deputy Secretary of State, Larry Eagleburger, and the Deputy Secretary of Defense, Don Atwood, because throughout the conflict they both worked tirelessly: Don Atwood, to focus the formidable military and economic resources of the coalition on a single goal. And among the many vivid images of the war, we will remember Larry Eagleburger on his mission to Israel, cane in hand, amid the torn and twisted ruins on streets shattered by a Scud attack.

To Larry and Don, and to Bob Gates and Bob Kimmitt, to Paul and Dick and Dave and Richard: Our heartfelt thanks. Your Nation honors you. In recognition of your critical contributions to the success of Desert Storm, I take pride in presenting to each of you the Presidential Citizen's Medal.

*[At this point, the medals were presented.]*

The next two men that we honor today need little in the way of introduction. They would be the first to tell us that we owe our success in Desert Storm to the real heroes, the brave men and women who served so proudly in the Gulf, who, half a world away, upheld the American ideal. Well, I've met with many of our sons and daughters who fought in the Gulf, and they are the heroes of Desert Storm. No question about that, they are the ones. But let me tell you what I know, something that speaks volumes about the stature of the two men we now honor. These are the men that our heroes look up to: General Norman Schwarzkopf and General Colin Powell.

General Schwarzkopf and Chairman Powell, your commitment and good counsel, your deep compassion for every one of the thousands of men and women under

your command will always be remembered. Your objective was clear. It was the liberation of Kuwait. But our victory secured more than even the precious freedom of that small country. Desert Storm marked the end of an era of self-doubt and lingering uncertainty about America's staying power and sense of purpose.

Under your leadership, America sent its sons and daughters to confront an enemy abroad, and in the process, you transformed a Nation here at home. Desert Storm dispelled all doubt: America is and America always will be a force for good in the world.

As President, and in this instance as Commander in Chief, on behalf of a grateful Nation I now present to General Schwarzkopf and to General Powell the highest civil honor that this country can bestow, the Medal of Freedom.

*[At this point, the medals were presented.]*

Well, as I think history will show that we had a great team here, at the Pentagon, out at Langley, and in many other Departments of this Government. It was a team effort, and I will always be very grateful to those who were at my side here in the White House, particularly the Vice President and the Chief of Staff; to the Director of Central Intelligence, Bill Webster.

Having said that, in my view, this ceremony would not be complete without honoring three more American leaders, exceptional public servants who each contributed singularly to our success in the Gulf: Secretary of State Jim Baker, Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney, and National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft. Few Presidents have been better served at a crucial point in American history than I have by these three and by the men and women who work for them at State and Defense and at NSC.

Secretary Baker pursued every avenue to a diplomatic solution to this crisis, traveling tens of thousands of miles to seek any way possible to achieve Iraq's unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait. I think history, as we look back, will say that nowhere were his achievements more marked than at the United Nations. The U.N. Security Council adopted 12 resolutions dealing with the Gulf crisis including an historic, perhaps un-

precedented resolution authorizing the use of force to expel Iraq from Kuwait.

Jim worked with our European allies, the Congress, our friends in the Middle East, the Soviets, and countries around the world to achieve our goals. And he stood up for American principles, and in the process he earned the admiration of the world.

As to Dick Cheney, Secretary Cheney not only oversaw one of the largest deployments of forces in American history but also worked hard at the beginning of the crisis to ensure that America would respond decisively to aggression. His effective testimony before the United States Congress helped all our fellow countrymen understand what was at stake in the Gulf. Working swiftly, yet skillfully, when time was truly of the essence, he traveled to Saudi Arabia and arranged for the first deployment of U.S. and coalition troops to that nation. And when war came America was ready, and Secretary Cheney's leadership contributed enormously to the victory.

And lastly, but not leastly, Brent Scowcroft. As National Security Adviser, he was at my side, poor guy—*[laughter]*—throughout the crisis, quite literally from the early morning hours on August 2d until victory. He performed superbly every step of the way, coordinating the various national security agencies as they prepared recommendations for the National Security Council and for me and working with our coalition partners. Put simply, he ensured that I received the unfettered advice of our key national security members. He offered his own consistently sage counsel and practical advice on all aspects of the crisis. A true patriot, General Scowcroft is, in a very real sense, one of the unsung heroes of the Gulf war.

And now it is my great pleasure, on behalf of the United States and particularly on behalf of all those who served in Operation Desert Shield and Desert Storm, to conclude this ceremony by presenting the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Jim Baker, Dick Cheney, and Brent Scowcroft.

*[At this point, the medals were presented.]*

And now, in conclusion, may I ask the Ambassadors from the various countries

represented here today to stand up. We've honored Americans today, but this was truly a coalition effort, and we're very pleased to see you all here. Would you please stand?

Thank you all. That concludes the ceremony. And may everybody have a wonderful Fourth of July. Thank you all for coming.

*Note: The President spoke at 10 a.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Antony Acland, British Ambassador to the United States, and Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf, commander of the U.S. forces in the Persian Gulf.*

## Remarks at the Dedication Ceremony of the Mount Rushmore National Memorial in South Dakota

July 3, 1991

Thank you, and thank all of you for that magnificent music. And that includes the Air Force. Thank you.

What a personal privilege and honor to be introduced by America's beloved Jimmy Stewart. May I salute our Secretary of the Interior, Manuel Lujan; our Senators, Larry Pressler, Tom Daschle; Congressman Johnson, with us today; South Dakota's Governor, Governor Mickelson; Lieutenant Governor, Mr. Miller; former Governor Janklow. And former Senators Abdnor and McGovern are with us here today also. This is a fitting occasion, and I'm proud to be a part of it. May I also salute those who make it happen all the time, our Director of the National Park Service, James Ridenour. My special greetings, of course, to this all-star-studded cast: Tom Brokaw, Mary Hart, Barry Bostwick, Billy Dee Williams, Johanna Meier, Barbara Eden; our favorite, White Eagle, who sang at the Inauguration; Rosemary Clooney; and everybody else that participated in making this a very special day in the life of our country. You talk about a Hollywood Hall of Fame. This is unbelievable.

And to all of you, thank you for the privilege of helping dedicate a memorial that once moved a visitor to say, "A visit to Mount Rushmore is a moment of communion with the very soul of America."

Fifty years ago, brave Americans completed this monument to four great nation-builders. It took 14 years, enormous sacrifice, and a daring worthy of our Nation. You heard about one man here who remembers;

Tom mentioned him. From 1935 through '41, Hap Anderson, who I believe is with us today—Hap, you out there somewhere? Well, I don't see him. There he is, right there. I want to tell you a little more about the man. He worked as a driller at Mount Rushmore. Says Hap, to quote him: "Hard work? If you can imagine putting a 35-pound jackhammer against your belly and letting her go, I guess it was hard work." And here's the interesting part, little anatomical. "But my belly was so hard in those days my wife could dance on my stomach with high-heeled shoes." I can picture it. [Laughter] Seeing Mary Hart up here, I prefer cheek to cheek—[laughter]—but nevertheless, the Andersons can do it their way. [Laughter]

But seriously, when Hap and his coworkers, several others of whom we've met here today, dusted themselves off after the last day's work, they had produced a living monument. When the great producer-director Cecil B. De Mille described it, here's what he said: "Not only do you look at those four faces, they look at you as well."

Today we salute Hap and all the others here today and all the rest who built Mount Rushmore. We salute, too, the four men whose faces appear on the monument. They knew that America is always a beginning, never a consummation.

Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Roosevelt all surmounted old barriers and opened up new frontiers. They broadened our Nation and they strengthened its foundations. They chiseled into our national soul



a yearning for freedom, democracy, equality, and justice, a conviction that all people have the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

You heard from our four stars a little history of each, but let me, at the risk of being repetitive, say just a little more. During our Revolution, Ben Franklin, as an American Minister to France, attended a diplomatic dinner in Paris. First, a French official rose, toasting Louis XVI, comparing him to the moon. The British Ambassador then toasted his monarch, George III, likening him to the sun. Finally, the aging Franklin stood to speak. "I cannot give you the sun nor the moon, but I give you George Washington who, like Joshua of old, commanded both the sun and the moon to stand still, and both obeyed." [Laughter]

Washington sought not the security of power but the power to secure America's independence, to build a nation devoted to freedom and human dignity. I think more than any other President, he shaped the contours of the Presidency. He established a model and set precedence that has served us well, and no wonder he is remembered as the Father of our Country.

Washington's Secretary of State and the author of our Declaration of Independence helped the young Nation grow in different ways. Thomas Jefferson championed the majesty of individual determination and imagination.

While Jefferson had some troubles with Congress, he accomplished extraordinary things. Among these, as we heard, he negotiated the Louisiana Purchase. The Purchase expanded our boundaries forever and opened to millions new horizons, opportunities, and dreams. His love of democracy was matched only by his faith in human nature. He believed that the God who gave us life gave us liberty at the same time and that man would use that liberty to ennoble life.

The man to the far right of Jefferson in the sculpture also extended a technological frontier by challenging the Nation to complete the first transcontinental railroad. But Abraham Lincoln's greatest challenge was to preserve our Republic, preserve it through its bloodiest war. In so doing, he sharpened our passion for liberty, equality, and dignity. Once Abraham Lincoln said,

"The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present." And yet armed with changeless moral laws, he paved the path for the future. He abolished slavery and preserved the Union. And he showed that the "better angels of our nature" can banish the darkness that threatens us all.

While the Lincoln of history often seems solitary or sad, the real Lincoln never lost his appetite for a good story, a tall tale, or a poignant quip. Once a friend encountered him and two of his kids, his sons, on the street. The boys were sobbing uncontrollably. "Mr. Lincoln, what's the matter with the boys?" the friend asked. Lincoln sighed, "Just what's the matter with the whole world. I've got three walnuts, and each kid wants two." [Laughter]

Abraham Lincoln understood the American character. He could speak in tones as familiar as a heartbeat or in cadences capable of summoning forth laughter, tears, and awe. Without Lincoln, I don't believe we would be a whole nation today. He kept us, you see, the United States.

The final man on this monument also left a wonderful bequest. He won renown as a warrior, but again, as we heard, he also won the Nobel Prize for Peace. He helped cut the Panama Canal out of the wilderness, but also fought to preserve our national beauty.

Theodore Roosevelt fell in love with the Mount Rushmore area. Visiting the Dakota Badlands in '83, 1883, he grew infatuated with the cattle business, acquired two ranches, and became a gentleman cowhand. TR brought to the outdoors the same exuberance that he brought to life, calling our lands and wildlife "the property of unborn generations." He managed to preserve our magnificent environment while transforming America from a continental force into a truly global power.

Each of these four Presidents enriched this country. Each made full use of his Presidential powers without forgetting that he owed his power and legitimacy to the people. The heroes behind me were fighters as Americans have always been, fighters for independence, for freedom, for democracy, for equality, for the values and the

lands we revere.

Today, we must build on their beginnings. We must continue to preserve our greatness while pushing back the limits of our imagination. We must teach our children that responsibility comes with freedom. We must remind them of the endless possibilities of the American dream. Our new Supreme Court nominee, Judge Clarence Thomas, has said it best: "As a child, I could not dare to dream that I would ever see the Supreme Court, not to mention be nominated to it. Only in America could this be possible."

Our challenges are enormous. But remember, this is America, and here, great things are possible. Look at the vast sculpture before us, and you see carved in stone a symbol that evokes the American character, soaring and unafraid. Now, on this 50th anniversary of the monument, a group of dedicated volunteers, the Mount Rushmore Society, is mounting a nationwide campaign to preserve this treasure.

This, too, fits into a distinguished tradition. In June of 1826, an ailing Thomas Jefferson politely declined an invitation to celebrate the Fourth of July in Washington. Instead, he encouraged his would-be hosts to hold dear the rights that Americans alone recognized and cherished. And he

wrote this: "Let the annual return of this day forever refresh our recollections of these rights, and an undiminished devotion to them." Fittingly, this was Jefferson's last letter. Ten days later, on the 50th anniversary of our independence, he died.

On the eve of this Fourth of July—and the 50th anniversary of this monument—let us express our undiminished devotion to the ideals of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Roosevelt, ideals as towering and solid as the monument that honors them.

Thank you for this occasion. God bless the United States of America. And now I am proud to dedicate Mount Rushmore National Memorial.

*Note: The President spoke at 2:55 p.m. at the memorial. In his remarks, he referred to NBC News anchorman Tom Brokaw and entertainer Mary Hart, who spoke; actors James Stewart, Barry Bostwick, Billy Dee Williams and Barbara Eden, who gave tributes to the memorial; singer Johanna Meier, who sang the national anthem; Sioux Indian White Eagle, who sang "So Many Voices"; and entertainer Rosemary Clooney, who sang "America the Beautiful." Following the event, the President and Mrs. Bush took a nature hike, fished, and attended a picnic.*

## Statement on the Environmental Protection Protocol to the Antarctic Treaty

July 3, 1991

Today, I am pleased to announce that the United States will sign an environmental protection protocol to the Antarctic treaty. The protection of the Antarctic environment is an important international responsibility, and I believe the environmental protection measures included in this protocol will ensure the protection of this natural resource for generations.

The new environmental measures will protect native species of Antarctic flora and fauna and will place needed limits on tour-

ism, waste disposal, and marine pollution. I strongly support these measures which are based on a U.S. initiative.

I also support the restrictions on mineral activity in the Antarctic, as provided for in this protocol. The alternative to our proposal offered in Madrid for lifting or amending the ban addresses our concerns and provides effective protection for Antarctica without foreclosing the options of future generations.

## Radio Address to the Nation on the Observance of Independence Day

July 4, 1991

This is an extraordinary Independence Day, for with recent events still so sharply etched in our minds, we've rarely been more keenly aware of the utter supremacy and the frailty of independence.

Our view of freedom has changed since we last celebrated Independence Day. For America, the finest, most loving nation on Earth, has been at war. Her sons and daughters stood watch on the parched desert and seas of the Gulf, bearing witness by their presence to the vision that compelled us. They added further luster to that vision by helping the victims of Saddam Hussein's aggression.

Throughout the long ordeal, America's people stood watch at home, our yellow-ribboned spirit telling that we believed in liberty, believed in ourselves. It was a scene our country has known before because for 215 years America has been pledged to defend for all people our forefathers' creed that each person has the right to life, to

liberty, and to the pursuit of happiness.

This Fourth of July is a day of celebration, a red-white-and-blue day of barbecues and fireworks, of family reunions and loving tributes to the men and women of the Gulf, of Vietnam, of all our national efforts to promote freedom and independence. But July 4, 1991, must also be something more: For all Americans, it must be a day of reflection and rededication.

Together we ask God to bless us. We ask God to guide us. And we pray that in the example of those who stood strong so that others may live in freedom and peace, that this Nation will renew the spirit of brotherhood and commitment that forms our national soul.

*Note: This address was recorded at 11:05 a.m. on May 20 in Room 459 of the Old Executive Office Building. It was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on July 4. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this address.*

## Remarks at an Independence Day Celebration in Marshfield, Missouri

July 4, 1991

Thank you all for that great welcome. What a pleasure to be here. Thank you all. May I say at the opening, Governor, one, thanks for that—please be seated here—not you guys—[laughter]—but may I say at the beginning of these remarks that Barbara and I are the ones that feel honored. We're the ones that feel welcome. We're the ones that feel touched on this very special day. And you can sense here the heartbeat not just of Missouri but the heartbeat of the entire United States of America. So, thank you for what you're doing on this Independence Day.

It is great to be with your Governor and his wife, Janet. Of course, to our great Sena-

tors, Senator Danforth, a man of commitment, freedom, and equality; Senator Bond, the same, who was also Governor of this State. Of course, we've got Congressman Mel Hancock with us, who's doing a superb job for his country in the House of Representatives. And State representative Tommy McDonnell I met, the only guy I know that can still fit into his uniform, even though he served long ago. [Laughter] Mayor Plunkett, thank you, sir, and your wife, Kay, for your hospitality from the minute we climbed out of that gigantic limo over there. We've been right back to earth and feeling at home. Thank you, sir.

And to the commissioner that I met, Mr. Rost, and Leon Atkinson, delighted. I was glad to see marching in the parade several people I admire: Bill Webster, the attorney general; Wendell Bailey, who modestly turned to the cameras and turned his back on those of us on the stage there, but we understand that. [*Laughter*] You see, I served with Wendell, and I know him, and I respect him. And then, of course, your own son, Roy Blunt, the secretary of state. Great to see him out there with his dad and everybody else.

And first, may I say on this special Fourth of July, where events like this, maybe not quite as good, are taking place all across this country, my special salute to those who have served their country in uniform now and in days gone by, with particular emphasis on those men and women who served with such distinction in Desert Storm. What a job they did for our Nation.

Now, they tell me that the mayor, in addition to being mayor, is the fire chief around here. The story goes that someone asked Mayor Plunkett if his house were burning down and he could take one thing out with him, what would it be? He answered, "The fire, of course." I guess that explains why you've reelected him many times to mayor. [*Laughter*]

Now, I couldn't help but look at the field of flags, and I hope everybody will look around and see them. And they don't just fly on the Fourth of July here in Marshfield; they fly every day of the year, I'm told. And I am very proud, once again, very proud to be here to see them.

I understand that Marshfield has a long history of Fourth of July parades. Think back to the year 1850 and Marshfield's Fourth of July celebration that day, foot races, fireworks, band concerts, ball games. And back in Washington, that was the fateful day that Zachary Taylor gobbled down those cherries with buttermilk. [*Laughter*] It's a little-known fact, not disproven by when they dug the poor guy up the other day and put him back—[*laughter*—that his last words were, "Please pass the broccoli." [*Laughter*]

It is a thrill for Barbara and me to be celebrating the glorious Fourth here in the Show-Me State. When we heard that we

had a chance to come here and join you for one of the oldest Fourth of July celebrations in Missouri, we couldn't pass it up. Some people have called this "the best little town on Earth," and I sure know why. Thank you again for the hospitality.

We live in Washington in the people's house, this magnificent White House. But when we were coming in we couldn't help but reminisce on the Fourths of July we spent in relatively small towns: Odessa, Texas, and Midland, Texas; the ball games in our town of Connecticut and, of course, in Kennebunkport, Maine, a town about the size of this one. Seeing the kids on the bikes here as we came into that parade reminded us all of one thing, the importance of family, the importance of friends.

Times like this bring to mind President Eisenhower's thankfulness for "the rare and priceless privilege of growing up in a small town." These towns really do, as the Governor said, cultivate the kind of values that carried this country for over 200 years, ones like liberty and loyalty and ingenuity and independence. And through it all—you could catch this in the parade, the spirit of the people that greeted us—through it all, faith in God. We are "one nation under God," and we'll never forget it.

And so, I would say to my fellow Americans not with us today, you can find the American character right here in this square, on display, and every day in Marshfield, Missouri.

And I saw a sign back here about another man who is well-known to Missouri. I would also say, then, that you can find that same character in self-made Americans like our nominee to the Court, Judge Clarence Thomas, a man especially well-known to your great Senator, Senator Danforth, and to Governor Ashcroft and also to Kit. Judge Thomas says that when he was growing up—and here were his exact words—God, school, discipline, hard work, and right from wrong were of the highest priority.

You know, he spent a lot of his life in Missouri, first going to school here, then working as an assistant attorney general, as counsel to the Monsanto Company, and later as an aide to your Senator, Senator Danforth, before he went on to a distin-

guished career as a jurist.

So, let me just simply say, in response to the sign, in response to the feelings of many people in this great State, Clarence Thomas is a man of character and impeccable credentials, a model for all Americans. You see, he will be a great Justice on the Supreme Court of the United States.

And yes, it is the Fourth of July. And today hundreds of relatives are in town, your mayor pointing out various manifestations of this as the parade went by; high school classmates back for reunions, old friends coming from other States to visit family here. Take a look at some of Marshfield's homegrown heroes: The devoted nurses at Webco Manor where we saw going by there a minute ago, what a job they do. The fearless firefighters, all volunteers like your own mayor, right here. The police men and women, some of them volunteers, too, on the beat day in and out. And certainly, thank God for the dedicated teachers here at Marshfield's schools and the surrounding schools.

But today the town, and I can tell you as President of the United States, the whole Nation, gathers to honor yet another group of heroes, and again, I am talking about the brave service men and women of Operation Desert Storm. While standing strong for American values, they liberated a nation abroad, a tiny nation halfway around the world, and transformed a Nation at home. You know, as Sergeant Richard Mann—I don't know if he is here today; with all of these people I'm not sure we would see him, but he put it this way, one known to many here: "I think God took a whole generation of Americans out in the desert and showed them a miracle." Well, I think Sergeant Mann was right, but the real miracle took place not in the sands of Kuwait; it unfolded in the American heart.

These young men and women went to the desert and brought honor to our Nation, just as all veterans have done before them. There's something else wonderful—I hope you feel it in your community, but I sure feel it as I travel around this country—there's something else wonderful that's happened. Desert Storm has at last brought the recognition and honor to our sons and daughters who served in Vietnam. We final-

ly have had a chance to tell them thank you, and we're proud of them. And welcome home. A little late, but welcome home.

So, don't let them tell you there's anything wrong with our country. Together, we now stand ready for the next step in the American experience. Together, we're facing just over the horizon the 21st century. And we are ready, for we are a Nation of families and communities just like Marshfield. We're a decent people, a good people. We're a Nation of parents and brothers and sisters and neighbors. And we know that our future lies right in the hands of kids like these, many of whom we saw go down this parade route, whether it's the outstanding teamwork of the Southwest Missouri Bears or the Lady Jays basketball team or Marshfield High, or your renowned high school band raising money to go to England and play for the Queen.

And you see, like you, Barbara and I believe in them, through all their childhood dreams and sometimes wild ideas. I'm reminded of a story of Mark Twain—true story—a man who had a weakness for new inventions. Over the years, he lost half a million dollars investing in various contraptions. Finally, he decided that he'd been gullible too often, and he resolved never to humor an inventor again. One day a gangly young man approached Twain. He was carrying a boxy-looking device. And Twain listened politely to the young man's pleas for help. He said, "Look, I'm just not interested." Well, looking dejected, the would-be inventor shuffled away. And Twain, perhaps feeling a pang of pity, cried out, "What did you say your name was again?" "Bell," was the reply, "Alexander Graham Bell." [Laughter]

Well, I expect that Mark Twain would be the first to say thank heavens someone else took a chance on the young man named Alexander Graham Bell. Thank heavens, that is, unless you have a teenager or a teenaged grandson who won't leave his invention alone.

But Bell saw an opportunity to make life better, and he seized it. Right here in Marshfield, you know what it takes to solve problems. And you're willing to take a

chance. You know who you are: the volunteers who run your Head Start—you don't have a movie house here, maybe, but you've got a Head Start program, and I saw those little kids that you've given a chance walking by out here just a minute ago. You've got people who did it themselves, creating child care centers, Temple Baptist and the Methodist Church, the parents and teachers who challenge your children's imaginations and stretch their minds.

Barbara and I have come here today because it's impossible not to feel at home in America's heart. By your example, your faith, and your hard work, you are leading us; you may not put it in that perspective, but you are leading us into the next American century. By your hospitality, you made Barbara and me feel very much at home.

Thank you so very much for having us

here today. We feel truly blessed, and may God bless each and every one of you. Have a happy Fourth, and may God bless the greatest and freest country on the face of the earth, the United States of America. Thank you all very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 11:32 a.m. on the Webster County Courthouse lawn. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. John Ashcroft of Missouri; Senator Christopher S. (Kit) Bond; county commissioners Don Rost and Leon Atkinson; William L. Webster, State attorney general; Wendell Bailey, State treasurer; and Roy Blunt, Missouri secretary of state. Following his remarks, the President and Mrs. Bush traveled to Grand Rapids, MI. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

## Remarks at an Independence Day Celebration in Grand Rapids, Michigan July 4, 1991

*The President.* Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. And may I first—

*Audience members.* U.S.A.! U.S.A.! U.S.A.!

*The President.* You're darn right.

*Audience.* U.S.A.! U.S.A.! U.S.A.!

*The President.* U.S.A.! Thank you, Governor Engler, Michelle; and Congressman Paul Henry and Karen; our mayor who we just heard from, Mayor Helmholdt. And thank you all, all of you, for making Barbara and me feel so at home on this marvelous Fourth of July parade in Grand Rapids. It has been sensational. Thank you.

You know, this is one manifestation of the Fourth, and it's very special because of the men and women who served in Desert Storm and Desert Shield, and were ready to go. But I think when we hear the words "Fourth of July," we think of family: family at reunions, family at parades like we've just seen, and our American family, united in pride, united in patriotism, and the joy, the sheer joy of living in a great and prosperous land. We are very lucky to call America our home. And I think all those

who served in Desert Storm helped us understand important things about ourselves and our country because I think we all realized that we belong to a great family, a fortunate family. As Americans, we share more than a magnificent land. We share values. We share commitments. We share experiences, beliefs, and challenges.

Even before the troops returned home, it was the Fourth of July in America again. Every one of us, every one of us feels proud to say: I am an American, and I love my country. And let's not be embarrassed to say so.

A couple of months ago I asked every town to make this Fourth of July a day of special celebration for our troops. We are here, as the Governor said, to honor our troops and the people who have supported them through long nights and tense days. And also, we're here to thank the families and the neighbors and the friends. To every American who wore a yellow ribbon, wrote a letter, or baked a cookie, or said a prayer; to every American who linked hands and

hearts in hopes of helping the men and women who defended freedom overseas, America says thank you to each and every one of you. You are an integral part of all of this.

I saw a sign on the parade, something saying, "War is not great." Of course, it's not great. We're not here to glorify war. Tragically, people sometimes must, though, shed blood to defend simple decency and justice. But we must never feel bashful about supporting the values that bind us or the commitment to freedom that makes America so very special, a land of dreams, a land revered and now respected by the rest of the entire world. And that's what it's all about.

And look, loved ones did lose ones close to them. And victory does provide no comfort for war's victims. But today we can offer some solace to those whose loved ones fell in defense of principle. We can tell them: We want to thank your sons and daughters. We will never forget our fighting men and women of this war or of all our wars, World War I, World War II, Korea, those who fought in Grenada, Panama, and the Gulf. And I take special pride today in seeing that in some wonderful and perhaps unseen way, what happened in Desert Storm, what you guys did, what happened there brought home long-overdue recognition and honor to those who served us in Vietnam.

So, I think today we celebrate the American character. Just look into the face of any soldier who dug in the desert sands or any sailor who stood watch on the dark, distant waters of the Gulf, the airmen—look into these faces and you'll see the American character. You'll understand the principles upon which this Nation was founded are no more abstract than a heartbeat. They form the flesh and blood, the heart and soul of our nation.

I see the American character right here in Grand Rapids. You helped each other through Desert Storm. Your war experience summarized, in personal and moving ways, this Nation's war experience.

From the beginning, you felt the war up close. Creston High grad Lieutenant Steven Harper was among the first, the first pilots in action over Iraq. The war hit home even

more closely when your reservists left for the Gulf, citizen-soldiers from groups like the 180th Army National Guard from Grand Rapids and Greenville's 1073d ANG and your reservists from the 207th Evacuation Hospital. They helped care for those kids who were wounded in the Scud missile attacks. And I understand that in today's parade are families representing your other Reserve unit, Company A, 1st Battalion of the 24th Marines, which is still deployed overseas. Good, strong, decent men and women, all of them. They make us proud to be Americans. And God bless each and every one of them.

You know, some don't know this, but even the high-tech story of this war unfolded here. Every time we saw a helicopter or jet fighter or M-1 tank, or saw a tape of a Tomahawk cruise missile or laser-guided bomb, we saw components produced by hard work right here in the Grand Rapids area.

And yes, and more somberly, the war inflicted grief here, too. The Edwards family, Gayle, Bennett, Spencer, Adriane, we shared your pain when Jack became the first Gulf war casualty buried at Arlington. The entire Nation poured out condolences in letters addressed simply—they came in this way: "Gayle Edwards, Grand Rapids." What a tribute to a courageous family.

And so, for Barbara and me, to walk these streets is to feel the pulse of America. A couple of months ago, thousands of you rallied at Veterans Memorial Park in a sea of red, white, and blue, and yes, yellow, yellow ribbons that joined the Nation's hearts and really, for those of you that were overseas, were unifying the American family. The yellow of the ribbons worn by the kids from Lee High and Middle Schools. The yellow of the lapel pins that your policemen made for this county's officers. The spirit of Grand Rapids is and was the spirit of America.

So in that spirit, the spirit of brotherhood devoid of all arrogance and gloating, the spirit of compassion and pride, let's celebrate this Independence Day. Let's rejoice in the gift of every day being able to live life and pursue happiness in our freedom's first and finest home.

The troops of Desert Storm not only rescued a nation abroad, they transformed a Nation at home. Now let's use our strength and our credibility to take on challenges here at home. We can make our schools the best in the entire world, and we will. We can restore order to our streets, and we will. And we can build a society, as the Governor said, in which people who want to work will have opportunities, in which people who seek to build a just society will conquer the divisive forces of prejudice. And we will build that society. We owe it to the generation to come.

If we didn't know it before Desert Storm, we know now: Nothing can stop us. So, let's all of us—you and me, your family, our family—let's make this America the best that it can possibly be.

Listen to the American spirit expressed in a letter to me from a Michigan teacher, Martha Williams. Here's what she wrote: "I try to teach my young people that freedom isn't free, that its price is dedication to an ideal, and sometimes its price is sacrifice. My classroom theme is 'answering the call'—in civilian life as well as military—in everyday humble contributions as well as heroic, notable efforts."

Well, you know something<sup>2</sup> Martha's right. The American spirit of service, service to each other and to good and bright ideals, made our Nation great. It will keep our Nation great. And if I take away anything else, it's the feeling that that spirit thrives right here in Grand Rapids. You can see it. You can feel it. You can be proud of it. I know I am.

I am very proud, and I know I speak confidently for Barbara, which I do not always do—[laughter]—when I tell you that we are very proud, indeed, to share this special day.

And now may we say thank you, God bless you all, and God bless this freest, fairest, greatest country on the face of the Earth, the United States of America. Thank you all. Thank you very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 5:41 p.m. on the parade route in front of the City Council Building. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. John Engler of Michigan and his wife, Michelle, and Congressman Paul B. Henry and his wife, Karen. Following his remarks, the President and Mrs. Bush returned to Washington, DC. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

## White House Statement on the Peanut Import Quota Increase July 5, 1991

On the basis of an investigation and report of the United States International Trade Commission, the President has decided to increase the import quota on peanuts to 100 million pounds for the current marketing year, which ends on July 31. This represents an increase from a quota of 1.7 million pounds.

Under section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933, the President may modify, suspend, or terminate import quotas provided such action would not materially interfere with the peanut price support program operated by the U.S. Department of Agriculture.



## Exchange With Reporters on START Negotiations and a Possible Soviet-United States Summit

July 8, 1991

Q. Mr. President, does it look like you're still going to be going to Moscow at the end of the month?

*The President.* Well, a lot depends on this meeting that's coming up between the Secretary of State, Foreign Minister Bessmertnykh, and Moiseyev, General Moiseyev. And I've said before that what we want to do is to have a summit meeting with the Soviets. I've also said that I want this START agreement completed. And their coming in here is a good move; it was in response to an appeal I made to President Gorbachev.

So, it's a good thing that they're coming. There's plenty of time to get this done so we can have a meeting at the end of July. But whether these last difficulties can be ironed out, we just don't know. But this

should be seen as a good sign, whether we get it completed in time for a July summit or not. And I'll have a chance to talk to Gorbachev in London a week from—well, it's in a few days, 8 days or 9 days.

Q. In other words, Mr. President, you want performance, not conversation?

*The President.* He's got it. Walter, you summed it up far better than—[laughter]. Thank you for that helpful—[laughter].

Thank you all very much.

*Note: The exchange began at 10:05 a.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House, prior to a meeting with the New American Schools Development Corporation Board. The President referred to Mikhail A. Moiseyev, Chief of the Soviet General Staff, and Walter H. Annenberg, a director of the board.*

## Remarks Announcing the New American Schools Development Corporation Board

July 8, 1991

Lamar, thank you. And I really wanted to have Lamar say something so I could more formally salute him for this fantastic job he's doing and others at the Department are doing in this field of education. I am so proud of the job he and David Kearns—right out of the corporate community, he's pitched in. And I think it's conceded, without respect to politics at all, that we have not only a first-class team at the Department, but we have a first-class concept. And I think that's very important.

I want to thank Governor Tom Kean, who's with us here. He is the chairman of the New America Schools Development Corporation, and Frank Blount, along here, is its president and CEO. And I salute both of them and thank them both.

I also want to single out a man that's

known to, I think, everybody here, but that's Governor Booth Gardner of the State of Washington. He's been an aggressive advocate for education that works. He's a leader. He's head now of the National Governors' Association, I believe. And yet, in spite of all those responsibilities, he's keeping the focus nationally on education. I just had the pleasure of meeting with him and some of his team. A very interesting meeting, teachers, businesspeople, parents, and superintendents, and a wonderful approach that they're taking in the State of Washington.

I also want to salute another Governor with us, another former head of the NGA who's now a member of all of this, and I'm talking about Virginia's Governor Gerry Baliles.

The meeting that Booth and all of us had here in the Oval Office was a good one. With them was another person well-known here, the Lieutenant Governor, Joel Pritchard, an old friend of mine. And all the people that he brought in, handful, four or five, were involved in his Schools of the 21st Century initiative. Good ideas are at work out there in the State of Washington.

I want to salute Lee and Walter Annenberg, dear friends to all here, more about their role in a moment; leaders of the corporate world who are with us today; education experts. And welcome to all of you on this hot day in the Rose Garden.

I've asked you here to mark with me a milestone on the road to America 2000, the founding of the New American Schools Development Corporation. As I said when we announced America 2000 right here at the White House in April, our national education strategy does not create a new program. It issues a challenge: To reinvent American education; to set aside the stale preconceptions; and to design New American Schools, and I'll emphasize the word "new," for the year 2000 and beyond.

We seek nothing less than a new generation of American schools, schools that will help every—every—student reach world-class standards, schools that set the pace for the Nation now and certainly into the next century.

We take our first step toward these new schools when we forge a new partnership between educators and entrepreneurs, between communities and the corporate world, a partnership that links every level of government—local, State, and Federal—with the people. And that partnership really starts right here.

Little more than 2 months have passed since we unveiled this program, America 2000, this concept. But already, thanks to all here, we are making real progress. Governor Kean briefed me and other new members of the board a few minutes ago with news that I think you'll all want to hear.

Within the next few weeks, the New American Schools Development Corporation will form an education advisory panel under the leadership of Saul Cooperman, former chief State school officer for the

State of New Jersey.

Funds are pouring in. I don't want to say pouring because we're going to put an arm on you all in a minute here—[laughter]—but funds are coming in well. And Tom told me, reported to me that already \$30 million has been raised, much of it from the corporations that are represented here today. And that's even before you've begun the formal fundraising drive.

And of course, I want to single this one out, but \$10 million comes from the Annenberg Foundation in the form of a challenge grant. I know I challenged you at the onset of all of this to raise \$150 million to \$200 million. No need to stop there, but nevertheless, I want to repeat the challenge. The Rand Corporation has signed on to provide the New American Schools Corporation with Rand's expert analysis.

And finally, the New American Schools Corp. has scheduled its design conference in August to attract reformers whose ideas about what works will make the New American Schools a reality. The revolution begins right here. We've done enough handwringing about the state of our schools, and now, let's act. Let's apply America's special genius for invention to our schools.

Lou Gerstner of RJR Nabisco was telling us about risk-taking. Yes, there's taking of risks in all of this. But you don't make it if you don't risk and experiment. We won't find a sheet of instructions for our task; there's no handbook out there for how this is going to succeed. We're going to have to call upon our own resources and insight. We're going to have to really break the mold, throw out the old blueprints, and build for the next century.

All we ask is this: Students in these New American Schools must demonstrate that they can meet the new national standards for five core subjects. Meanwhile, the schools must meet their own standards. Outside of the costs of the initial R&D, they must operate on a budget comparable to conventional schools. We don't want gold-plated schools. We just want those results to be gold-plated.

And beyond that, every aspect of these New American Schools must be open to experiment. Take a hard look at the way

we've been doing things and ask why: Should we open our schools to preschoolers? Break down the barriers that separate school from society? Does it make sense, on the eve of the 21st century, to pattern our school year around the rhythms of the agrarian past of this great country, when children took summers off to help with planting?

We don't want our New American Schools initiative to purchase bricks and mortar. We want to encourage an experiment, a competition of ideas that can bring even the oldest school building in America alive with learning.

Clearly, our schools and students have got to pass technological challenges. As citizens of the 21st century, our children must handle a computer keyboard with as much ease as the children of the 19th century handled a buggy whip or steered a plow. But as I said when I announced America 2000, the New American Schools that we create must be more than shrines where we worship the state of the art, more than rooms full of kids sitting at computer terminals.

In some cases, the New American School may require addition, providing something missing in our schools, a new technology or a dose of traditional values. In other cases, the solution may call for subtraction, clearing away obstacles to learning, clearing some space for the one indispensable element in education, the teacher who can teach. In each instance, we will need the help of parents and others. They must reinforce outside the schools the values that will be stressed inside the schools.

We used to talk about the three "r's" in education, reading, writing, and arithmetic. But we need to add a fourth "r," one I have talked about often in the past and others here have as well, respect. We all respect education's importance. We must build respect for our educational product now through results we can measure and results we can build upon.

No one will conduct our educational revolution for us. We've got to do it ourselves. Our new nominee for the Supreme Court, Justice Clarence Thomas, offers what I think

is a very stirring testament to what people can do when they refuse to take no for an answer, when through sheer determination they overcome obstacles that others have placed in their way. It was very emotional for me up there at our house in Maine when we announced his appointment because he outdistanced poverty and racism; because he possessed the greatest treasures of all, the love of family, the faith of teachers—remember what he said about teachers—and then the belief in himself.

With that example, none of us should take no for an answer. And so, let's vow to create schools with which we can meet the challenges of the future.

So, whether you're a civic leader—we have some here—or a CEO—we have many here—an educator, an elected official, each one of you is a pioneer ready to lead our children to a new world of possibility. I am confident the New American Schools will, indeed, shape the next American century.

So, I really want to thank you all for being a part of this. Thank you for what you've done so far and for all that you are destined to do. We have a first-class team, and we want everybody here and many across this country to be a part of it. So, good luck, thanks again. And may God bless the United States of America.

#### *Soviet-U.S. Summit*

*Q.* Mr. President, why are you pushing so hard for a July summit?

*The President.* I've announced all along that that's what we want. Go back and look. I've said it over and over again.

*Q.* Why July?

*The President.* Because it's important I talk to Gorbachev on a lot of items, a lot of issues.

*Note: The President spoke at 10:35 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Thomas H. Kean, former Governor of New Jersey; Gerald L. Baliles, former Governor of Virginia; Walter H. Annenberg, a director of the New American Schools Development Corporation Board, and his wife, Leonore; and board member Louis Gerstner.*

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on START Negotiations *July 8, 1991*

Yesterday afternoon Soviet Ambassador Komplektov conveyed to General Scowcroft President Gorbachev's response to the President's message of Saturday. President Gorbachev agreed with the President's view for the need to redouble efforts at completing a START agreement and accepted the President's invitation to send a delegation to Washington to work on the negotiations. The Soviet delegation, headed

by Foreign Minister Bessmertnykh, will arrive on Wednesday evening. The delegation will also include Chief of the Soviet General Staff Moiseyev and Ambassador Obukhov, as well as a number of arms experts. They will meet with Secretary Baker on Thursday afternoon and Friday. The President welcomes this decision by President Gorbachev and hopes it can lead to further progress in the START negotiations.

## Interview With Foreign Journalists *July 8, 1991*

*The President.* All I want to do is say we're looking forward to this trip. I am, very much. It's preceded by several bilaterals; one, an important meeting with Brian Mulroney in Canada tomorrow. Perhaps some might think that's less necessary because I stay in such close touch with him by phone and we visit back and forth. But it's important for us anyway; I hope for him. We'll have a chance to talk about not only the upcoming G-7, but we'll have a chance to talk about where we go on the trade agreement, North American trade agreement.

Then the next event leading up to the summit will be a visit from Toshiki Kaifu, the Prime Minister of Japan. We're going to treat him like family and have him to our home up there, and it will really be a one-on-one session so he and I can exchange ideas before the G-7 meeting. He'll then go flying off, and a day or two or later I will leave for France. There I'll meet with President Mitterrand, just a couple hours of very private conversation like we've had several different times. And I find these meetings with any of these leaders, all of these leaders, very important. It sets the tone, and you can talk without a lot of formality about issues of concern to both countries.

I expect we'll be dwelling with President Mitterrand as to what will be coming up in

the next day or two at the G-7 summit, but there are other issues that could conceivably come up. But again, it's a series of contacts, one-on-one, that I value. I think this one was actually our suggestion, and I hope I'm not imposing on the President of the French Republic on a very historic day for their country. But nevertheless—Bastille Day, I believe. And he is changing his schedule, which I'm very pleased about, to conclude his—well, I think he probably would have concluded his ceremonies anyway. But we will have this meeting prior to flying across the Channel to London, where I will have a private dinner with John Major.

And I might add to those here that I'll be seeing Helmut Kohl one-on-one there. I had a nice conversation with him today, which lasted, what, 30 minutes, something like that.

So, this is what we see leading up to the G-7. There, of course, we'll all meet. Then I guess the highlight of all this will be the arrival of President Gorbachev. I might say to Mr. Gan of the Soviet Union that we were very pleased when President Gorbachev, with alacrity, decided to send his able Foreign Minister and General Moiseyev over here. We'd like to finish a START agreement in time to have a meeting at the end of this month, maybe spill over a day or

two into August. But that's his goal; that's our goal. I'd like to see it happen.

But nevertheless, then we'll see how those meetings go here. But there's another point, and that is I will have an opportunity to sit down and talk with him on a one-on-one meeting there in London prior to a larger meeting—of course, others meeting with him, too—but larger meeting with the G-7. Then I understand we're having a dinner.

Then it's off to Greece and Turkey, where I see two very respected leaders. And I say that not just in a diplomatic sense, but they're two people with whom I feel I have a very good personal relationship. And so, I'll be meeting with Mr. Mitsotakis, Mr. Özal, and there will be a wide array of subjects discussed, bilateral and international issues. So, it's first Greece, a couple of nights; Turkey, a couple of nights; and then back to the States.

So, with no further ado, I'll be glad to—I think the best way to do it is to work our way around the table and try to respond as directly as I can to questions. If you get into something very technical I might have to turn to my right or left for a little assistance, but I think I can handle it. So, how do we want to begin? Would you like to start, Mr. Saunders?

#### *Persian Gulf Conflict*

*Q.* Certainly. Regarding the Persian Gulf war, do you now think that, A, what was at stake, and B, what was accomplished, were worth the tens of thousands of human lives? And if so, why?

*The President.* Absolutely. There's absolutely no question in my mind. There was a single purpose, and that is the reversal of aggression, sending a lesson that the world understands, and that is that aggression will not stand.

And we tried a peaceful approach to that. We had unprecedented diplomacy in which Canada and other countries participated. And you had a sanction of the action that was taken by the United Nations Security Council. It fulfilled what one would call its peacekeeping function, or its peacemaking function, by having these resolutions that would have led to peace if they could have been supported by this brutal dictator,

Saddam Hussein. And peace failed. But it isn't because other countries, many represented around this table, didn't try, didn't try. We tried.

And I think Saddam miscalculated. One, I think he thought that we wouldn't commit to force. I think he was particularly fingering the United States in that regard. And second, I think he had this crazy misapprehension that if we did use force, that he would have a victory. And he had nothing of the kind. Aggression was reversed. And that principle alone sends a good message around the world.

So, yes, it was worth it. We mourn the loss of everybody. War is not pleasant. But I think it was—there's kind of a revisionistic thinking in some quarters to which I give absolutely nothing, no credence at all.

Do you want to follow up on it?

*Q.* No.

#### *European Security*

*Q.* Mr. President, I'll ask a question about European security. France and the United States differ strongly about independent European defense structure. My question will be, how long do you think the U.S.A. and Great Britain will be able to block the emergence of such a structure? And second, what danger do you see in such a development, a European defense—

*The President.* You're talking about the security structure?

*Q.* Yes.

*The President.* I'm not sure how far apart we are on that. And that's one of the matters I'd like to discuss with President Mitterrand. I read that there's Britain and U.S. here, and others there. I don't think that's the case. Certainly, that's not what our Secretary of State feels from having a lot of talks with different parties. So, I'd hedge the answer by saying, let me talk to President Mitterrand about this.

What I hear them saying, the French saying, is a recognition of the continued importance of NATO. Now, France has a different way of participating, you might say, in NATO. But I see nothing on the part of France that would say to the United States: You go home, and let us take care of the security arrangements through a different

vehicle. That's not there. That's not what's happening.

So, let's talk about it. I think this whole concept of another arrangement for European security is not put forward in an attempt to drive NATO out of business. Now, if I'm wrong, I'd be concerned about it. But I don't think I'm wrong. So, I'm going to wait until I talk to the President of France about that.

In other words, we're not worried about it, and we don't think there's any cabal against the United States and NATO, or people trying to send us a message that we're no longer required for Europe's security. I get it just the opposite, as a matter of fact.

#### *Yugoslavia*

*Q.* Mr. President, while talking with Chancellor Kohl you probably raised the question on what to do with Yugoslavia and what it implies for the new world order. Kohl has said that he would like to recognize the two republics and that the [Berlin] wall really has shown to every European the importance of self-determination. Now, you were still acting on the theory of the integrity of territory. What does Yugoslavia really imply in terms of independence movements, in terms of more countries knocking at the door of CSCE? And what is your policy?

*The President.* Well, our policy has been negotiations between the parties involved. It has been a peaceful resolution to this country, one that is not settled by violence.

I did touch on this; this was not the main subject in my conversation with Chancellor Kohl. And I think he's putting—well, I shouldn't say what's he's putting. Let me say what we do. We're putting some hope on the fact that this initiative by the EC, the Dutch Foreign Minister in the lead, will buy some time for the parties to peacefully resolve their differences.

But if you make the case that there will be a dissolution of Yugoslavia as we now see it, I couldn't project for you, in reply to your question, what that would mean. But if it's peaceful, if there's a peaceful resolution to these differences and there's a determination of that nature, then I think that the United States, anyway, would have no diffi-

culty with that.

We are for the independence of the Baltic States, for example, in the Soviet Union. The way in which they were incorporated into the Soviet Union has never been recognized by the U.S. So there's a craving in many quarters for independence.

But this matter has been, I think, properly addressed by the EC. I salute them for some difficult diplomacy. And I'm hoping that this matter can be resolved through conversation, through dialog. But it wouldn't be the part of the U.S. to stand up if the parties agreed on one direction and say, hey, that's unsatisfactory to us. It's essentially a European matter, and they're coping, I think, in a difficult situation quite well right now. Right now; I don't know what will happen.

#### *Greece and Turkey*

*Q.* Mr. President, there's widespread expectation in our part of the world that your visit to Greece and Turkey will lay the ground for a reconciliation for the difference between the two countries, and perhaps even the signing of a nonaggression pact. What would you respond to this?

*The President.* Listen, if our visit could result in something like that, I would rejoice because I'd like to see these two countries with whom we have extraordinarily friendly relationships work out their difficulties. And I can make a case for you that this is a good time in history not only for that but a resolution to the other problem that keeps plaguing them both, and that's the question of Cyprus.

And the reason I say that is that it is in my view that both Mr. Mitsotakis and Özal are strong leaders and reasonable people. But I don't want to set as a goal that that you outlined, as a part of a precedent. There's something, it seems to me, a little bit arrogant to suggest that I can fly to these two countries and out of that would result this solution. But if in any way the United States can be a catalyst for resolution of historic differences, so much the better. But I don't want to get the sights up.

Your question, if I just answered one sentence on it, I'm afraid it would raise antici-

pation, hope of what we think we can do. And I want to just sit and talk with both sides and both these leaders. I think they, themselves, would concede that there's good relationships now between the United States and—perhaps historically good—and those countries, both of whom are very important to us not just in a common defense situation but culturally and many other ways. So, maybe there's a chance; maybe there's a chance.

#### *Middle East Peace Process*

*Q.* Mr. President, the United States entered the war, the Gulf war, with certain friends and a certain coalition. Do you feel that through this experience, the passing of the war, and after the war, the United States has the same friends, the same judgment of them, the same coalition? And what about Israel and that frame of reference?

*The President.* I think that, basically, the countries that we worked with in forming the coalition, and then moving forward together to kick the aggressor out of Kuwait, are still very friendly with the United States. There are varying degrees, obviously. We had strained relations with Syria. Now I think they're better. We've had historically great relations with Italy, for example, Britain, France. And those relations have been nothing but enhanced by the way the coalition worked and by the U.S. role in it, in my view.

Whether we can take this—and again, I don't want to kind of sound chauvinistic or overly proud, but I do think that out of all of this, the United States has a new standing and a certain credibility in these countries that you mentioned and in other countries. I think that includes Israel. You asked about Israel.

We would like to take that credibility, if I'm correct that it exists, and be the catalyst for peace in the whole Middle East. And we're running into some difficulties. They wouldn't have been hard to predict by any of you all. You follow foreign affairs, and you follow these international tensions. And so, they're predictable, you might say. We're not going to give up. We're going to keep on trying. And I think that various countries are going to have to give a little.

I'd love to see direct talks between the parties. I'd love to see the ending of this boycott. I'd love to see an end to the settlements. I'd like to see a lot of things happen that aren't happening. But we're going to keep trying. And I think that our participation in, some might say, coleadership of the coalition is helpful to us in that regard. And let's hope we can move the peace process forward.

Good God, that area—you see Israeli kids, you see Palestinian kids, and it's not my generation, it's not the next, it's the one after that, that worries me. Do these kids, whatever country they're from, have to live in this kind of fear and animosity? Do they have to grow up now, yet another generation of young kids, because grown people can't get together to solve heretofore intractable problems?

And so, I look at it quite emotionally, and I want very much to have us keep trying. I salute our Secretary of State, who has tried. And I can't give you the most optimistic answer right now as to where all of that stands; I wish I could. But we are going to stay involved for the reason I gave you.

#### *Multilateral Trade Negotiations*

*Q.* Mr. President, one of the main agenda of the London economic summit will be the Uruguay round. But Japan and the European Community seem to be reluctant, somewhat reluctant to make concessions, especially in the agricultural area. How are you going to persuade other leaders in London in order to lead to—

*The President.* Well, first, I'm going to tell them, hey, you guys aren't the only people protecting. We're guilty. We've got legislation on our books you don't like. First, I'll start by pointing out that this is a world problem and all of us—nobody can be pointing the finger at the other person.

To the degree agriculture is the hangup, and it is a significant hangup, on the Uruguay round, I will be pressing these leaders on group and one-on-one to do what is extraordinarily difficult politically for some of them, and that is to take on the agricultural lobby or community in their own countries. And it isn't easy. And again, I don't want to go there with a holier-than-thou attitude

when we talk about agriculture. But we have friends that won't be at this summit that are saying to us, what about your export enhancement program, for example.

So, we've got some problems. But it is essential that we move forward, we collectively move forward on agriculture if there's going to be a successful conclusion. And there have been some breakthroughs with Japan that we see as positive, citrus and other agricultural products a while back; now we may be making some headway on rice. I hope we are.

But I will go there saying, look, I know it's not easy, but we've got to get the job done now. And we do. The way to benefit the Third World, that many of the participants of this summit will be talking about, is to get the Uruguay round concluded. And that's going to be the most benefit to them, more than any aid package that you can put together.

#### *Soviet-U.S. Relations*

*Q.* Sir, especially on the G-7 summit in London, some people say there is certain ambivalence, if not ambiguity, in the American approach to the Soviet Union. So, sir, what would you like to see happen in our relations in the immediate future? Could you describe your short-term—

*The President.* As it relates with the summit or broader than that?

*Q.* Broader.

*The President.* Broader? I'd like to see an arms control agreement. Broader, I would like to see continued cooperation, which has been magnificent, I might add, in terms of the coalition or the war that Mr. Saunders asked about. The cooperation from the Soviet Union surprised many people around the world. I'd like to see that continue, because I think these two great powers must work together on regional problems.

I'd like to see, out of the summit, I'd like to see us have more understanding of the reforms that President Gorbachev is undertaking. I would like to feel that the Soviet Union is as firmly embarked on the course of reform as I'm confident that President Gorbachev wants to see them. We'd like to see—and this comes under the heading of their business, not ours, as I was schooled early on about being careful about mingling

in the internal affairs of another country—that Yeltsin and Gorbachev continue, and I use that word advisedly, working together.

The Yeltsin visit here was a success on two counts: one, he came here in the face of a magnificent electoral victory. The American people understood this. Here's a guy who took his case to the polls, to the people, and won. And secondly, he came here and he did not try to use that visit to put down President Gorbachev. And that won him many friends here. And I think the way in which it worked out, hopefully, was a benefit to both President Gorbachev and Yeltsin.

So, you ask what I'd like to see. I'd like to see that continue. And the Soviet Union knows that we have a longstanding view that the Baltics should be free. Now, that's a very complicated question, but that's the U.S. position. Hasn't changed; won't change.

That's just a handful of the things that we're talking about. But I'd love to see this reform move far enough forward and be for real enough that we could then all pitch in and be of as much assistance as possible in terms of the economic recovery. The Soviet economy is hurting now, and I say that not holier-than-thou, but it is; factually, the Soviet economy is in bad shape. And it is our view, and I think it will be the view of the other G-7 partners, that the way to correct that, certainly longer run, is going to be privatization, market reform, all of these things. So, we go there to the summit, to my meeting with Gorbachev with an open mind, but we've also made clear that we have certain limitations on what we can do until reforms are firmly in place.

#### *Cyprus*

*Q.* Mr. President, my question will kind of follow up my Greek colleague's question with a Cyprus angle. Now there are hopeful signs for a settlement on the issue. Do you think your visit to the region will help speed up this process? Do you expect an agreement soon, and what do you think the obstacles are?

*The President.* One, I've been told there are hopeful signs. Two, our position is well-known, and that is continuing to support the initiative of the Secretary-General. And



we don't go there with some bold new plan that we would throw before Mr. Mitsotakis, Mr. Özal, or Mr. Vassiliou. We aren't going there in that mode. But if, in the talks we have, the U.S. again can have a catalytic role in this age-old question, so much the better.

Again, I don't want to raise expectations: "Bush is coming to solve the Cyprus question." That would be unfair to the people on the islands; it would be unfair to Greek interest and Turkish interest. But I keep coming back to this: They're two reasonable, strong-willed leaders. They have a reasonable relationship. This thing's gone on too long. And you've got a man in Cyprus, President Vassiliou, who's extraordinary in my view. And let's hope we can be helpful.

But it is not one where the U.S. is going to dictate an answer to this problem, whether it's Turkish troops in the island or whether it's the view that the Greek Cypriots won't give fair enough representation to the others. These are problems that are out there. But we can't solve those, the United States. It's going to have the good will of people there to do it.

#### *Iraq*

*Q.* Mr. President, if I can follow up on the Gulf question: Given Saddam Hussein's assault on the Shiites and the Kurds, and given his deceit over the nuclear weapons research which has now brought the renewed threat of military action by the United States, do you now feel that you stopped the ground war too soon and should have pressed on either to Baghdad or until Saddam was overthrown?

*The President.* No, I don't. And the reason I don't is that much of the legality of the steps we've taken came through international sanction, international will as expressed in 12 resolutions of the Security Council. And it was not ever the intent to march into Baghdad and to get bogged down in a guerrilla warfare in the city of Baghdad to accomplish that end.

Now, how do I feel about Saddam Hussein today? Do I think he's a liar? Do I think he's broken his word over and over again? Yes. Will we ever have normal relations with this country as long as he's there? No. Will the sanctions be removed as long

as there is this brutal treatment of his own people and violation of international law? No.

But I don't think we can retroactively go back and take a look and say, well, the world community was wrong or certainly the United States should have unilaterally taken action, when you look at what taking action means. I listen to the crowd around here saying, "Let sanctions work." Sanctions are still on. Saddam Hussein would still be in Kuwait if we adopted that policy. Sanctions are still on. And there's a lot of revisionistic thinking going on in the country, and I don't think that even given hindsight, that I would say we should have done something different because I don't know how you go about accomplishing that end.

Now, perhaps the retention of these sanctions, given the pounding he's taken and given the fact that people see how much of a liar he's been on these nuclear things, maybe that will facilitate change inside Iraq. He made a big mistake getting involved in trying to conceal capabilities for restoring, or gaining a nuclear bomb by restoring his nuclear capability. The world doesn't want this. The world sees it for what it is. And shooting over the heads of U.N. observers is a stupid thing to have done.

But I wish I could answer affirmatively, but I wouldn't answer affirmatively to your question unless I could also now, in retrospect, foresee what would have been different. Because what I foresee would have been marching into Baghdad, coalition forces getting sniped at and maybe not finding Saddam Hussein, and being bogged down in an urban guerrilla warfare.

And so, the critics now, some of whom opposed our entry as a coalition into the war, saying, "Well, you should have gone into Baghdad." And I say: Yes, and do what; how? And we ought to ask that because it isn't that easy. I'm very proud of the fact that we, when provoked—or put it this way, when the Kurds were brutalized and fled, the United States and France and Germany on the east and England, particularly, Canada, a lot of countries responded, did something. That's good; it's humanitarian. But to reconstruct it from the beginning

and to say, "Hey, you were wrong to get into this in the first place"—no, we were right. And to say, as some in this country have done, those who were my severest critics, some of them in the beginning, "Hey, you should have marched into Baghdad"—I don't see it. I don't think that General Schwarzkopf or General Powell sees it either. I'm not sure that our coalition force leaders would see it. Do I wish he were out of there? You bet, you bet.

*Mr. Fitzwater.* Mr. President, we only have a couple minutes left. Maybe a final round or question.

*The President.* Dealer's choice. Fire away.

*Q.* I have a very quick one and don't expect a direct answer. But for what's it worth, when will you start shooting or bombing if Hussein does not surrender the nuclear equipment to your satisfaction?

*The President.* Do what?

*Q.* When would you start taking military action, shooting or bombing or whatever—

*The President.* You're right in not expecting a direct answer. [*Laughter*]

*Q.* Can you talk about the context?

*The President.* No, I can't talk about anything other than to just say the options are open. I'm a great believer, as we think we established during the war, of international agreement on this. Never forget that the thing that was significant in all of the coalition activities was the fact that there was broad international agreement. It wasn't the superpower United States acting on its own. It was Canada in partnership; it was a lot of countries that aren't going to be sitting around at the G-7 in cooperation. So, I can't help you on anything of that nature, except to say we take it very, very seriously.

I'm told that there is some—quote—"good news"—unquote—coming out of Baghdad today. I haven't seen it, but wherein Saddam once again states that he will fully cooperate and have inspectors. Well, let's see whether that can work before we have to go further with options.

#### *Foreign Policy Objectives*

*Q.* Mr. President, against the revisionists that you quoted frequently today, how would you define the national interests of the United States?

*The President.* Define it overall?

*Q.* Overall.

*The President.* Peace and security.

*Q.* But they say the U.S. should not interfere, you have problems—

*The President.* I don't think many people say that. But one reason that U.S. participation, I think, was respected is because of the international implications from the United Nation's participation. And so, I think that helped. But look, we are thrilled with the moves toward democracy and freedom around the world. We were elated when the cold war ended and when Germany was unified, and when countries in Eastern Europe—you don't want to forget them, incidentally, as we go to this G-7 summit, the countries of Eastern Europe. You've got to remember that their success is terribly important to freedom-loving countries everywhere. They stepped out front. They're making reforms that none of us around this table would have predicted a couple of years ago. We have to have them succeed. But it's commitment to democracy and freedom, and it's a recognition that no country can do it all alone.

So, those are a couple of our objectives, I think.

*Mr. Fitzwater.* Thank you all very much.

*The President.* I hope I didn't filibuster too much and deny others the questions. Good to see you all. I thought I'd have been asked about the baseball game in Canada. [*Laughter*] You failed to get on the most important subject.

*Q.* Don't follow sports.

*The President.* You don't? Well, I do. My son's involved with the Texas Rangers. I'd like to note that, and they're in first place in the American League. That's very important. [*Laughter*]

Good to see you all. Good luck.

I can't tell you how much I'm looking forward to this. And it's not just the getting-out-of-Washington syndrome. I think we're going to, I hope we'll get some things accomplished. And I really look forward to seeing the leaders that I'm working with. I was on the phone to a lot of them, and I got kidded about that—maybe not kidded, needled about it, I guess, sometimes on telephone diplomacy. But I'm a firm believer

that contacts of the nature that we're going to have are important.

And what they guard against is what I talk about, about ships passing in the night. Got an agricultural problem with Japan; let's talk about it. Got a big reorganization or Baltic problem with the Soviets; let's talk about that. I can't change my position because Gorbachev might like me, and he damn sure isn't going to change his because I like him. But as I look around this table and I think of the leaders, I think a personal relationship can be extraordinarily helpful. And if you can't get agreement, so be it. But at least you've tried in an environment that has the best chance to succeed.

And that's why I do spend a lot of time on this personal side. That's why I called President Mitterrand and had contacted him to see if such a meeting would be useful, or Prime Minister Kaifu. I don't want to get credit because there is agreement on these things, but Brian—I mean, that we sit down and talk before these meetings and try to hammer out as many difficulties as possible. And that's what a lot of this is about.

Anyway, off we go. Thank you all very much.

*Note: The interview began at 11:16 a.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House.*

*The following journalists participated: Akio Nomura, Asahi Shimbun, Japan; Ian Brodie, Daily Telegraph, United Kingdom; John Saunders, Toronto Globe and Mail, Canada; Stephane Marchand, Le Figaro, France; Carola Kaps, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Germany; Alexander Papachelas, Kathimerini, Greece; Turan Yavuz, Milliyet, Turkey; Furio Columbo, La Stampa, Italy; and Vitaliy Gan, Pravda, Soviet Union.*

*In the interview, the following persons were referred to: Prime Minister Brian Mulroney of Canada; Prime Minister John Major of the United Kingdom; Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany; President Mikhail Gorbachev of the Soviet Union; Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh of the Soviet Union; Gen. Mikhail A. Moiseyev, Chief of the General Staff of the Soviet Union; Prime Minister Constantinos Mitsotakis of Greece; President Turgut Özal of Turkey; Hans Van den Broek, Vice Chairman of the European Community and Minister of Foreign Affairs for The Netherlands; President Boris Yeltsin of the Republic of Russia; President George Vassiliou of Cyprus; Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf, commander of the U.S. forces in the Persian Gulf; and Gen. Colin L. Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this interview.*

## Remarks Prior to a Meeting With the Advisory Commission on Regulatory Barriers to Affordable Housing July 8, 1991

Let me just thank all the members of this advisory committee and, particularly, our Secretary and Governor Kean and Lud Ashley. We've got a topflight Commission. Earlier on with the leadership of Secretary Kemp, we set a goal for the administration, one million new homeowners by the year 1992. Jack tells me that we've got a good start on that. I think it's some 650,000 new, and low- and moderate-income homeowners to date. And that's at a time when the economy hasn't been all the best for a lot of people out there.

But if we want to have affordable housing for all, and that's certainly our objective and goal, we've got to confront this problem of regulation and excessive redtape, the bureaucracy in times interfering. And these are obstacles that make it difficult to construct housing for low-income families. So, that's why our Secretary and this Commission have focused on the maze of bureaucratic barriers. And I'm very anxious to get a detailed report from everybody here about how it's going.

But again, I want to end by thanking you,

Governor, and Lud; of course, our Secretary and other key members of all this who devoted a lot of time to studying how we can make housing more affordable. It is a worthy national goal, and we've got to succeed. And I commend Jack and others at HUD on the start, but we recognize it's just the beginning.

So, thank you all for coming.

*Note: The President spoke at 1:38 p.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Thomas H. Kean, former Governor of New Jersey and chairman of the Commission, and Thomas L. Ashley, president of the Association of Bank Holding Companies. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

## Remarks at a Meeting of the American Defense Preparedness Association July 9, 1991

Thank you all very much for that warm welcome, ladies and gentlemen. And General Skibbie, thank you, sir, for that introduction. It's a pleasure to be your guest here. My thanks also to the chairman, Mac Cramer, and to all of you for coming. I would single out, except I can't see them, our three service Secretaries and Ambassador Cooper, who are all with us today. And I might say, all four of them are doing a superb job for our country, and I'm extraordinarily grateful to them.

I've seen some wonderful things just in the last few days around our country. Larry touched on it, referred to it a little bit, but last week Mt. Rushmore had its dedication; Americans celebrating their Nation and their fighting forces. And here in Washington, we enjoyed an incredible fireworks display last Thursday, a spectacle surpassed perhaps only by the red glare of those Patriot missiles over Israel and Saudi Arabia.

And I can tell you, maybe not as well as some of you could tell me, that the mood in this country is one of confidence, is one of renewed patriotism and pride, and nobody can take that away from the United States. It's out there, and it's strong. And a lot of it, of course, stems from the way our men and women performed in Desert Storm. And somebody touched elusively—the General did a little bit, or alluded to it, the Vietnam period. And let me just say that one of the beautiful things about what's happened out there is there is now a justifiable, long-overdue recognition and credit given to those

who served in Vietnam. And I can't tell you how much pride and pleasure I take out of that.

You may not realize it, this is a little-known fact, but today is the anniversary of Zachary Taylor's death. The poor guy has really suffered his share of indignities recently—[laughter]—digging him up. But I want to set the historical record straight about Zachary. I was told that his last words were, "Pass the broccoli." [Laughter] Not so. His last words were really, "I have endeavored to do my duty."

And what I've done here today is come to talk about our shared duty to maintain an effective national defense. The Senate, as everybody here knows, has started looking at our defense budget. And its deliberations could have a profound impact on our future national security.

Recognizing the changing international environment and taking into account domestic fiscal constraints, our administration has proposed a tough, lean defense budget, a proposal that consumes a smaller percentage of our gross national product than any defense budget since the Great Depression. Now, you don't have to have an accounting degree or a chest full of medals to understand that under present circumstances, every penny we spend on unnecessary defense items will come at the expense of defense muscle.

I know that budget cuts are going to hurt. They're going to hurt some right here in

this room, and I understand that. But we will have to set new priorities and focus on only our most important, absolutely vital programs. As President, I have a duty to serve the national interest, and our national interest demands a defense budget that guarantees our security at the lowest feasible cost.

And last August I announced plans to restructure our Armed Forces in light of the cold war's end and the emergence of a new kind of world. And I might say that that proposal was carefully thought out by the top people in the Pentagon, not only the Joint Chiefs but others, people in whom I have so much confidence. And that proposal recognized some fundamental facts: One, we don't have a blank check for defense; never have. We must live within our means.

Two, instabilities around the globe still threaten us, and many nations have acquired weapons of mass destruction. And when despots such as this Saddam Hussein combine modern weapons and ancient ambitions, they do threaten us all. And Saddam Hussein isn't the only despot around, nor, regrettably, will he be the last. And meanwhile, the Soviet Union remains a military superpower with an increasingly sophisticated war machine and a program to modernize, to modernize many of its weapons systems.

And three, we need the right kind of military. Our forces must have the strength here and abroad to discourage aggression, the mobility to meet unexpected challenges, and the flexibility to deal with everything from ICBM's to regional conflicts to a hostage crisis.

These considerations lie at the heart of our administration's defense proposals. And any defense bill that fails to incorporate them will get my veto.

With that in mind, let me talk about a few items that I consider absolutely crucial, beginning with the B-2 Stealth bomber. I've asked for 75 B-2 bombers, the most revolutionary military aircraft in our Nation's history. And when you hear certain members of Congress complain about the B-2's cost, remember that a single B-2 does the job of literally dozens of aircraft, tankers, escorts, suppression and surveillance

craft, and other bombers. And when people argue coyly that we only need a few B-2s because they're so technologically advanced, ask yourselves: Should we risk our security, the lives of our sons and daughters, and our national credibility just because some do not want to acknowledge the revolutionary advantage this weapon system will give the Nation? Should we enter the 21st century reliant upon a bomber designed in the forties and built in the fifties?

Now, the B-2 combines the range and payload of the B-52 with the advantages, the enormous advantages, the proven advantages, of Stealth technology. And in the end it offers deterrence—nuclear deterrence, conventional deterrence—deterrence all across the spectrum. Think about the costs; think about military operations; think about our long-range national security needs, and you'll conclude that we do, indeed, need two full wings of the B-2.

Some also seem reluctant to spend money protecting Americans from accidental or intentional ballistic missile attacks. We've asked Congress to support the GPALS system—that's Global Protection Against Limited Strikes. Anyone who thinks we will face threats more severe than the Scud missile—won't face them—are deluding themselves. If we want to protect ourselves and deter aggression, we have a responsibility to develop defense technologies such as "Brilliant Pebbles" that lie within our reach. This includes GPALS.

As we prepare for the future, we must also ask what kind of military force structure we need. Our Gulf experience reinforced the valuable role that the Reserves can play. And it also showed that we don't need the kind of Reserve components the House insists that we keep. The House defense bills would spend nearly \$12 billion over the next 5 years on unneeded Reserve positions and operations. This money would come, frankly, at the expense of programs that all our forces, Active and Reserve, will need.

We learned many things in the Gulf, many, many things, a number of which were anticipated in the defense speech that I gave last August 2d—ironically, if you think back, the very day Saddam invaded

Kuwait. And we learned that nations of the world can and will act collectively to deal with aggression. They'll try diplomacy first, as well we should and as well we did, and use military action only as a last resort. We learned that the United States alone—it's only the United States that can mobilize the international community and then lead it through such efforts. That leadership was not just coincidence or nice to have; it was a prerequisite for our collective success. And I salute those in our country that led.

We learned that high-tech weapons are not pricey, expensive toys, as critics have claimed for many years. They minimize civilian casualties, maximize damage to military targets, shorten wars, save lives—American lives; in this instance, coalition lives; and yes, even enemy lives. We must never forget any life unnecessarily lost is a tragedy, especially in times of war.

It would be a shame if so soon after this war we disregarded these lessons. And it would be a travesty to waste money on defenses that would not have helped us in the Gulf and won't help us meet our future challenges. As the Senate begins its deliberations, I urge it to pass a budget that defends people, not pork; that enables us to fight the next war, not the last one; that promotes national security, period.

Let me tell you now, if the Congress sends me a defense bill that is inadequate, that fails to fund needed programs and wastes money at the expense of defense muscle, no matter how big a bill, how urgent, I will veto it.

You see, we have tried, we have tried to restore proportion to Federal Government and use the office of the Presidency to make decisions that might seem too painful, understandably so, to Representatives or Senators. I understand where they're coming from. I was a Member of the United States Congress; I've served there, and I know the genuine pressure on Members of Congress to advance the interests of their home district or of their State.

Thirty years ago, in his valedictory address to the Nation, Dwight Eisenhower emphasized several themes that remain important today. "A vital element in keeping the peace is our military establishment," he said. "Our arms must be mighty, ready for

instant action, so that no potential aggressor may be tempted to risk his own destruction." And yet, Ike also cautioned that our efforts must serve national interests and national needs, not the narrow concerns of specific industries or interest groups.

A new world order demands a new set of defense priorities. And together, we can put those priorities into action. As attention turns toward the Senate now, I ask your help in creating a military strong enough to protect our interests, but lean enough to preserve public faith in Government.

I am delighted to have had this opportunity to express those who are knowledgeable in this field and who can be extraordinarily helpful in pursuing the ends I've outlined here. Thank you for all you do. Thank you for your continued efforts to keep America safe and strong.

Let me close on a matter not exactly related to our defense program. Yesterday I had an interview with some journalists. I'm fixing to go overseas on a rather prolonged trip, and we met with the journalists from many of the countries that I will be visiting. And one of the people asked the question to me about the war against Saddam Hussein. And the question was put: Well, given events since victory, do you think it was worthwhile? Do you think what you did as a country, not individually, but do you think what you did was worthwhile? I think that was the way the question was phrased. And I said: I have never been more convinced that what we did was worthwhile.

Some are moving the goalposts. Some are trying to redefine what the war was about. Was it instant democracy in Kuwait? Was it the total demise of Saddam Hussein? It wasn't these. An international coalition came together. We utilized the United Nations in a way that it's never been utilized, but perhaps its framers thought it would be utilized. And we decided that aggression would not stand.

And one of the reasons we were successful in proving to the world that aggression would not stand was because of the men and women in the Armed Forces and because we had the equipment, because we had the technology to make our words of warning count.

And I am absolutely convinced that this revisionistic theory, thinking that we're hearing around this town and other places is as wrong as it can be because, in my view, with the thanks of a fantastic military and the equipment and the people, we did something noble. We kicked aggression right out of Kuwait, and we said to the aggressor: The international community and international law won't stand for this kind of behavior in the future. And that was the message. It is relevant; it is strong. And that is why I am so determined that we have a defense budget and a defense capability in the future that will permit us, if ever called

upon, to make very clear to an aggressor, your aggression will not stand.

Thank you all very much. And may God bless our country.

*Note: The President spoke at 10:28 a.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the J.W. Marriott Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Lt. Gen. Lawrence Skibbie and Mac Cramer, president and chairman of the association; Donald B. Rice, Secretary of the Air Force; Michael P.W. Stone, Secretary of the Army; H. Lawrence Garrett III, Secretary of the Navy; and Henry F. Cooper, Director of the Strategic Defense Initiative Organization.*

## Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the National Medal of the Arts

July 9, 1991

Thank you all for coming to the White House. And I'm sure glad we're doing this indoors—[laughter]—instead of out. But may I salute Secretary Lujan, a member of our Cabinet; Mr. Frohnmayer, my dear friend who heads this arts effort and does it most effectively, I might say. Senator Hatch was to be—right back here, Orrin Hatch. And then, in front of him, Chairman, our distinguished Senator, Claiborne Pell. And Congressman Yates was coming, and he is modestly in the back row along with another Congressman, Ralph Regula there, but more than welcome, both champions of the arts, bringing good judgment and balance to the questions that concern us all. So, I salute them.

And let me just say how pleased we are to see here the members of the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities, so many corporate patrons without whom the arts would not flourish as much as they do, and then of course, especially today, the family and the friends of the honored recipients.

We're delighted to welcome you to this historic East Room. This afternoon we honor with the National Medal of the Arts a group of men and women whose creative efforts really do capture America's vigor

and spirit.

Our artists draw on inspirations and cultures from around the world, but then reinterpret them in distinctive ways, creative ways, American ways. And their passion and their genius and their courage add new dimension to our lives. They remind us of a truth expressed long ago by William Blake, who wrote: "Nations are destroyed or flourish in proportion as their poetry, painting, and music are destroyed or flourish."

And fortunately for us, art in America is alive and well. In all its forms, it captures the exhilarating feeling of being an American, daring everything, dreaming everything, reaching for everything. And more importantly, it inspires Americans to dare more, dream more, and reach further.

Today we honor several. The honorees express vital emotions and truths. Pearl Primus weaves together dance and anthropology, calls forth the joy and excitement and spiritual vigor of our African and Caribbean heritage. Pietro Belluschi's innovative architectural designs, they evoke the grandeur of this land, particularly the Pacific Northwest. His works evoke scenes as various as soaring mountain summits and quiet forest floors checkered by slanting sunbeams.

Roy Acuff keeps alive the undying tradition of authentic country music, and I confess, I love that music. And he has helped make country music—really he's the father of it, you might say. I don't want to date Roy, but the father, and really has made it what it is today, a music for all Americans, an art form that doesn't hold back one single thing. And it captures the joys and the aches and the frustrations that most of us feel, but few of us can express.

In a world where people too often try to reduce life's imponderables to black-and-white entries on a spreadsheet, our award winners provide color and depth and perspective.

Teacher and painter Richard Diebenkorn does not blink from the challenge of expressing himself as he sees fit. In his studio or his classroom, he teaches the importance, the necessity of personal integrity. Honi Coles, Charles "Honi" Coles' exuberant dance captures the sheer vitality and the joy of the American spirit. And it shows that you can't be fully American without breaking into a sweat and having fun from time to time.

We often talk of a new world characterized by competition and enterprise, but our kids will not enjoy full lives if they don't experience and appreciate art. A life without art is flat and dull and gray. And it contains none of the highs and lows that give meaning to daily affairs. Some of our honorees have devoted their careers to ensuring that all Americans enjoy the enriching influence of art.

Maurice Abravanel keeps symphony music popular by conducting and teaching. With his Santa Fe Opera, John Crosby gives young American singers the opportunity to train and perform here in their own country. And Isaac Stern—Barbara demanded to sit next to Isaac Stern—[laughter]—expresses the nobility that lies within us all with his heart and that magnificent violin. And just this year, in the middle of a threatened Scud missile attack in Tel Aviv, he

returned to the stage and continued playing. Isaac Stern does more than play an instrument; he inspires us with his virtuosity, his courage, and his commitment to humanity.

We also want to recognize benefactors who, through vision and steadfast commitment, keep art alive. American art thrives because of arts administrators like our own J. Carter Brown, who has molded the National Gallery into a museum really for the entire Nation. Volunteers enhance our arts, men and women like R. Philip Hanes, Jr., whose generous patronage has guided the regional and national growth of the arts council movement. It is unlikely, but Philip will not want to claim that he and I were classmates at college many years ago, but I claim it—proudly, as a matter of fact. [Laughter]

We owe a debt to passionate stewards of the arts such as the famed Kitty Carlisle Hart, a distinguished performer committed to making quality art available to all Americans. And artists can continue to develop and flourish, as I mentioned earlier, because of corporate sponsors like Texaco, which has set a standard in corporate philanthropy through its half-century of generous support for the arts.

As we honor these beacons of excellence, I'm reminded of something that President Kennedy once said: "In serving his vision, the artist best serves his nation." And you honorees have all served our Nation brilliantly. Thank you. Congratulations. It's a joy to have you here.

And now, I'd simply like to ask John Frohnmayer to assist me in presenting to you these symbols of our Nation's gratitude and high esteem.

*Note: The President spoke at 12:03 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his remarks he referred to John E. Frohnmayer, Chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts.*



## Remarks on Presenting Presidential Citations to Joe DiMaggio and Ted Williams

July 9, 1991

*The President.* Welcome to the Rose Garden. And may I salute, first of all, the Members of Congress that are down here, one of them former big-leaguer Jim Bunning, now a Congressman, who you may know. And probably you hit them over the fence off this guy. But nevertheless—[laughter]—welcome, all you fellows. And two Senators here and, of course, our commissioner, Fay Vincent, and especially to Joe DiMaggio and Ted Williams.

And before I get started I want to single out the LSU Tigers championship baseball team. We're proud of them. And I'm sorry that your coach couldn't be up here, Skip Bertman, because of surgery. But I just can't tell you how welcome you are here in the Rose Garden. I hope you'll have a good tour around Washington, DC. [Laughter]

Now, Sandra Bertman is here somewhere. Right there. Welcome, Sandra.

Well, this year that ball club—I don't know if you all know this—won 55 games to tie a university record. And they also played in their fifth college world series in the last 6 years. So, they're dominating college baseball. And it's most appropriate that we have so many members of the Louisiana congressional delegation here to honor them. Let me just ask the team to stand up so we can at least identify you guys. Welcome, welcome, welcome.

And now to the other honored guests, Number 5 and Number 9. Looking at these two greats, standing next to them, I have a confession. I didn't think that I'd get to meet royalty so soon after the Queen's visit. But nevertheless, here they are.

I don't want to reminisce too much, but I was 17 years old during their famous 1941 season, 50 years ago. And like many American kids in those days and today, I followed those box scores closely, watched the magnificent season unfurl. In those days I was, Joe, a Red Sox fan, and my brother, though, a Yankee fan. And 50 years later, that '41 season just remains a season of dreams.

Half a century ago, with much of the

world already at war, baseball staged one of its greatest seasons. Brooklyn won its first pennant in 21 years and clashed with its crosstown rival, the Yankees, in a memorable World Series. The Yanks took the series, but our guests, in their own ways, really carried the entire season.

Who, even now, does not marvel at the Splendid Splinter and the Yankee Clipper? These genuine heroes thrilled Americans with real deeds. Both on the scene loomed larger than life, on the baseball fields and then onto the battlefields. And both men put off their baseball careers to serve their countries. Their service deprived them, I think every baseball lover will tell you, of even greater statistics, but also enhanced their greatness in the eyes of their countrymen. Today, as we remember them, we honor them.

Next week, we'll witness the 50th anniversary of what many consider baseball's greatest feat, Joe DiMaggio's 56-game hitting streak. No one has gotten really close to that before or since. In a song of the era, "Joe, Joe DiMaggio, we want you on our side," well, I think everybody felt that way then and now. And this entire Nation did, that's for sure. Decades later, he was named baseball's greatest living ballplayer.

Like Joe, today's other guest displayed a special kind of magnetism on the baseball diamond. Ted Williams, people will tell you, has many sides. He's an ardent conservationist, an avid fisherman, a pilot who served in both World War II and Korea. And I'm going to ask him to help me with my press relations. Do you remember how all that used to work out there in baseball? But I can learn from him. He told it as it was.

But he is also, perhaps, the greatest hitter in baseball history. Fifty years ago, he did what no one has done since: He eclipsed .400 in the regular season. Most of you know how he finished off that campaign. Ending the season there was this doubleheader. Ted was hitting .3995, statistical

equivalent of .400, of an even .400. And to protect that average, his manager wanted him to sit it out. He refused. He went 6 for 8, and he finished at .406. That kind of courage and determination, frankly, made him one of our all-time greats.

Joe DiMaggio won the honors as the Most Valuable Player in '41. He batted .325 in his career and, amazingly, retired with almost as many home runs as strikeouts. And of course, throughout it all he displayed his famous grace and modesty that set such a great example for our country.

Ted won six batting titles. And in 1960, at 42, he retired as only a deity could. He stroked a home run, number 521, in his final at-bat.

We'll think of these men tonight as we watch the 62d All-Star Game in Toronto, Canada, and we'll remember, too. We'll remember how Joe played in 11 All-Star Games. We'll recall how 50 years ago this month, Ted gave the midsummer classic one of its most dramatic moments, a three-run ninth-inning wallop in Detroit that gave the American League a 7-5 victory.

As we leave for Toronto, just in a little bit, let me speak for the old guys here: May God bless these heroes of our youth. Again, my congratulations to LSU, the heroes of tomorrow in the pro leagues, I'm sure. We welcome you here. We welcome you for what you stand for as the NCAA champions over these past years. And we're very grateful to have you here.

And so, let me leave you with no further ado before embarrassing Ted and Joe to say

a word, if they will. Play ball. It's all yours, Ted.

*Mr. Williams.* I've always realized what a lucky guy I've been in my life. I was born in America. I was a marine and served my country, and I'm very, very proud of that. I got to play baseball and had a chance to hit. I owe so very, very much to this game that I love so much. I want to thank you, Mr. President. I think you're doing a tremendous job. And I want you to know you're looking at one of the greatest supporters you'll ever have. Thank you.

*The President.* Joe, you have the last word—

*Mr. DiMaggio.* Thank you, Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen. I'm honored. Thank you so much. And to you LSU players out there, congratulations on your championship. I know the feeling. I've been in one or two myself. It's nice to be here with you. And thank you again.

*The President.* And now may I ask Major Bonwit to read the citations, please.

[At this point, Maj. David Bonwit, Marine Corps Aide to the President, read the citations.]

*The President.* Thank you all for coming. Thank you all for coming to the White House.

*Note: The President spoke at 2:04 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to baseball commissioner Fay Vincent and retired players Ted Williams, the Splendid Splinter, and Joe DiMaggio, the Yankee Clipper.*

## The President's News Conference With Prime Minister Brian Mulroney of Canada in Toronto July 9, 1991

*The Prime Minister.* I'm delighted to welcome the President and his party to Canada. We've had an opportunity for a very good review of the situation before the baseball game, in particular, the situation as it relates to the G-7 summit upcoming in London next week. I think that the Ameri-

can and the Canadian positions are, in many areas, very compatible.

As far as Canada is concerned, we don't expect either blank checks or miracles in London, but we expect President Gorbachev to arrive with a very serious plan to fundamentally reform the economy of the

Soviet Union. And if that takes place, my expectation is that there will be a positive and constructive response from the members of the G-7.

I believe that's, by and large, the position of most of the leaders with whom I've chatted so far. And the President can tell you about his own expectations. But we had the chance to touch on this, the situation in Iraq, some bilateral matters where we have a very good bilateral relationship.

And so, I thank the President for his visit, and I look forward to the ball game a little later on.

Mr. President.

*The President. Merci, Monsieur le President.* I have nothing to add to what the Prime Minister said about the expectations for the G-7 meeting. But I will say this, that once again I have found in the Prime Minister a man whose judgment I value on these matters. I think on Canada-U.S., the relationship is very, very good, the bilateral relationship. And as we had this *tour d'horizon*, we discovered that we were looking eye-to-eye at most, if not all, of these international matters.

So, it's a pleasure to be here. This is a night for baseball, but I, too, will be glad to respond to several questions.

#### *South Africa*

[At this point, a question was asked and answered in French.]

*The Prime Minister.* The question, Mr. President, was in regard to your response on sanctions, on South Africa. I indicated that Canada was part of the Commonwealth on sanctions, that we were going to stick to the sanctions until our common-front partners felt that we had met all the criteria, but that in the case of the United States, you were guided by criteria from Congress and that you would be responding to that in your own time.

*The President.* Well, let me simply add to that that, yes, the American law is clear. And when the conditions set out by Congress were met, the President will lift the sanctions. It's not a question of exercising a lot of judgment; it's a question of determining whether these five conditions have been met. And we are getting very close to

making a final decision, and I will make it in accordance with U.S. law. It is different than the Commonwealth arrangements that Prime Minister Mulroney referred to.

*Q.* Mr. President, I understand your interpretation of the law, but what do you say to the argument that black South Africans really won't be free of apartheid until there's a new constitution and they get the right to vote? And why not keep that pressure of sanctions on until South Africa goes over the top, so to speak?

*The President.* My view is, when the five conditions have been met, that it will be better for all South Africans to keep the process of reform moving forward. I think it will benefit their economy, and I think that will mean more jobs for blacks. I've never been enthusiastic about sanctions in the first place, if you want to know the truth. But I think that de Klerk has done things that none of us would have dreamed possible in effecting and moving towards change and freedom and moving towards the ultimate, total elimination of apartheid.

And our law is clear. And I plan to not seek some way out of it, but I plan to enforce it. And I'll do it very cheerfully because that is my view.

*Q.* Are you confident that South Africa will go that final step?

*The President.* I'm confident that as long as we don't slap President de Klerk in the face after he achieves what we set out as goals and we do what we should do, I think that will encourage further development and further fairness and further elimination of racial barriers that are offensive to everybody.

*Q.* Apart from the different criteria that you've outlined in each country for the lifting of sanctions, would you say, in President Bush's words, that you see eye-to-eye on this matter as you do on other international matters? And is the sanctions question, whether sanctions should be lifted by Commonwealth nations, in any way linked to your own plans to visit that country in the fall?

*The Prime Minister.* No. We've had a disagreement with the American administration going back to the days when the President was the Vice President. Canada firmly

believed that sanctions were the only way to go in terms of bringing a racist regime to its knees and bringing about the necessary changes, which is why we were in the forefront of the design and the application of the sanctions package in 1984-85.

Now, we always recognized that the American administration could quite properly take another course of action, which it did. We have implemented our sanctions pursuant to a series of criteria which once met, we will change. We don't believe they have been met, and until we meet with the Commonwealth foreign ministers in the near future, we won't make that decision. But we recognize there's another school of thought in regard—there's no difference on the objective being sought. The objective being sought by President Bush and myself was always the elimination of apartheid. And there was no question about that. It was just the way of getting there.

But I think that we both recognize that President de Klerk has made some remarkable strides forward, and that has to be recognized and acknowledged and, indeed, applauded.

*The President.* It's very interesting—if I might, with your permission, sir—it's very interesting that in the United States, some of those Senators who were in the forefront of putting into effect the sanctions laws are now saying it would be a mistake to continue the sanctions, provided these five conditions are met. For example, one of the most respected U.S. Senators is Senator Lugar of Indiana, and I know he was, early on, a strong advocate. But he also was in the forefront on the enactment or the creating of these laws that govern what the President does. And he, I think, has said as recently as today that it would be appropriate if these sanctions are lifted in accordance with the law.

And so, I look at it, hey, I'm there to execute—they made the laws, and I'm there to faithfully execute and fulfill my obligations as President under the law.

*Q.* Today the IOC [International Olympic Committee] made a decision to allow South African athletes into the '92 Olympics. I'm wondering if this is going to change Canada's policy on not allowing Canadian athletes to participate in the same event as

South African athletes.

*The Prime Minister.* There will be no change in our policy whatsoever. We devised our policies in conjunction with our fellow members of the Commonwealth some 5 or 6 years ago. We have executed them in tandem with all the members of the Commonwealth but one. And there will be no change in our policy until we have an opportunity to get together with our colleagues in the Commonwealth in the late summer.

*Q.* Does this mean that Canadian athletes then will not be sponsored to go to the Olympics?

*The Prime Minister.* Well, it means exactly what I said. There will be a meeting in the late summer or early autumn, and we'll try and deal with the matter then.

#### *Soviet Union*

*Q.* Mr. President, will Mr. Bessmertnykh and the rest of the team that President Gorbachev is sending to Washington find any willingness to give on the American position? And secondly, if these START talks are wrapped up this weekend, will that affect our posture, the G-7 posture towards aid to the Soviets?

*The President.* No, I don't think anything that's decided regarding START will have any effect on the thinking of the United States or these other countries. I think, as the Prime Minister very eloquently stated, we are in very close agreement as to what should happen. We were going to welcome Mr. Gorbachev there. I think it's a very good thing he's coming. But I wouldn't think that if there is a START agreement, that that would change for other countries this broad formulation we're talking about.

Now, in terms of the summit, I want to have a summit with President Gorbachev. I think it's a good thing. I did talk to my dear friend Brian Mulroney today about subjects that all of us need to talk to the Soviets about. You can't do it in 1 hour at lunch in London or with 18,000 observers in a multifaceted meeting in London. There are a lot of things we need to talk about.

But one of the criteria for having a summit has been, on both sides, a solution to the START question, as you know. And

so, what we're going to do is to sit down with Moiseyev and Bessmertnykh, who have come in response to an appeal I made to President Gorbachev—and I thank him for that—to see if we can't iron out a couple of major technical problems with START and then a few other smaller problems.

But I don't want to overstate my anticipation on this because I'm not that sure we can hammer it out before I see Mr. Gorbachev for our bilateral meeting in London at all. I think that the very fact they are here is responding to one thing that I felt strongly about, is that we need to make clear to the Soviets that we are activating our bureaucracy in every way possible. And I think this is a very good sign on his part that he is willing. Secretary Cheney had plans that we were enthusiastic about, getting the poor guy a day or two of rest. He's turned around to come back to Washington. And we have demonstrated in every way we can how important we think these talks are.

But I don't want to raise the hopes of a lot of people in the United States and in other countries that want to see a START agreement. We'll wait and see. I don't know what's going to happen in these talks. But I think we've given and given, and I hope the Soviets understand that. And we've got to get in a deal that not only are we enthusiastic about but one that can get through the Congress. So, I'll leave it right there.

*Q.* They won't find any more give in our position?

*The President.* I'm just not saying. When you go into a card game you don't—into a negotiating session you don't say, "Hey, by the way, we want to compromise on points a, b, d, or e." I mean, we'll sit down and talk to them. And we have given, and we have taken, I hope, a little bit, gotten a little bit of flexibility on their part. And that's the way this negotiation will be approached.

*Q.* The Prime Minister, in giving an account of your discussions on the future of President Gorbachev, referred to his chances of both political and economic survival. Do you, both of you, have any doubts of conscience about the chances of political or economic survival of Gorbachev?

*The President.* In the first place, I think

that's a matter for the internal affairs of the Soviet Union to determine who's going to be in control there. I think when Mr. Yeltsin won that landslide victory and then came, at least speaking for the United States, came to the United States and spoke of new cooperation with Gorbachev, that was a good thing. As I look at the situation, I think that is very much of a reassurance, if you will, that President Gorbachev will be around as President of the Soviet Union.

And so we, for the United States, do not anticipate his demise in any way. And yet these matters, the final determination, obviously should be for the people of the Soviet Union to determine.

*The Prime Minister.* On that, when you have a country larger than the United States, with a population base larger than the United States, whose GNP is between 30 and 35, 40 percent, perhaps, max, of that of the United States, you have a country in very serious trouble. Everybody knows that. Mr. Gorbachev happens to be President of that country, whose system brought about the downfall of the economy.

He is coming to London, in our judgment, the judgment of Canada, as a man who has demonstrated great leadership instincts and great leadership examples. His reaching out to the United States and reciprocal responses has been very constructive and very helpful internationally. But he's got very serious problems that can only be addressed by fundamental reforms in his economy. And I suppose all we're saying in regard to the economic survival is that, indeed, unless there are strong moves towards a market economy within timeframes, it's doubtful whether he can get it all done in a required period of time.

So, the response to him, I think, from all of us will be constructive and helpful. He has more than proven his worth as a very impressive leader. But on this, we're all from Missouri, and we've all got to be shown before—as I indicated elsewhere, we're not going to throw good money after bad. We want to help, but we want to do it in a very constructive and appropriate way. And I think that's the general attitude of most of the G-7 leaders.

Thank you. *Merci beaucoup.*

*The President. Merci beaucoup. Un grand plaisir. Je pratique mon français.* [Thank you very much. A great pleasure. I am practicing my French.] How do you say "next time"?

*The Prime Minister. La prochaine fois.* [Laughter]

*The President. La prochaine fois, je serai parfait en français.* [Next time, I will be perfect in French.] [Laughter]

Q. Are you preparing for your Presidential visit—

*The President.* I'm thinking about going to London.

*Note: The President's 87th news conference began at 7:18 p.m. in the indoor batting tunnel of the Skydome. In the news conference, he referred to State President F.W. de Klerk of South Africa. The President and the Prime Minister later attended the baseball All-Star Game played at the Skydome. Following the game, the President returned to Washington, DC.*

## Message to the Senate Transmitting the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe July 9, 1991

*To the Senate of the United States:*

I transmit herewith, for the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE). The Treaty includes the following documents, which are integral parts thereof: the Protocol on Existing Types (with an Annex thereto), the Protocol on Aircraft Reclassification, the Protocol on Reduction, the Protocol on Helicopter Recategorization, the Protocol on Information Exchange (with an Annex on Format), the Protocol on Inspection, the Protocol on the Joint Consultative Group, and the Protocol on Provisional Application. The Treaty, together with the Protocols, was signed at Paris on November 19, 1990. I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the Report of the Department of State on the Treaty.

In addition, I transmit herewith, for the information of the Senate, six documents associated with, but not part of, the Treaty that are relevant to the Senate's consideration of the Treaty: Statement by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, dated June 14, 1991; Statement by the Government of the United States of America, dated June 14, 1991, responding to the Statement by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Statements identical in content were made by the 20 other signatory states on the same date. Copies of these Statements are also

transmitted.); Declaration by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany on the Personnel Strength of German Armed Forces, dated November 19, 1990; Declaration of the States Parties to the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe With Respect to Personnel Strength, dated November 19, 1990; Declaration of the States Parties to the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe With Respect to Land-Based Naval Aircraft, dated November 19, 1990; and Statement by the Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the Joint Consultative Group, dated June 14, 1991. The first two Statements are legally binding and constitute a separate international agreement, while the latter four documents represent political commitments.

The CFE Treaty is the most ambitious arms control agreement ever concluded. The complexities of negotiating a treaty involving 22 nations and tens of thousands of armaments spread over an area of more than two and a half million square miles were immense. Difficult technical issues such as definitions, counting rules, methods for destroying reduced equipment, and inspection rights were painstakingly negotiated.

The Treaty is the first conventional arms control agreement since World War II. It marks the first time in history that Europe-

an nations, together with the United States and Canada, have agreed to reduce and numerically limit their land-based conventional military equipment, especially equipment necessary to conduct offensive operations. Significantly, the reductions will eliminate the overwhelming Soviet numerical advantage in conventional armaments that has existed in Europe for more than 40 years. The Treaty's limits enhance stability by ending force disparities, and they limit the capability for launching surprise attack and initiating large-scale offensive action in Europe.

The Treaty contains a wide-ranging verification regime. Under this regime, in which intrusive on-site inspection complements national technical means to monitor compliance, ground and air forces of the participating states in the area of application of the Treaty will be subject to inspection, either at declared sites or with challenge inspections. The Treaty also provides for a detailed information exchange on the command organization of each participating state's land, air, and air defense forces as well as information about the number and location of each participating state's military equipment, subject to the limitations and other provisions of the Treaty. This information will be updated periodically and as significant changes to such data and reductions of equipment take place.

The military equipment to be reduced and limited consists of battle tanks, armored combat vehicles, artillery, attack helicopters, and combat aircraft in service with the conventional armed forces of the States Parties in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. Inclusion of the Baltic military district within the area of application of the Treaty ensures that the Treaty's limits apply comprehensively to all Soviet forces within the area. This does not represent any change in the long-standing U.S. policy of nonrecognition of the forcible incorporation of the Baltic States into the Soviet Union. At the conclusion of the 40-month reduction period, the numerical limits on this

equipment in the area of application for each group of participating states will be as follows: 20,000 battle tanks, 30,000 armored combat vehicles, 20,000 pieces of artillery, 2,000 attack helicopters, and 6,800 combat aircraft. All military equipment subject to and in excess of these limits that was in the area of application at the time of Treaty signature or entry into force (whichever amount is greater) must be destroyed or, within specified limits, converted to non-military or other purposes. Subceilings are established for specific geographical zones within the area of application, the purpose of these being to thin out forces on the central front while forestalling buildups in the flank areas. Under the so-called "sufficiency rule" of the Treaty, no State Party may hold more than approximately one-third of the total amount of equipment in these five categories permitted within the area of application as a whole.

Above and beyond eliminating force disparities and limiting the capability for launching large-scale offensive action, the CFE Treaty will be of major importance in laying the indispensable foundation for the post-Cold War security architecture in Europe. Only with this foundation in place can we move from a European security order based on confrontation to one based on cooperation.

I believe that the CFE Treaty is in the best interests of the United States and represents an important step in defining the new security regime in Europe. It achieves unprecedented arms reductions that strengthen U.S., Canadian, and European security. Therefore, I urge the Senate to give early and favorable consideration to the Treaty and its related Protocols and Annexes, and to give advice and consent to its ratification.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
July 9, 1991.

## Message to the Congress Transmitting a Report on Federal Petroleum and Natural Gas Conservation

July 9, 1991

*To the Congress of the United States:*

As required by section 403(c) of the Powerplant and Industrial Fuel Use Act of 1978, as amended (42 U.S.C. 8373(c)), I hereby transmit the twelfth annual report describing Federal actions with respect to the conservation and use of petroleum and natural

gas in Federal facilities, which covers calendar year 1990.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
July 9, 1991.

## Message to the Congress Reporting on the Economic Sanctions Against Libya

July 9, 1991

*To the Congress of the United States:*

1. I hereby report to the Congress on the developments since my last report of January 11, 1991, concerning the national emergency with respect to Libya that was declared in Executive Order No. 12543 of January 7, 1986. This report is submitted pursuant to section 401(c) of the National Emergencies Act, 50 U.S.C. 1641(c); section 204(c) of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act ("IEEPA"), 50 U.S.C. 1703(c); and section 505(c) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1985, 22 U.S.C. 2349aa-9(c).

2. Since my last report on January 11, 1991, the Libyan Sanctions Regulations (the "Regulations") 31 C.F.R. Part 550, administered by the Office of Foreign Assets Control ("FAC") of the Department of the Treasury, have been amended. This amendment, published on May 6, 1991, 56 FR 20541, adds an appendix to the Regulations containing a list of organizations determined to be within the term "Government of Libya" (Specially Designated Nationals of Libya). A copy of this amendment is attached. Since January 11, 1991, there have been no amendments or changes to orders of the Department of Commerce or the Department of Transportation implementing aspects of Executive Order No. 12543 relating to exports from the United States and air transportation, respectively.

3. During the current 6-month period, FAC made 15 decisions with respect to applications for licenses to engage in transactions under the Regulations, as well as 4 amendments to previously issued licenses. Several of these licenses were issued to former employees of the People's Committee for Students of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, also known as the PCLS, to permit them to engage in court actions against the PCLS to recover salary, severance pay, and other unpaid benefits.

4. Various enforcement actions mentioned in previous reports continue to be pursued, and investigations of possible violations of the Libyan sanctions were initiated. The recent amendment to the Regulations listing organizations determined to be Specially Designated Nationals ("SDNs") of Libya publicly identifies organizations located outside Libya that have been determined by FAC to be owned or controlled by, or acting on behalf of, the Government of Libya. For purposes of the Regulations, all dealings with the organizations listed will be considered dealings with the Government of Libya. All unlicensed transactions with these persons, or in property in which they have an interest, are prohibited. The initial listing of 48 Libyan SDNs is not intended as a static list, but will be augmented from time to time as additional or-



ganizations or individuals owned or controlled by, or acting on behalf of, the Government of Libya are identified.

5. The expenses incurred by the Federal Government in the 6-month period from December 15, 1990, through June 14, 1991, that are directly attributable to the exercise of powers and authorities conferred by the declaration of the Libyan national emergency are estimated at \$254,700. Personnel costs were largely centered in the Department of the Treasury (particularly in the Office of Foreign Assets Control, the Office of the General Counsel, and the U.S. Customs Service), the Department of State, and the Department of Commerce.

6. The policies and actions of the Govern-

ment of Libya, such as support for terrorism and international destabilization and the pursuit of offensive weapons systems, particularly chemical weapons, continue to pose an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States. I shall continue to exercise the powers at my disposal to apply economic sanctions against Libya as long as those measures are appropriate, and will continue to report periodically to the Congress on significant developments as required by law.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
July 9, 1991.

## Message to the Senate Transmitting the Convention for a North Pacific Marine Science Organization

July 9, 1991

*To the Senate of the United States:*

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Convention for a North Pacific Marine Science Organization (PICES), which was done at Ottawa on December 12, 1990, and signed by the United States on May 28, 1991. I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report by the Department of State with respect to the Convention.

I believe that the new organization to be created by the Convention will contribute significantly to understanding the role of the ocean in global change as well as address other pressing scientific problems in the northern North Pacific Ocean region. Since understanding global change is one of my highest scientific priorities, I believe that it is very important that the United States ratify the Convention in time to participate formally in the initial work of the organization.

PICES would advance scientific knowledge of the region's interactions between the ocean, atmosphere, and land, their role in and response to global weather and climate change, impacts on flora, fauna, eco-

systems, and their uses, and responses to human activities, filling the current need for such coordination and cooperation in scientific research in the region. This may include:

- regional aspects of some global change research;
- research on living resources and their ecosystems, broader than traditional fisheries research, resulting in a sound scientific basis for taking living resource management decisions (although PICES itself would not deal with management);
- research on pollution and environmental quality; and
- other research that requires broad coordination and an interdisciplinary approach, including identification of pressing research problems and planning research programs, developing and coordinating multinational research projects, promoting exchange of scientific data and information, and organizing scientific workshops and symposia.

Canada, the People's Republic of China,

Japan, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the United States cooperated in the development of the Convention, which will enter into force following ratification, acceptance, or approval by three of the possible five signatory States. It is anticipated that the Convention will enter into force before the end of 1992. A few non-signatory nations are expected to accede to the Con-

vention after it has entered into force.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Convention and give its advice and consent to ratification.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
July 9, 1991.

## Memorandum on the Combined Federal Campaign

*July 9, 1991*

### *Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies*

This has been a special year for all Americans. We have experienced a coming together, a rebirth of patriotism and service to the Nation. Whether speaking of Desert Storm or the Thousand Points of Light, I am reminded daily that Federal employees have been in the forefront making magnificent contributions. In this regard, the Combined Federal Campaign is an avenue through which thousands of Federal employees voluntarily express their concern for others. It is also very gratifying and rewarding for those of us in top-level positions to be a part of this important and purposeful endeavor by taking on leadership roles in the Combined Federal Campaign.

I am delighted to tell you that Secretary

of Labor Lynn Martin and Martin L. Allday, Chairman, Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, have agreed to serve as co-chairs of the 1991 Combined Federal Campaign of the National Capital Area. I am asking that you support Secretary Martin and Chairman Allday by personally serving as chairman of the campaign in your agency and appointing a top official as your vice chairman.

Your commitment and visible support will help to guarantee a successful campaign this year. Together, we must do everything we can to encourage Federal employees everywhere to do their part in support of the 1991 Combined Federal Campaign.

GEORGE BUSH

## The President's News Conference

*July 10, 1991*

*The President.* Let me begin with a statement, and then I will take a few questions.

First, let me state that apartheid must be eliminated. We've worked with the nations of the world to bring an end to this system of racial prejudice by every means possible. Political and economic pressure had been brought against the Government of South Africa by the United States and by other nations for the last several years. Progress has been slow and often painful. But

progress has definitely been made.

During the last 2 years, we've seen a profound transformation in the situation in South Africa. Since coming to office in 1989, President de Klerk has repealed the legislative pillars of apartheid and opened up the political arena to prepare the way for constitutional negotiations. As I've said on several occasions, I really firmly believe that this progress is irreversible.

Much remains to be done; let's be very

clear on that point. But I've been impressed with the commitment by President de Klerk, by Nelson Mandela, by Chief Buthelezi and many others to continue to build a constitutional democracy in South Africa. We will use all available means to encourage this process through to its successful conclusion.

The Congress anticipated this situation in what is known as the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, which placed economic sanctions against South Africa. That law anticipated the benefit of lifting these sanctions as a means of encouraging the Government of South Africa and the people of South Africa to continue the progress that has been made in eliminating apartheid.

I have today just signed and issued an Executive order terminating the sanctions against South Africa. And in doing so, based on a recommendation from Secretary Baker, I have determined that the South African Government has met all five of the conditions for these sanctions to end as set forth very clearly in the act.

And other measures, sanctions, including the arms embargo and restrictions on our ability to support South Africa at the IMF, are unaffected. These other sanctions remain in effect.

This morning I talked just now to Nelson Mandela, a fairly long talk with him, to tell him personally of the commitment by the people of the United States to support equality in South Africa. I told him of my personal belief that lifting the sanctions at this time is the right thing to do in order to encourage continued change in his country, to help provide a more stable and dynamic economy in which the blacks of South Africa can participate.

Tomorrow I intend to call President de Klerk to indicate to him that we expect the progress he has made so far to continue. Incidentally, on the Mandela call, we've been in reasonably frequent touch, and I told him that certainly that consultation will certainly continue. And he seemed to be understanding and pleased about that.

The peaceful transition to the new South Africa will not occur in a vacuum. South Africa must achieve full economic health through a strong rate of growth if it is to

meet the expectations of all South Africans for a better life. The end of sanctions on trade and investment will encourage this process. And we hope that State and local governments and private institutions in the United States will take note of our action and act accordingly to help build a new South Africa, to help build employment opportunity in South Africa.

And so, my appeal here and my appeal at this G-7 meeting that I'm fixing to go to will be that we all must help now. And I'm therefore directing that our assistance to black South Africans be doubled from its present level of \$40 million, and these funds will be used to expand our efforts to prepare black South Africans to participate fully in the revitalization of their economy and to help meet the most pressing needs of blacks in the areas of housing and education.

This is a moment in history which many believed would never be attained. But we've done so through the efforts of many people in South Africa and around the world. And in that sense, this is a time for reflection and it's also a time when all who care about the future of South Africa, as I do, should rededicate themselves to stay the course in the interest of peace and democracy. There has been dramatic change. The law says when the five conditions are met the sanctions will come off. I've signed that today. But all is not totally well there, and we will continue to be actively involved, as actively involved as we can be.

So, that is my statement, and now I'll refer to Tom Raum [Associated Press] for the first question.

#### *South Africa*

*Q.* Mr. President, do you have any concerns or reservations that in moving now to remove the sanctions you might actually have the effect of undermining some of the progress that has been made rather than helping?

*The President.* I had no flexibility in considering that, but my view is we will not be undermining the progress. Sometimes one wants to recognize the changes, the very constructive changes, that have taken place and then see what the next step is. And in

my view, the mandate by Congress is a proper one. And I think now that our role should be encouraging consultation between the parties, all of them, be it Buthe-lezi, Mandela, de Klerk, to see that the progress made can be built upon. So, I don't have any thoughts like that at all.

*Q.* May I follow up, sir? What do you say to groups like the NAACP and Amnesty International, and even House Speaker Tom Foley, that all the five conditions have not been met and there are, in fact, still political prisoners in South Africa?

*The President.* I say to him—well, as a matter of fact, under our definition, there are not. Mr. Mandela pointed out to me that under different definitions of the prisoner, what can constitute a prisoner, there may be people that are prisoner. Under the way the Congress defined prisoner—and I'm going to refer these technical questions to Secretary Cohen, who has done a fantastic job on all of this—we are complying fully. But in terms of how I respond to critics on this, I say, look, one, we're complying with the law you people wrote, and secondly, I happen to think it's the right thing to do. I believe that this will result in more progress towards racial equity instead of less and certainly in more economic opportunity rather than less. So the time has come to do it.

*Q.* Mr. President, are you willing now to acknowledge that you were wrong on the question of sanctions—

*The President.* No.

*Q.* —which you opposed? And you seem to think that they're pretty good for Iran and Iraq.

*The President.* The answer is no.

*Q.* You think none of this progress came as a result of our tightening the screws?

*The President.* Well, I can't say that, no. In fairness, I can't say that none came as a result of that. But I think what really turned the difference is when South Africa came in with a new regime and they decided to move forward. But I don't think it was strictly because they wanted to get rid of two sanctions while others remain.

*Q.* Well, it wasn't a question, it was a mammoth change in the whole society.

*The President.* No question. No question about it. But you're saying, do I credit sanc-

tions totally, and the answer is no.

*Q.* I didn't say totally.

*The President.* Well, I did. [Laughter]

#### *Supreme Court Nominee*

*Q.* Mr. President, Senator Mitchell said a couple of days ago that he thought that you believed in quotas for everyone but yourself and everyone but Supreme Court nominations; he was referring to your nomination of Judge Thomas to the Supreme Court. And his remark seems to reflect some widespread disbelief that Judge Thomas's race had nothing to do with his choice. And I wondered if you might take another crack at that question, sir.

*The President.* I was trying to think if Senator Mitchell—where he was when Lyndon Johnson put Marshall on the Court. I can't remember whether he accused Lyndon Johnson of a quota. I don't think he was in Congress then, but it would be interesting to go back and look at it in history. I don't think he said it was a quota. In my view, this isn't a quota appointment. I said up there in Maine, and I still feel, I feel more strongly than ever, that it is the right thing at the right time, to use an expression that Lyndon himself used.

And so, we're taking on some water on this, a few shots. But I have an innate confidence that this man will be confirmed. And the reason he will be is that he deserves to be confirmed. I don't want to take too much time on this answer, but out there when I mentioned this in Missouri the other day, on the Fourth of July, there was a unanimous response from the people in terms of support—Missouri—support for this man. So, I think it will be well-received, is well-received.

*Q.* Well, quota or not, sir, can you really say that his race had nothing to do with the selection?

*The President.* I think I indicated up in Maine that so much the better. But I'm not going to say it's a quota appointment. I don't believe that one seat should be assigned to one group of any kind.

#### *Federal Reserve Board Chairman*

*Q.* Mr. President, I'd like to ask about another appointment. Do you plan to nomi-

nate Alan Greenspan for a second term as Chairman of the Fed?

*The President.* I have a very high regard for him. And I want to announce a decision on that very soon.

*Q.* When will that be coming, sir?

*The President.* Can't help you on the exact timing. I've got a very busy schedule—please, terribly busy. [Laughter] I'm trying to go to Europe, and we're canceling all kinds of—really, it is hectic around here. But it is a key—it's a jungle out there—it is a very important appointment. And I think some of these stories, these understandable kind of couch-analysis stories on what we're doing about Alan Greenspan is ridiculous. I've expressed a high regard for him before; I'll express a high regard for him here. The thing doesn't come up until mid-August, I believe. Because there's been some kind of ugly speculation, I'd like to move very soon on it. But you do have an influence on timing things, not you but everybody out there.

*Central Intelligence Agency Director Nominee*

*Q.* On another appointment, Mr. Gates for the CIA. According to the testimony yesterday from Mr. Fiers, both Casey and Gates' subordinate apparently, Clair George, apparently did know about the Iran-*contra* affair before Mr. Gates acknowledges that he knew. Does this new information give you any pause at all, and do you think that it may imperil his nomination?

*The President.* Absolutely none. Absolutely none. It gives me a chance to reaffirm fully, totally, my complete support for this outstanding individual who will be confirmed and who will be a great Director of Central Intelligence. So, it really hasn't—and all I've seen about it was some reports in, I think it was, today's paper. But I didn't see anything in just reading the paper that would lessen my confidence in Gates or in any way implicate Gates in something that was not right.

*Q.* Did you discuss it specifically with him, what transpired?

*The President.* With Bob? Well, only this morning to say, "Hey, you're my man. I'm all for you, and don't let them get you down." Because he's good. And he'll be out-

standing to be the Director of Central Intelligence.

*Civil Rights*

*Q.* Sir, whether you're right or wrong, are you concerned what blacks and other minorities may think about some of your recent decisions as a trend?

*The President.* Yes.

*Q.* You're lifting sanctions on South Africa; you've chosen a Supreme Court nominee who, although black himself, is unpopular among a lot of civil rights organizations; and you've got a Senator in your own party, John Danforth, who says this White House, Mr. Sununu in particular, is too rigid on a civil rights compromise. If you were a black or a member of a minority, wouldn't you think that George Bush is getting away from Lee Atwater's idea of reaching out to blacks?

*The President.* Yes, I'll be honest with you, I would. Because if I believed everything you cited, I would be concerned about that. But I think that we will prevail. Frankly, I think Clarence Thomas' appointment will be well-received in the black community. You put it, I think, John [John Cochran, NBC News], in terms of how do some of these big organizations that think they speak for all blacks feel. And yes, there have been some concerns, and yes, I'd be concerned if constant criticism eroded what I feel is a commitment to civil rights here. But I think as you put down the appointment of an outstanding black to the Court and say that civil rights groups don't like it is something that shows we're not for civil rights, I'm very sorry, I would vehemently disagree with that.

In terms of a civil rights bill, if they want to pass one, pass mine. Pass mine, now. And it moves against discrimination in the workplace. And you don't hear anything about it because others want to do something that we can't accept. And I've repeated over and over again what the problem is. But it's a good civil rights bill, and if you can't—I'd say to some of these critics out there, if you can't take 100 steps, take 85, 89, and then let's go back and reason together and try to get the rest done.

What was the other point?

Q. Well, let's see—[laughter].

*The President.* Clarence Thomas.

Q. South African sanctions.

*The President.* South African sanctions. No, I think that will go over well. I think the Congress laid down the law. I am implementing the law.

But your question was a different one. Your question is, "Do you get concerned?"

Q. The perception.

*The President.* Yes, the perception. And, yes, I am concerned about that because I know what's in my heart, I know what our record is, I know what I feel, and I know what I think is right. But if there's a pounding away from leaders that claim to speak for all the black community, yes, it worries me.

Q. Sir, just on the floor of the Senate today, Bill Bradley said this just a short time ago, speaking of George Bush: "In 1988, he used the Willie Horton ad to divide white and black voters and appeal to fear. Now, based on your remarks about the 1991 civil rights bill, you have begun to do the same thing again." That's Bill Bradley.

*The President.* Yes, I know, and I don't like that. I don't agree with it totally. I didn't use any Willie Horton ad of that nature, either. That has become part of the liberal attempt to revise—what's that statement they use up on Congress—I'd like to revise my remarks and—extend and revise my remarks. I mean, that's just grossly unfair.

The point on Willie Horton was not Willie Horton himself; the point was, do you believe in a furlough program that releases people from jail so they can go out and rape, pillage, and plunder again? That's what the issue was. And thank God we've made some progress, incidentally, in our Justice Department on correcting that.

But that's part of the liberal litany. And yes, if it sinks in, John, this would concern me. But I think the American people are fair, and I think they know I want a civil rights bill. And I think they see that in appointing Clarence Thomas, or nominating Clarence Thomas, that I'm trying to get the best person. If he's black, we're not going to discriminate against that. And he is the best, and he's very good. But part of his problem is that he comes at some of these

issues in a way a little different than a very liberal Senator from New Jersey would look at it. But he is a fair-minded guy, and he can take a look at this and decide on the merits.

But I've made up my mind. But you've put your finger on something that does concern me because this tremendous—you know, this kind of drop, drop, drop of water on the rock could make a difference. But I'm going to take my case every chance I get, and this is a good opportunity right here, to black Americans and say: Hey, listen, we've got a good record on civil rights, and we're going to continue it. And you ought to be rejoicing that we have a very able judge to be elevated to the Supreme Court.

And similarly on civil rights. We've got a good civil rights bill. Don't listen to all these people out there that say it's bad. Put this one into effect. Let's take a step together and try. But I've got to keep doing this, saying this, so people understand how I feel.

### *South Africa*

Q. Mr. President, one of the criticisms of lifting of sanctions is it will limit the influence the U.S. has over continuing the end of apartheid. How do you answer that? And if you say that the U.S. can continue diplomatic pressure, was there any success in the diplomatic area during the period the sanctions were in effect that you can point to?

*The President.* I say sanctions continuing; some are. Some have been lifted. And we are going to continue to engage, consulting with Mr. Mandela. And we're going to continue to be engaged in talking to Chief Buthelezi. And we're going to continue to be engaged by talking to Mr. de Klerk. In terms of can I point to something, I can only point to the real change in South Africa taking place because of Mr. de Klerk himself and some of his associates who have a very different approach to equity and race and to the elimination of apartheid than his predecessors.

Somebody asked a question—I'm not sure of the answer I gave—I can't say that sanctions had no effect, but I think far more important than sanctions was the fact that

you had a forward-looking man of Mr. de Klerk's stature who released Mr. Mandela from jail and decided to go forward in consultation. And I can't say that Mr. de Klerk did that because of economic sanctions.

#### *Abortion*

*Q.* Mr. President, your domestic policy staff is looking at the title 10 regulations that affect whether doctors can mention abortion as an option for women who come to family planning clinics. Are you amenable to a compromise on this issue?

*The President.* Listen, if some compromise can be worked out that I find acceptable, absolutely.

*Q.* Well, could you describe the kind of compromise you might—

*The President.* No, I can't describe it for you because I haven't found such a compromise yet. My position is well-known, oft-stated, open, and I'm not going to change my fundamental position. Now, if something can be worked out, can be resolved, so much the better.

#### *Iraq*

*Q.* The U.S. has had a couple of days now to analyze a 29-page document released by Saddam Hussein detailing Iraq's nuclear holdings. Are you convinced at this point that he's come clean, or do you think he's—

*The President.* No.

*Q.* Do you think he's still hiding a nuclear weapons capability? And what can the U.S. do about it?

*The President.* The answer to your questions are nope and yep. No, I am not convinced that it's total. And yes, I do feel that there's still reason to believe that he is hiding and has not come totally clean.

Now, do I view this step favorably, his confessing to that which he has denied over and over again? Yes, I think that's progress. But we will be watching this very carefully. I've been having consultations with leaders, already two major leaders around the world, Mulroney yesterday, Mubarak today. I'll be talking to others in the next day or two about this Iraq situation.

And I am anticipating a unanimous view that we've got to keep our eyes wide open and not be lulled by some letter or some

very belated offering from Saddam Hussein that he is now willing to do that which he should have done a long time ago. So, I've very skeptical, but I would have to say that the letter is progress. And I am convinced that the coalition and the major countries that we've been dealing with on this will be looking at the problem the same way I am.

When you're dealing with nuclear, when you're dealing with proliferation of nuclear in the area, that is a subject that really gets people's attention. Some other deviation by Saddam Hussein might have been less uniting of coalition forces and other forces around the world. But when you're dealing with hiding and cheating and lying on nuclear matters, I think almost every country is very, very concerned.

*Q.* A followup, please. Prior to the war with Iraq, you expressed concern that Saddam Hussein may not be getting the message from the United States that the U.S. was serious in turning back the aggression. He was pretty quick to react this time around, after there were reports that you refused to rule out military action. Do you think he got the message this time?

*The President.* I certainly—put it this way, I'm hopeful that he got the message because we're deadly serious. And I do still believe, Jim [Jim Miklaszewski, NBC News], that part of the massive miscalculation last year was, one, he didn't believe it and, two, he believed that if we did, hypothetically, if use of force would come, that he in some way would prevail. And I think he's disabused now on both points.

So, I would hope that our enhanced credibility that I keep referring to, along with the enhanced credibility of our supportive allies, might have made the difference in this instance. But I wish I could tell you I felt it was all done.

*Q.* Mr. President, did we miscalculate by not taking out Iraq's nuclear capability when our bombers were flying?

*The President.* Well, I think we took out a lot of Iraq's nuclear capability when our bombers were flying. The question is how can you certify, when your objective is to get Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait, that you have also taken care of this collateral and very important problem? And I don't think

that we—I think we can certify that the program has been set back a long, long ways.

I couldn't help but think back to those dreadful days of debate and turmoil in this country before the successful conclusion of Desert Storm, with many thinking when we talked about an Iraqi nuclear capability that we were just throwing up that as a smoke-screen to try to enhance our action or to give us another reason for which to act against this tyrant. And now people are saying, hey, they may have been on to something here. And so, it wasn't an objective to destroy that, but it worked out that we did take out a great deal of his nuclear capability.

The problem is that under the latest resolutions, second-to-last resolution I believe it is, 679, of the United Nations—looking for help here and not getting any—[laughter]—that under that resolution it is very clear that this should all be abandoned. And he said, "I don't have any of this." Then we show him through briefing of the United Nations Security Council that he's got it. "Oh, yes, but, well, I've been obfuscating"—I don't know how you say that in Arabic—[laughter]—but he's been obfuscating, which I say is lying, and then comes forward and says, "Here is what I'm going to do." So, we're certainly skeptical about this.

*Q.* If I can follow that, sir, there apparently are inspections underway now. Are you going to be able to assure the world it is all gone?

*The President.* No. But we are going to try to be able to assure the world that it is all gone. But when you're burying component parts off in the desert somewhere, in somebody's attic or somebody's basement in downtown Baghdad, if that's what's happening, it is pretty hard to certify that. But what we want to do is set up a mechanism so whenever there's any evidence of intelligence that is even a hint of his violation of these U.N. resolutions, we must be satisfied, the international community must be satisfied, the U.N. must be satisfied that that equipment has been destroyed.

So, what's happened is that once again through these incidents it has been pointed out that he'll go to any end to do those

things which he's not supposed to do. I again come back to the letter, hope it's positive. But it's like Missouri: Show me. I'm from Missouri; we've got to see exactly what's going on.

You already had a question. Charles [Charles Bierbauer, Cable News Network].

*Q.* Mr. President, you were meeting, I believe, this morning with Secretary—

*The President.* Last two. Really, these are the last two. And then we've got Secretary Cohen, who's going to go into all the technical details on the question of South Africa and, I might say parenthetically, who has done a superb job himself on handling South Africa. He wasn't there the other day when we had our ceremony honoring those who helped with the question of Ethiopia. Not only is he interested in the Horn, the south of this, but he's done a great job on all these African questions, Angola and many others. So, I hope you will save some of these technical ones for him.

Charles, and then we're going to end here.

#### *Military Base Closings*

*Q.* You met, I believe this morning, with Secretary Cheney to discuss base closings. Have you signed off on that? He's called it a good package.

*The President.* Yes, I signed the letter to the Commission and I signed the forwarding of the Commission report with a total acceptance of the Commission report—signed the transmittal of that, if you will, to the United States Congress.

*Q.* Is it enough? Would you like to see it go further?

*The President.* No, I think for now it's proper. I think they did their work without any reference to politics. Anytime you close a base someplace you're going to have people in that district or that State raise Cain about it. And I can understand that.

But this Commission has served without political motivation; and the report, I am satisfied, is without political bias or motivation. So, I sent the committee forward largely based on the enthusiastic acceptance, obviously, of the Pentagon on this, because it comes under the heading of their business and gets into what I was talking



about yesterday, the need for a balanced and structured force with less money being spent on it.

*Iraq*

Q. The Iraq situation is still a bee in your bonnet here. Six months after the war, Saddam Hussein is still making trouble. It's not the same kind of trouble, but it is still a problem. What's your attitude now about dealing with this outlaw you've surrounded? Is he going to be trouble for you now for a long time to come? How do you approach this? Do you reason with him all of a sudden, after having caught him? What's your feeling about it?

*The President.* No. No, I don't see any room to reason with him as long as he is in violation of any of these—I'll put it this way, as long as any of the United Nations sanctions remain unfulfilled. And even beyond that, I don't think, given his total lack of any kind of—put it this way, I don't think that his behavior merits any kind of formal treatment by the United States or informal treatment. We cannot have normal relations with Iraq, normal relations, as long as this man is in power.

And for my part, I want to see the economic sanctions kept on. I keep going back to the "Let sanctions work." Do you remember that cry? If we had let sanctions work back there, we would have had the coalition fall apart and the main objective would have been totally unmet. That man would still be sitting in Kuwait and would have been threatening further. Who knows what he would have been doing to Saudi Arabia? So, he's still there. And he's there with a bloodier hand. And we will not have normal relations as long as he's there. But we are determined to continue to work through the United Nations to see these resolutions fulfilled.

And let me add another one, because I now sense a little hue and cry going up in some quarters about food and medicine. The United Nations resolutions provide for being able to ship food and medicine into this country. What it doesn't provide for is having food shipped in there and then sent

off to the Baath Party cadres up in Tikrit. It doesn't provide for taking the food out of the mouths of the hungry children or the medicine away from the people and giving it to the army. And once again, this whole diversion is another reason that I feel as strongly as I do that there will not be normal relations with Saddam Hussein ever again.

But again, I'd like to repeat what I said before the war started: Our argument is not with the people of Iraq. It's not even with other leaders in Iraq. We'd be perfectly willing to give the military another chance, provided Saddam Hussein was out of there and representations were made to the rest of the world as their willingness to abide by these U.N. resolutions and play by international law. But they're not willing. Under Saddam Hussein, it is most unlikely that any will ever believe him if he says that.

So, that's where we are. And I'm very concerned about it. And I still feel, as I said at a question yesterday, that certainly setting back that aggression on itself, the objective, the main objective of the United Nations, was worth it. But there are these residual problems that concern me, of course.

Thank you all very, very much.

*Note: The President's 88th news conference began at 12:02 p.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House. In the news conference, the following persons were referred to: Nelson Mandela, head of the African National Congress; Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, chief minister of South Africa's Kwa-Zulu Homeland and leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party; Herman J. Cohen, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs; Alan D. Fiers, Jr., former director of the Central Intelligence Agency's covert operations in Central America; Clair E. George, former CIA deputy director for operations; William J. Casey, former Director of the CIA; and President Mohammed Hosni Mubarak of Egypt. The Executive order removing certain sanctions against South Africa is listed in Appendix E at the end of this volume.*

## Message to the Congress Transmitting the Defense Base Closure and Realignment Commission Report

July 10, 1991

*To the Congress of the United States:*

I transmit herewith the report of the Defense Base Closure and Realignment Commission pursuant to section 2903 of Public Law 101-510; 104 Stat. 1810, accompanied by the Commission's errata sheet submitted to me on July 9, 1991.

I also hereby certify that I approve all the recommendations contained in the Commission's report.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
July 10, 1991.

## Remarks at the White House Conference on Library and Information Services

July 10, 1991

Thank you all very much for that welcome, and may I thank our marvelous band over there who brought us the music. What a job they always do. And may I, at the outset of these comments, thank those who have served and worked so hard to make this successful event a reality: Charles Reid, the Chairman of the White House Conference—[*applause*]. I'm glad his family's out there. [*Laughter*] Richard Akeroyd, the Co-chairman; and Jean Curtis, Joseph Fitzsimons, and all the rest of you out there who have participated in this very active and, I am told, successful Conference. And welcome to all the State delegates out there.

First, let me say I am delighted to be here. I just checked in with the boss of the East Wing of the White House—that is Barbara Pierce Bush—[*laughter*—and she was just so pleased with the response. And she is so intimately involved in the work of all of you, but of many of you specifically in this room. And I just wanted to say that I appreciate very much your kindness and courtesy to her.

Since Presidents seem to get their own libraries—[*laughter*—goes with the territory—it's nice not to worry that one of you will try to collect my overdue fines. [*Laughter*]

I'm proud of our country's libraries. And you know, a member of my family wrote a book that's available in most of them. Iron-

ically, Millie is not allowed to get a library card. [*Laughter*] And there's a great injustice and discrimination out there. [*Laughter*] Incidentally, it just shows you the power of books. That book, which was written to benefit Barbara's educational foundation—maybe she mentioned it this morning, I don't know—but it has raised for that educational cause over \$1,100,000. It shows you the power of books and the power of what can happen. And I know you all understand what I mean by that.

You know, Franklin Delano Roosevelt once gave his son James some advice that I've always tried to follow; sometimes I fail. To give a good speech, he said, you must "be sincere, you must be brief, and be seated." [*Laughter*] Well, I promise to do all three, not because I'm not enthralled with the work of the Conference but because tomorrow Barbara and I leave for Maine, where I will be receiving the Japanese Prime Minister—[*applause*—Kennebunkport contingent over here—[*laughter*—and receive the Japanese Prime Minister and then go on—we both head abroad for the G-7 meeting, and then on to Greece and Turkey. So, you've caught us at the beginning, or at the end of a busy week and the beginning of another one.

But I am glad to be here with you today, because this magnificent event builds upon

years of hard work. And let's face it: The world has changed dramatically since the last White House Conference on Library and Information Services. The thirst for freedom has swept aside the acceptance of tyranny. New and amazing technologies have made ideas accessible to everyone. Books, faxes, computer disks, television broadcasts have simply shattered the reign of ignorance and created a whole new world of enterprise, competition, and with it, intellectual growth.

So, you have come together from across this land to honor a common, exciting dream, the dream of making this the greatest Nation that it can possibly be.

Your poster captures beautifully the essence of this challenge. The background picture of the world emphasizes the fact that we now live in a world united by information highways and joined in productive competition. The three photographs superimposed over that globe represent your three goals: literacy, productivity, and democracy. An open book, surrounded by other books, reminds us that the quest for the future begins with literacy. And again, with great pride, Barbara has joined many of you, and she has devoted a great deal of time to this fundamental and important cause because, you see, she knows and you all know better than most Americans that to open a book is to open the doors of opportunity. Illiteracy bars those doors, and it wastes our most precious resource, our minds.

Second on your poster is a photo of a computer keyboard. Now, I can talk about computers now. [Laughter] Marginally qualified to talk about computers now. [Laughter] But seriously, part of our education America 2000 strategy is that nobody is too old to learn, and I think it's a very important concept. So, a couple of months ago I decided to keep up with our grandchildren, not just in Nintendo but I mean in trying to learn how to run one of these things. So, I started taking lessons. And it's amazing, youngsters understand the technology upon which our future rests, and we've got to rush to catch up with them.

Technology can make us more productive as a society, and information technology arms us with unprecedented power. Our

kids will need high-tech skills to compete in the global marketplace of the 21st century. And we already know they have the character: We've seen them create a computer industry out of virtually nothing. And in the Gulf, we've seen them turn these sophisticated weapons into not what some would want us have believe are totally tools of destruction, in this instance, tools of liberation. And if we want to let our national spirit soar, we must cultivate ideas and knowledge. Perhaps no one will play a bigger role in setting the American spirit aloft than the very people in this room.

You will help us explore and conquer a new electronic frontier. Already, these fiber optic cables carry billions of pieces of information in a wire as thin as a strand of hair. Satellite systems beam information around the world. Computers combine music and video and text for interactive teaching systems, opening up whole new horizons for our fantastic teachers all across this country. And as I look at this, and I expect as you look at it, we recognize that this is just a beginning.

The administration's high performance computing and communications initiative proposes developing a national information network. Now, this network would offer high-speed computing capabilities to research and educational institutions. And it also would give experts the experience necessary to develop a broader, privately-operated national information network. Such an infrastructure would allow all Americans to share quality information and entertainment when and where they want, and at a reasonable cost.

This amazing beginning equips us to take on the challenge of democracy, symbolized again in your poster by our Constitution. Thomas Jefferson once wrote, "A democratic society depends upon an informed and educated citizenry." Jefferson knew that education is not a trivia game, a contest to acquire little scraps of data. A sound education informs our passion and protects our values and instills respect for the truth. Information is democracy's greatest and surest weapon and our world's greatest and surest hope.

I expect—well, put it this way, I know

that you don't often get credit as revolutionaries. Too often, people think of the library and information science professionals as people who go around saying, "Shhhhhh!"—do that for a living. But in fact, and this is the way we look at it in the Bush family, and I say family advisedly—Barbara is my anchor to windward in all of this—you preserve democracy's greatest resource, the ideas that have helped reshape an entire world.

Earlier this year, and I hope all are familiar with it, we introduced a new education strategy. America 2000 we call it. America 2000 isn't another slogan wrap around some proposed legislation. America 2000 calls for a revolution in American education. It challenges all Americans to raise expectations, to pledge genuine accountability, and above all, to create a new generation of American schools. And when we say "new generation," we're not just talking about putting a coating of paint on an old way of educating; we're talking about really a revolution in American schools. It sets out to transform a Nation at risk into a Nation of students. And it urges everyone to make our communities places where learning will happen.

Libraries and information services stand at the center of this revolution. And today, our more than 15,000 public libraries serve nearly 70 percent of our population, they loan 1.3 billion items each year, and they use less than 1 percent of our tax dollars. I think you'll agree, that is quite a bargain. Our libraries serve as the schoolrooms for lifetime learning and the launching pads for our future.

All of you involved with this Conference have made an invaluable contribution to the progress of American life. And so, I look forward to receiving your policy recommendations, and I am committed to working with you to improve our libraries and

information networks and to carry America 2000 forward.

J. Robert Oppenheimer said it beautifully: "The unrestricted access to knowledge may make a vast, complex, ever more specialized and expert technological world—nevertheless a world of human community."

So together, I think we will ensure an America of the greatest technological and human success. The potential is limitless. And this is an exciting time to be alive, and I can tell you, I view it as a fantastically exciting time in our history to have the honor of being President of the United States.

So, thank you all very much for your part in shaping the future. I don't think you can be a President and live in that magnificent house down the road there without thinking about the future. And to do that, we have to count our blessings for the past. We have to count our blessings for what we call a Thousand Points of Light as well, and that is men and women, a volunteer commitment, getting out there and helping others and setting standards that the rest of the world admires and respects. And that is where each and every one of you come in.

Thank you, and may God bless the United States of America. Thank you very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 1:50 p.m. in Hall A of the Washington Convention Center. In his remarks, he referred to Charles Reid, Chairman of the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science and Conference Chairman; Richard Akeroyd, Vice Chairman of the Advisory Committee on the White House Conference on Library and Information Services and Conference Cochairman; Jean Curtis, Conference Executive Director; and Joseph Fitzsimmons, Conference Vice Chairman.*

## Letter to Congressional Leaders on the Redeployment of United States Armed Forces That Served in the Persian Gulf

July 10, 1991

*Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)*

Pursuant to the provisions of section 108 of the Operation Desert Shield/Desert Storm Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1991 (Public Law 102-28; 105 Stat. 166), I transmit herewith classified and unclassified reports on the redeployment of the forces of the Armed Forces of the United States that were deployed in the Persian Gulf area

in connection with Operation Desert Storm.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

*Note: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Dan Quayle, President of the Senate.*

## The President's News Conference With Alan Greenspan, Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System

July 10, 1991

*The President.* Just to top the day with a very important announcement, I want to say that it is my intention to send, as soon as possible, to the Senate my intention to reappoint Chairman Greenspan as Chairman of the Federal Reserve, and also nominating him to another term as a Governor of the Federal Reserve.

I, of course, would encourage the Senate to move as quickly as possible on this important nomination. The respect that Alan Greenspan has around the world and in this country, particularly in the financial marketplaces, is unparalleled. And it gives me great pleasure to move forward at this time, quite a bit in advance of the expiration of the term, but nevertheless, I think, most appropriately, to ask him to serve.

And you know, it's not a one-way street. This is a very complicated job. It is a time-consuming job. It's a job of great pressure. And I'm extraordinarily grateful to Chairman Greenspan for being willing to undertake another term as Chairman of the Fed. He has done an outstanding job. Every place I go abroad, I get the same reports and the same vote of confidence that I get here; from the central bankers abroad, from the finance ministers abroad, as well as from the heads of state and government.

So, this country is very fortunate to have

the important affairs of the Federal Reserve Bank in Alan Greenspan's hands, and I am very grateful that he is willing to continue in this most important job.

And so, Alan, my thanks to you, sir, for your service to your country, and the mike is all yours.

*Chairman Greenspan.* I thank you very much, Mr. President. It's certainly been an honor to serve as Chairman of the Federal Reserve under your Presidency. And hopefully, if the Senate sees fit to find my credentials appropriate, I look forward to another 4 years of what is really, for an economist, the most interesting job that there is in Government.

Needless to say, the last 4 years have been rather extraordinary, and I suspect that the next 4 years will have as many surprises as the last 4.

Again, let me thank you very much, Mr. President. It's certainly been an honor to work with you.

### *The Economy*

*Q.* What does this portend for the economy? Do you think we're really coming out of the recession now?

*Chairman Greenspan.* Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International], I think the evidence is increasing week by week

that the bottom is passed and the economy is beginning to move up. We still do not yet know how rapid the recovery is or the underlying strength of it, but I think it's a pretty safe bet at this stage to conclude that the decline is behind us and the outlook is continuing to improve.

#### *Nomination of Chairman Greenspan*

*Q.* Mr. President, what kind of signal do you hope that this reappointment sends to the financial markets, which have been a little apprehensive about this and waiting for this decision for some time?

*The President.* Well, I don't think they've been apprehensive in any way other than hoping that this would take place. To the degree markets have been jittery in anticipation, which I don't think has been the case, this certainly should be a reassuring signal to not only domestic markets but to world markets because of the respect level that I alluded to before.

*Q.* Mr. President, did Chairman Greenspan, in effect, save his job with these interest cuts early this year?

*The President.* No, his job wasn't in jeopardy. The Fed is an independent, sometimes very independent, organization over there, and he's got to lead that important enterprise the way he sees fit. I think we both understand that a growing economy is a good thing. And certainly, our administration is committed to that. But I see nothing in anything that the Chairman has done that would indicate that he doesn't agree with that. He's been a fierce fighter against inflation, but I think he also is as strongly committed to growth, not just for what that means to jobs and everything in America but what it means internationally. We cannot have a global economy that is stagnant.

*Q.* —a factor in your decision, sir?

*The President.* No, just overall excellence was the factor in this decision.

#### *The Economy*

*Q.* A question for Chairman Greenspan. With unemployment hovering around 7 percent, do you think there's room to ease interest rates a little bit to spur the economy?

*Chairman Greenspan.* I think you know

me well enough, Mik, [Jim Miklaszewski, NBC News] that that is not a question that I'm about to answer at the moment. I think that what we committed to do, and I've said this innumerable times before the Congress in the various sessions that we've been at, is to try to maintain the maximum long-term sustainable economic growth that is possible. And that we hope that the basic policies which we engage in will implement that. And as I've said innumerable times before the Congress, that trying to keep the inflation under control is a necessary condition to maximizing economic growth and employment, and keeping the unemployment rate at as low a feasible level as one can conceive.

*Q.* Are you satisfied with all the current conditions: inflation, unemployment, growth?

*Chairman Greenspan.* I'm never satisfied with the state of conditions. We always have something out of balance which requires redressing, and hopefully we will work in that direction to do what is required.

*Q.* Mr. President, I wonder if you'd take that question. Do you feel, given the favorable economic data we've seen in recent weeks, that there's room for further easing of the money supply?

*The President.* I don't get into that, public. I thought he gave a brilliant answer in saying he wouldn't answer it. [Laughter]

*Q.* Mr. President, some of your advisers have suggested that the Fed is not allowing the money supply to grow fast enough to assure the kind of growth that they would like to see. You majored in economics in college. Do you agree with that? [Laughter]

*The President.* Having majored in economics at Yale, why, I'm probably the least well-qualified to comment on that of anybody. But look, I can't say what level of—where within these cones of targets that the Fed should operate; that's not my job. My job is to be concerned overall about the economy. I've expressed my interest in lower rates from time to time. I think the Chairman has expressed his interest in seeing a growing economy, so I'd have to leave it real general.

And I would not be standing here next to

Chairman Greenspan for this assignment if I didn't have full confidence. That isn't to say that you're never going to have differences between an administration and the Fed. But I think as you look back historically, you'll find that there has been far more compatibility and congeniality in terms of outlook between the Fed Chairman and our Secretary of the Treasury, our economic advisers here. And I can't say there have never been differences of how we look at a problem. My view is to keep the interest rates as low as possible without getting inflation out of control and to see this country grow. And it is very important to our economic program and to the world, it seems to me, the opportunities for people around the world, to see a growing world economy. And I'm satisfied that in a broad sense Chairman Greenspan shares those goals.

Then I got two more, and then I'm leaving. Once, twice——

*Q.* Mr. President, when you announced your bank reform act to the holding companies, you said that they had an obligation to the banks, that is, to make credit available when interest rates came down. And some of the manufacturers have said that that's just not happening. What are you going to do and what is the Fed going to do to try to stimulate that?

*The President.* Well, I will say, again, good banks should make good loans. And there are some problems. There have been some problems in the banking system. I think there's some indication that the banks are doing better now. Certainly, if you'll take a look at the stock exchange, the way some of the bank stocks have reacted, I think you'll see reason for the public saying, hey, there's room for a little optimism here.

But I still feel that good banks should be making more good loans. Some have taken the lower, the differential on interest rates and used it to improve their balance sheets. And that's a highly technical point, but it's an important one. And we can't dictate to the private sector what they ought to do. But if we do our fiscal job right here, if we keep the lid on that spending as best we can by fully seeing that Congress and ourselves stay with this budget agreement that was so controversial a year ago, then I think we are doing our part in providing a cli-

mate in which these banks can prosper and in which these banks can then start doing what I'd like to see them do as soon as feasible: good loans made by sound banks.

And so, I'm a little more optimistic on this question of banks because it does look like the market is saying, wait a minute, they may have turned a corner here. Having said that, there may still be some problems out there. But it's predicated on a growing economy, the success, the continuation of improvement, in my view.

### *Banking Reform*

*Q.* A followup on this, sir? Taking the spread to the bottom line, though, doesn't achieve what you wanted. And I'm wondering if you will keep your implicit suggestion that your lobbying for the bank reform act or the Brady bank reform act, as you call it——

*The President.* Absolutely.

*Q.* ——is contingent upon the availability of credit.

*The President.* No, my lobbying for it is unconnected to the availability of credit. I think we need reform. And Nick Brady's done a great job bringing that to the attention of the Congress. We're getting bipartisan cooperation on many facets of that bill. So, I don't think the two should be linked. I mean, I really think that banking reform can stand on its own strong two feet. And it has some regulatory changes. It has some changes in what banks are permitted to do.

And so, I remain—I'm glad you brought it up because we are firmly committed to the banking reform legislation. We've had the leaders of the Congress down to tell them that. And perhaps I haven't been quite as visible or as vocal on this as I feel I should be because of the press of other problems. But it's most appropriate it's raised at this meeting here. And we are committed.

### *Abortion*

*Q.* I just want to see if we could get you to expand a little bit on your comments earlier today on being willing to consider a compromise on the abortion counseling regulation?

*The President.* No, you can't get me to expand on it.

Q. Just tell us whether you have been concerned by arguments that it could interfere with the doctor-patient relationship?

*The President.* No, I can't help you at all except to say that—stories this morning—if there is a chance to work out something, I'd be glad to do it. But I also pointed out I ought not to be asked to violate my fundamental positions on this whole question of abortion and Federal funding and the exceptions and all of that. I am not going to change the position. But if there's some language as it relates to some regulation that can be resolved, why, so be it. So much the better.

We've got enough contentious items out there that divide this country, and I want to see the country come together. And in this whole question, somebody—I don't think I responded to it early on, about the "big tent" theory that Atwater propounded. Of course, I feel that way. We've got people in our party that differ on this issue, and the Democrats have plenty of people in their party that differ on this issue.

So, if there's room for some compromise or some accommodation on a regulation, without asking me to fundamentally change my convictions on this question, so be it. And we ought to try to resolve that. But I don't know whether it's possible. I've had some interesting talks with Senator Chafee and others who are trying to get actually two vehicles, as I understand. One is an HHS appropriations—

*Mr. Sununu.* Labor-HHS appropriation.

*The President.* Labor-HHS. And the other is a free-standing legislation approach by Senator Chafee to try to work something out.

So of course, I'd like to see accommodation. But I am not going to change my fundamental position on this issue that for me is a very moral issue. And I understand when people as Republicans differ with me. And I understand when Democrats that feel as I do agree with me. So, let's try to keep the tent broad. Let's try to reduce the numbers of contentious fights we have in this country and bring the country together. But I am not going to change my fundamental position.

Thank you all very, very much.

Q. In the debate you had said you had

not sorted out the penalties—

Q. Mr. Greenspan?

Q. How do you view the growing pressure for higher interest rates in Germany?

*The President.* Do you want any more or do you—they'll keep you all day. This crowd is outrageous. They'll keep you all day long. Especially Helen Thomas, who knows that I cleared that question up years ago. But anyway, do you have anything you'd like to say?

Q. No, you didn't.

*The President.* What are your views on abortion?

*Chairman Greenspan.* I'll give them. I can talk about tennis all day.

Q. How about abortion?

Q. Chairman Greenspan, please.

*Chairman Greenspan.* I've got a couple of minutes. I've got to go.

#### *The Economy*

Q. How do you view the growing pressure in Germany towards higher interest rates? If interest rates rise in Germany, can we combat that from coming into our system and causing our interest rates to climb at a time when we are trying to recover?

*Chairman Greenspan.* Well, remember that because exchange rates are free to move, to the extent that there are pressures that would occur by changes in interest rates in any country, they need not impact on interest rates in the United States because whatever forces are moving are likely to be absorbed in a change in exchange rates rather than interest rates.

Q. So, you're not concerned about any—

*Chairman Greenspan.* Well, obviously, we're monitoring the International Monetary System, and I am in continuous contact with my colleagues abroad, especially the president of the Bundesbank. And we coordinate policies in a manner which, in our judgment, minimize the international repercussions that could occur from policies that either one of us tends to take.

Q. The differentials right now are okay?

*Chairman Greenspan.* I would just as soon not discuss that because that implies what policies might or might not be taken



by Federal Reserve or the Bundesbank, so I would like to back off.

*Q.* Mr. Chairman, do you see any signs of inflation reemerging from any sources as this recovery gets underway? Do you spot anything like that in the data?

*Chairman Greenspan.* Not yet. In other words, the one element in the outlook which I find encouraging is that we've come to a point where inflationary pressures are really very muted. That's not to say we should not be concerned about their being reignited at some point, but merely examining the existing state of data gives

one some confidence that inflation is well-contained at this stage.

I can do one more question, and then I've got to run. Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen.

*Q.* What are you going to do differently in your next term?

*Chairman Greenspan.* I haven't a clue. [Laughter]

*Note: The President's 89th news conference began at 5:56 p.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.*

## Remarks Prior to a Meeting With Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh of the Soviet Union

July 11, 1991

*The President.* Someday I want to get Mikhail up there to the seashore. I think he would enjoy that. In the summer; the winter is hell—it's cold.

But, again, my sincere thanks to both of you for making this trip. I know it is an inconvenience. You did it on very, very short notice, and I think it demonstrates President Gorbachev's interest, your interest, Moiseyev's interest in reaching accord on START which is important to both our countries. But thank you very, very much for coming.

And I think the American people see this as a significant step of principle by the Soviet Union. I want to encourage that view because that is exactly what it is, on very short notice to come here to try to work out these details.

*Foreign Minister Bessmertnykh.* We very much appreciate this opportunity to share the views and positions on the remaining issues of the START. And President Gorbachev has sent you a letter on this issue—helpful. So we shall develop with the Secretary, I think, the final stage of the treaty. There is a chance that both sides will come—we'll try together. I think—

*The President.* We'll see how we do on it. I still remain convinced that it is in our interest—I am just thinking now of the

United States—to have a meeting with President Gorbachev in the Soviet Union, in Moscow, because there are so many issues, other issues that we need to discuss, too. But we've all set this one as kind of a *sine qua non*, so I hope we can get it resolved.

*Foreign Minister Bessmertnykh.* Yes.

*The President.* Will you please extend my best wishes and say that—I know I speak for others that will be at the Economic Summit in saying we are delighted he is coming there. And I just—I think it will go well. We all remain committed to the dramatic changes that you have undertaken there and the reforms. So, we'll see where that goes. And I'm sorry I won't be here all day long to work with you on this. Some of it is so technical we've got to rely on the experts.

*Foreign Minister Bessmertnykh.* Yes.

*The President.* I'm not overlooking you, but—[laughter].

*Foreign Minister Bessmertnykh.* I understand.

*Q.* Mr. Foreign Minister, Secretary Baker said yesterday that the U.S. is hoping you are coming here with answers to the very concrete proposal tabled in Geneva. Do you have those answers?

*Foreign Minister Bessmertnykh.* In

Geneva, we have made definite progress on both sides. We have moved on certain positions, but still there are three major technical things to overcome. And we have some ideas from the United States and we have brought some of our ideas, so we'll try to merge them. And I hope that we shall have a productive discussion.

*Q.* What do you think the chances are that you will be able to break those problems at this meeting?

*Foreign Minister Bessmertnykh.* Well, I

am hopeful. We'll try. We'll try.

*The President.* The man is looking for odds. We don't give odds in the Oval Office. [Laughter] It's like handicapping a horse race. Can't give it to you, Norm [Norm Sandler, United Press International]. Nice try, though.

*Note: The President spoke at 7:35 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

## Message to the Congress Transmitting Reports on Sanctions Regarding Employment of Unauthorized Aliens July 11, 1991

*To the Congress of the United States:*

I transmit herewith the first and second annual reports on implementation and impact of employer sanctions. These reports are required by section 402 of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986

(Public Law 99-603; 8 U.S.C. 1324a note).

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
July 11, 1991.

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Appointment of Ronald W. Roskens as a Deputy Coordinator for United States Assistance to Eastern Europe July 11, 1991

The President today announced the appointment of AID Administrator Ronald W. Roskens as an additional Deputy Coordinator for U.S. Assistance to Eastern Europe. The Coordinator is Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger, and the two current Deputy Coordinators are Deputy Secretary of Treasury John Robson and Council of Economic Advisers Chairman Michael Boskin.

The Office of the Coordinator was created in December 1989 in connection with the Support for Eastern European Democracy (SEED) Act of that year to oversee the effective delivery of U.S. assistance and support to the economic reforms then being

undertaken by Poland and Hungary. Since then, as political and economic reforms have spread to most of Eastern Europe, the SEED program and the work of the Coordinator has also been extended.

U.S. grant assistance for Central and Eastern Europe amounts to more than \$1 billion for 1989-91, with an additional \$470 million requested for FY 1992. AID is involved in the administration of most of this assistance and channels a substantial portion of it through the Enterprise Funds for Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, which are directed by private boards to finance enterprise development in these three countries.

## **Nomination of John Giffen Weinmann for the Rank of Ambassador While Serving as Chief of Protocol for the White House**

*July 11, 1991*

The President has announced his intention to appoint John Giffen Weinmann, of Louisiana, to be Chief of Protocol for the White House. He would succeed Joseph Verner Reed. In conjunction with this position, the President has announced his intention to nominate Mr. Weinmann for the rank of Ambassador while so serving.

Since 1989 Ambassador Weinmann has served as U.S. Ambassador to Finland. Prior to this, Ambassador Weinmann served as a member of the national finance committee for George Bush for President and as Louisiana State finance chairman for the

George Bush for President/Louisiana Victory '88. He served as president and director for Waverly Oil Corp., 1979–1989. Ambassador Weinmann served as chairman of the board of Eason Oil Co., 1977, and director, 1961–1980. He has been involved in numerous professional and civic organizations.

Ambassador Weinmann graduated from Tulane University (B.A., 1950, and J.D., 1952). He was born August 29, 1928, in New Orleans, LA. Ambassador Weinmann served in the U.S. Naval Reserve. He is married, has five children, and resides in Metairie, LA.

## **Nomination of Donald A. Laidlaw To Be a Deputy Under Secretary of Education**

*July 11, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Donald A. Laidlaw, of New York, to be Deputy Under Secretary for Management at the Department of Education. He would succeed Thomas E. Anfinson.

Since 1982 Mr. Laidlaw has served as the IBM director of executive resources and development in Armonk, NY. Prior to this he held several positions at IBM, including cor-

porate director of executive resources, director of personnel for the data processing division, and director of personnel planning in data processing group headquarters.

Mr. Laidlaw graduated from St. Lawrence University (B.A., 1952). He was born September 21, 1930, in Ogdensburg, NY. Mr. Laidlaw served in the U.S. Army, 1952–1954. He is married, has three children, and resides in Chappaqua, NY.

## **Nomination of Jill E. Kent To Be Chief Financial Officer at the Department of State**

*July 11, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Jill E. Kent, of the District of Columbia, to be Chief Financial Officer at the Department of State. This is a new position.

Since 1989 Ms. Kent has served as Deputy to the Under Secretary for Manage-

ment at the Department of State. Prior to this she served at the Department of the Treasury as Assistant Secretary for Management, 1988–1989; Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for Departmental Finance and Management, 1986–1988; and Deputy Assistant Secretary for Finance and Plan-

ning, 1985–1986.

Ms. Kent graduated from the University of Michigan (B.A., 1970) and George Washington University (J.D., 1975, and LL.M.,

1979). She was born June 1, 1948, in Detroit, MI. Ms. Kent is married and resides in Washington, DC.

## The President's News Conference With Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu of Japan in Kennebunkport, Maine July 11, 1991

*The President.* May I just say at the beginning how pleased Barbara and I—to have the Kaifus, the Prime Minister of Japan here at Maine. We've begun our talks. And thus, we haven't covered every topic, but one thing that I do want to say up front is that I was very pleased to firmly accept his very generous invitation to come to Japan, and I plan to do that—we'll work out the exact dates—but sometime near the end of November. But it is a firm invitation and a firm acceptance, and I'm looking forward to it very much.

Again, Mr. Prime Minister, welcome. Did you want to have an opening?

*The Prime Minister.* Mr. President, thank you very much for those kind words of yours. I'm most grateful that, in spite of the very recent meeting that we had only in past April in California, you've been kind enough to also receive me again here in Kennebunkport in your summer house in a very family-like atmosphere, with my wife as well. And thank you so much for that.

We've been discussing various matters, and I'm most satisfied with the talks that we've been having. I also would like to thank you for promising to visit Japan later this year. And together with the entire Japanese nation, I'll be looking forward to your visit to Japan.

### *Japan-U.S. Relations*

*Q.* Mr. President, did the Prime Minister bring a check along? And have you solved the rice problem? And do you think that there's a growing anti-Japanese sentiment in this country?

*The President.* I can handle this one. Before I answer the question may I say that I predicted with 100-percent accuracy who

would ask the first question and what it would be. [Laughter]

*Q.* Sorry.

*The President.* On the question of the Gulf, I believe that matter is totally resolved. I think Japan's total contribution has been way up there—what's—something like \$9 billion. And any differences that might have existed between the United States have been resolved, and we will brief that to the United States Congress.

On the question of rice and agricultural generally, we've just determined to keep working on that. There are differences, no question about that. But we both agree that a successful conclusion of the Uruguay round, particularly hoping, shooting for the end of the year or early next year, is vital. So, we will keep working the rice question and the other questions. There are four main areas in trade: agriculture, market access, and a couple of others. And I think we'll keep working those not just with Japan but with Europe. We've got some big problems with Europe. I'm satisfied we can work them out.

And on the third part of that question, I don't know too much about how matters are in Japan today, and that's one of the reasons I'm very anxious to go to Japan and find out. And very candidly, there may be some elements there of anti-American feeling, and I can't deny that some elements in this country appear to want to bash Japan, to use a common expression.

I think Japan has been a good partner in many, many ways. And we have a strong bilateral relationship that I believe this visit will enhance even further. To those in either country that might harbor concerns about the other, let me simply say this rela-

tionship is big, it's broad, it's strong. It transcends any one issue or another. And I salute the Prime Minister for his part in strengthening this bilateral relationship that I feel so strongly about. It is critical.

And the United States has broad interests in Asia, and Japan has broad interests, as one that's helped us enormously in South America. And so, where there are differences, they are outweighed by the common ground that we share and the common objectives that we share.

Would you, Mr. Prime Minister, do you want to—it's a very important question. Would you be interested in saying anything? If not, we'll go to the next question.

*The Prime Minister.* Let me also respond to those questions very briefly. First of all, from the very beginning, Japan has been cooperating in the context of activities to recover peace in the Gulf area, and to date, we submitted to the Diet, the Japanese Parliament, a bill for appropriating such contributions. We asked the Japanese people to accept a tax increase for that purpose. And as a result, we expended a total of more than \$10 billion.

I explained this to the President during our meeting today, and he kindly understood that point and he was kind enough to say that he appreciated these Japanese contributions.

As regards the rice issue, I explained to the President that the Japanese position and the efforts we've been making and will be making with the determination that the Uruguay round must come to a successful conclusion, and we agreed that the difficulties that all of us have respectively, the difficulties for the United States or for Japan and the European Communities, must be discussed and resolved in the process of the Uruguay round negotiations.

We believe that Japan-U.S. relations go far beyond just these individual problems like the Uruguay round negotiations. In the London economic summit meeting that will be held just in a few days, we'll have to discuss how we're going to address the question of support for the Soviet Union or the major issues that exist in the Asia-Pacific region. And there's also the Latin American question which President Bush just referred to, as well as our response to the East Euro-

pean situation. There are numerous problems that are common to all of us, and we have come to agreements on many of those issues as well.

Let me say one last thing. When it comes to Japan-U.S. relations, we believe that instead of bashing each other we should be basking together, looking ahead in the same direction. And to enable us to do that, we should be engaged in joint efforts.

*The President.* Have you got one for the Prime Minister?

*Soviet Union*

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, both of you are about to meet Soviet President Gorbachev. I believe both of you have received a long letter from him. Some people suggest that Mr. Gorbachev is racing ahead to settle a START agreement so that he can get some economic benefits from the West. Is that true?

*The Prime Minister.* Well, my views are that, to the extent the correct orientation of *perestroika* continues or sustains, then the West should support the Soviets. And regarding what would be necessary in that respect, we had discussion last year at the Houston summit meeting, and following that summit meeting there was a survey conducted by IMF and three other international institutions which produced a report.

We to date have been providing the maximum possible technical support for the Soviets, and we shall try and give support to them so that the Soviet Union will become a member of the international community, sharing the same orientation with us.

*The President.* May I add on that that I agree with the Prime Minister's approach there, and there is no linkage of the nature you asked about between conclusion of a START agreement and economic aid to the Soviet Union. They're simply not linked. They're both important; each is important in its own right. We will be addressing the economic situation in multilateral way at the G-7.

But the START agreement, there's no truth to the matter that he's speeding up START so he can get money or get economic benefit out of the G-7 meeting—none, no connection.

Q. Mr. President.

*The President.* This gentleman here with the glasses in his hand.

*Central Intelligence Agency Director Nominee*

Q. In view of new revelations that the CIA purposely misled Congress on the Iran-contra affair, the Senate Intelligence Committee voted unanimously this afternoon to indefinitely postpone hearings on the Gates nomination. Do you think that's justified? Are they going to find anything?

*The President.* One, I don't think that's what they did, and two, they ought to get on with the confirmation. I don't think you can accept some closed-door allegation that—nothing that I understand involving Mr. Gates—and suggest that hearings on this fine man should be delayed.

But it's not my understanding, Jim [Jim Miklaszewski, NBC News], that that's what they did.

Q. Well, as I understand it, they postponed the hearings which were to be next week.

*The President.* I thought they were going to have a—let me get some help from Marlin. I've been in a meeting all day.

*Mr. Fitzwater.* I think they just delayed consideration until Monday on when it's going to start. They didn't reach any decisions—

Q. A followup to that, sir. You've been head of the CIA; you know how it works. Does it stretch credibility at all to believe that Gates' immediate superiors and immediate subordinates knew what was going on and Mr. Gates did not?

*The President.* Doesn't stretch my credibility because I believe firmly in Bob Gates' word. And he's a man of total honor, and he should be confirmed as Director of Central Intelligence. And when you have behind-doors, closed-door allegations that nobody really knows anything about, I'm not sure where the fairness element comes in on that one, Jim.

That's domestic. Do you want—do you need a translation?

A question for the Prime Minister, please.

#### *Japan-U.S. Relations*

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, there's a lot of

interest in my part of the United States, in Texas, in a project called the supercollider, and I know that the United States Government has been seeking Japanese help in this project. First, did you discuss this at all with the President, and secondly, is Japan prepared or planning to make some substantial financial contribution to that project?

*The Prime Minister.* We did not discuss this issue of superconducting collider today, but in the past, I received explanation from President Bush about the U.S. position on this. And we've also received requests for full cooperation; the Japanese Government has in the past received a request for cooperation from the United States.

There is growing awareness in Japan that this sort of thing, superconducting collider, is important for science and technology. And researchers in Japan are studying what sort of cooperation would be possible. However, I am not prepared today, here, to say what sort of financial cooperation is possible. And I might add that scientific and technological research in Japan is being carried under difficult financial situations as well.

Q. Mr. President—

*The President.* Now, wait a minute. These guys haven't had any, the Japanese press corps.

But let me say on the supercollider, we only got this far through our talking points, and we've got this far to go—supercollider is in here. [Laughter]

Q. Are you going to ask him for some funds?

*The President.* Toshiki, be careful. [Laughter]

I think—we haven't heard from any of the Japanese press.

#### *Multilateral Trade Negotiations and the Soviet Union*

Q. The question was whether the question of intariffication was raised by the President with regard to the rice issue, and whether there was any discussion on financial support for the Soviet Union.

*The Prime Minister.* We did discuss the rice issue, as I mentioned earlier, but not in specifics. As I mentioned earlier, what we said was that we ought to deal with these

difficult issues in the course of the Uruguay round negotiations and that Japan would make its efforts to bring about a successful conclusion of the Uruguay round talks by the end of this year.

As regards support for the Soviets, we believe it is important to first sound out what are the wishes of the Soviets, and we would have to know more clearly what the economic state of that country is, the political situation is there, and so on. So, we've not said that we'll be giving financial support for that country.

*The President.* Time is running out. We're going to take one more for each of us, if that's agreeable to you, Mr. Prime Minister.

*Q.* Let me follow up on that question regarding economic support for the Soviet Union. You mentioned the political situation or the political context. Now, there still remains the northern territories issue between Japan and the Soviet Union. Did you, Mr. Prime Minister, explain to the President that until the territorial issue is resolved, Japan will not be in a position to provide any large-scale financial support, and were you able to have the President's understanding of that Japanese position?

*The Prime Minister.* First of all, when we say political context, in the first place, we believe that there must be clear indication from the Soviets regarding their determination to adopt a market economy, and they also have to indicate to us their outlook of transformation into a market economy.

Of course, in this regard, what is most important is self-reliant efforts by the Soviets themselves. And both of us agreed that we would not spare our efforts in cooperating with them by providing technical support or knowledge or intellectual support for them.

Secondly, they also have to make clear to us that they will be shifting their resources away from military to civilian purpose or civilian use. This is a matter that was discussed last year at the Houston summit meeting as well.

And the third point is that in the context of international relations, Soviet *perestroika*, or that new-thinking diplomacy, will have to be applied more broadly across the globe. So, these are the points that comprise the political context which I men-

tioned.

Now, between Japan and the Soviet Union, I myself had a meeting with President Gorbachev recently, and a joint declaration came out which recognized the primary importance of the efforts to sign a peace treaty through the resolution of the territorial issue and that we should be accelerating our work for that purpose. And there is an awareness on both sides that it is important to expand our relations towards a better balance. This President Bush understood kindly and gave his support to.

*The President.* May I—Toshiki, with your permission—I'm in trouble because I recognized two different reporters. And if I might take these two that will end it, if that's agreeable.

Once. Twice.

#### *Multilateral Trade Negotiations*

*Q.* Thank you, sir. I want to return to the issue of rice and the Japanese position on rice imports into their country. Does that make your job more difficult when you go to Europe and trying to get them to break down, to lower their barriers to American agricultural imports?

*The President.* Well, clearly, if we could get agreement on rice, it would facilitate the whole Uruguay round process. Having said that, there are things in our agricultural policy that cause some of our foreign friends difficulties. I'd cite the agricultural enhancement program. And some raise with us quotas that we have on various commodities. So, what we've got to do is lay all these things on the table and try to bring them to a conclusion, hopefully by the end of the year.

Associated Press—Rita [Rita Beamish, Associated Press]?

#### *Soviet Union*

*Q.* Mr. President, you received a long letter from Mr. Gorbachev this morning, as you said, and we're told that in it he outlined the presentation that he'll make to you and the other G-7 leaders next week in London, and presumably, answering some of the specific concerns that you had before you were willing to make any pledges on economic assistance for the Soviet Union.

Can you tell us whether, in fact, you feel, after looking at this, that you are satisfied enough that his reforms are proceeding and he has an adequate plan that you can pledge some assistance? And secondly, can you give us an idea of what, in fact, he's asking for? And is it a promise to demilitarize the economy and seek technical and other types of assistance?

*The President.* It is true that President Gorbachev, in a spirit of openness and candor, conveyed a rather long document to the United States and to the other summit participants. Indeed, I handed a copy of that to Prime Minister Kaifu just up in the living room, up here during our discussions. And we left a copy—gave a copy this morning, just chopped it off early for Secretary Baker.

Now for the bad news. I have not had a chance to read this entire document, nor be briefed on the entire document. It's working its way through our experts. Doug Paal is up here with us, and General Scowcroft, I believe, has had a chance to look at it briefly. But I'm just not in a position to comment on it and respond to this penetrating and most appropriate question because we have not reviewed it. But it's unlikely that it'll have all those ingredients that you asked about.

Rita, did that cover all those?

*Q.* Yes. If I could just follow up, though. We've seen reports from Gorbachev and of Soviet officials that they will promise to demilitarize the economy and to seek investment and technical assistance rather than

some large cash donation. Just based on these preliminary reports, do you have a sense, though, that you will be able to come together and respond favorably to Gorbachev, what he's asking?

*The President.* Without full analysis, I'm confident we can come together. And I would identify myself with the remarks made by Prime Minister Kaifu a minute ago in terms of the common approach that we will be taking as we try to help and assist the Soviet Union.

That concludes the press conference. But Toshiki, let me just say once again, we are very pleased you're here. And now I would like to invite you to go out in my boat, and we'll look at some of our natural resources, the seals. And for those who are staying at the Shawmut, we will come tearing by and give you a wave, and you can eat your hearts out.

Welcome.

Thank you very, very much.

*Note: The President's 90th news conference began at 4:30 p.m. on the lawn of his home at Walker's Point. The Prime Minister spoke in Japanese, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. In the news conference, the following persons were referred to: the Prime Minister's wife, Sachiyo Kaifu; Robert M. Gates, Assistant to the President and Deputy for National Security Affairs, and nominee for Director of the Central Intelligence Agency; and Douglas H. Paal, Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs and Senior Director for Asian Affairs.*

## Exchange With Reporters in Kennebunkport, Maine July 12, 1991

*The President.* Good-bye. We'll get back so we don't get blown away.

*Q.* Come over here and talk to us.

*The President.* I don't want to get blown away over there either. [Laughter]

### START Negotiations

*Q.* Mr. President, could you share with us your report from Secretary Baker on the

talks?

*The President.* No, I can't. I'd refer you to General Scowcroft on that. But it's a little—he felt they were leaning forward—

### Japan-U.S. Relations

*Q.* A little supercollider talk this morning?

*The President.* Yes, that matter did come



up. Yes, it did.

*Q.* Any pledges?

*The President.* No, but I think there was an interest, an interest in this. Hey, listen, I've got to go now. Heavy recreation coming up before we go abroad, so I've got to keep going.

#### *Iran-Contra Affair*

*Q.* Mr. President, were you aware of the taped telephone conversation—

*The President.* No. And I'm not going to get into that at all.

#### *Supreme Court Nominee*

*Q.* How about marijuana?

*The President.* What?

*Q.* Marijuana smoking by Thomas.

*The President.* How about it?

*Q.* Well, aren't you appalled?

*The President.* Well, Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International], I would ask all of us to examine our consciences on that. And I think the matter has been put in proper perspective, and I think he handled it very well, and certainly, in this instance, in these circumstances, in no way is disqualifying. And I was pleased most of the Senators that spoke out said the same thing.

*Q.* What about his expression of admiration for Farrakhan?

#### *Central Intelligence Agency Director Nominee*

*Q.* Has Gates told you about—

*The President.* Let me say something on the Gates matter. What are we coming to here? You're talking to somebody who had to prove his innocence, me, on the basis of rumor. It was alleged by people that we weren't sure who they were, that I was in Paris at some deal to keep Americans in captivity. That's what the allegation was against me. And I'm saying to myself: Who's making these allegations? What's the evidence? What have we come to in this country where a man has to prove his innocence against some fluid, movable charge?

And now I'm thinking about Bob Gates. And I'm saying: What is all this about? Isn't the people that might be accusing him of something—shouldn't it be their responsibility under the American sense of fairplay? I

have full confidence in him. But what is this system where we hear through some leak in some newspaper that behind closed doors somebody has said something, and thus a lot of people run for cover?

I have confidence in Gates. And if somebody wants to accuse him of something, the Senate is absolutely right in getting that determination made and asking for the evidence, but they ought not to have it obscured by some testimony that's been going on for 4 years. They ought not to accept a rumor. They ought not to panic and run like a covey of quail because somebody has made an allegation against a man whose work I trust and who, as I understand it, hasn't been fingered by what's coming out of this process.

And so, I'm glad that this has come up again because I think what we're entitled to in this country is fairplay, innocence until guilty. And yes, the Senate has an obligation, but let's call these witnesses that are supposed to know something bad. Isn't Bob Gates entitled to that? I mean, why let them run for cover and say, let's hang it out all over next summer? Now, if Gates wants to do that, that's fine. But if somebody asked me about it, I'd say, hey, get the men up there that are making these—

*Q.* We don't understand—

*The President.* Excuse me—get the men up there that are making these allegations. Isn't that the American system of justice? What is it when we hear something leaked to a newspaper and we all run for cover because we're—not me, because I know Bob Gates and I have total confidence in the man's integrity and honor. And the Senate, I think, now owes it to him to promptly call his accusers or those who they think, who we understand from newspaper articles are supposedly making accusations against him. And don't let them stay under cover—"Well, we can't do that because we have this other ongoing testimony" or some behind-closed-doors, what do they call these, indictment proceedings going on. That's not the American way.

We sent this nomination up some time ago. And if everybody's going to get flustered and panic because of some allegation where we don't even know that the person

is accusing him of anything—all I'm saying is fairplay. The American——

*Q.* Do you think——

*The President.* May I finish? The American people understand fairplay. And I just hope the Senate will keep this in mind. I have no argument with Senator Boren, Senator Murkowski wanting to get to the bottom of it. But this idea that it will be served by leaving it out all summer, you know and I know there will be questions every single day: What about this allegation? What about that? All I'm saying is, from everything I've seen, yes, let's get to the bottom of it, but let's bring forward these people that are supposedly fingering him. Let's bring forward and let them stand there under oath before the Senate, as I think the Senate intends to do. But why wait?

This nomination has been there a long time. And now we're hearing that there's some process going on behind closed doors someplace by some witness who hasn't fingered Gates, but that's enough to hold this up. If Bob Gates wants to hold it up, fine. If he says to me we want to delay it, fine. But other than that, let the American system of fairplay work. Let innocence until proved guilty be the guideline here, and let promptness. We need a good, a new Director to follow on an excellent Director, and we need it soon, to run this intelligence community.

So, that's my position. And I'm glad, Jim [Jim Miklaszewski, NBC News], that you raised it again because I really feel strongly about this. I just don't think it's the American way to bring a good man down by rumor and insinuation. That's not the system.

*Q.* Do you think it's Democrats in the Senate looking for a political issue?

*The President.* No, I don't think that. I honestly do not.

*Q.* There's none of that in there?

*The President.* Well, not as long as David Boren is chairman. He's not looking for an issue. Very candidly, I think he shares my high regard. If anyone else is, I don't know of it, and I don't think the Senate has come to that.

*Q.* What about Mitchell and the leadership?

*The President.* Well, I hope not, and I don't think so. I wouldn't accuse George Mitchell of that. Take a few zingers from him once in a while, but that's politics. But I'm not going to try to put a political tone on this thing. I think this is too serious a business. But what I do worry about is that there's some pusillanimity, faint-heartedness. You hear a rumor, and then you run for cover, get under the bush like a quail, and hope that you don't get flushed out for a while. That's not what this is about. We've got a man's honor and integrity on the line here.

And that's really why I wanted to turn around and answer the last question that I intend to answer, except for the one Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International] was shouting at me——

*Q.* What I was going to ask you is how is it possible to be the number two man in the CIA, have tapes from 1984, have, obviously, everything came across his desk——

*The President.* No, obviously, it might not have.

*Q.* Why?

*The President.* Well, because that's sometimes the way it works in a compartmented system. And for you to assume that it has, is exactly what I'm talking about. That's not fair. There is no evidence. You can raise a hypothetical question, but the man is entitled—he's given his word on this previously. And that's the way I'd answer your question. And if it looks that way, fine, let the Senate get on it right now, and not me try to respond to a hypothetical question, the question challenging this man's honor and integrity right here. That's not the way it works.

*Q.* That's not the question. The question is, do you know what's going on in an Agency where you work topside?

*The President.* Sometimes you do; and if it's compartmented and the Director may have done something differently, maybe you don't. But that's a matter for the Senate to decide. Gates has already stated his view on that. And it is not for you or me, Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International], to suggest that the order is such that that's impossible. And that's what your question, fairly or unfairly, imputes to me. And when

you ask it and it goes out all across this country, you're raising doubts in the minds of the American people. You've got to do that; that's your job.

*Q.* I'm not doing that.

*The President.* You are. But that is your job, and you should do it—

*Q.* He should withdraw his nomination—

*The President.* —and my view is he is entitled to fairness. And fairness is, get on with it. Don't leave a person twisting out there because of a hypothetical situation of this nature.

*Q.* Should the independent prosecutor also get on with his investigation, sir? Because apparently—

*The President.* He's been on with it for 4 years. He ought to get on with it and off with it, in my view.

*Q.* Should he release the information that pertains to Mr. Gates?

*The President.* I wish he would. It's my understanding that he doesn't have any. But yes, that would be extraordinarily helpful. And I think the Senate should demand it. But they shouldn't hold it up based on some inquiry over here that's been going on 4 years. This is the intelligence community of the United States. I have nominated the best man for it. And it just distresses me to hear hypotheses raised that throw question on his integrity. And he's entitled to get it up with—this thing's been up there for some time. Now along comes a story in a newspaper that a man might—to—what do you call it—plea bargain in order to do something else, and we're asked to say this is bad for Bob Gates. It's not our system.

*Q.* Did you talk to Mr. Gates about this?

*The President.* No. No, I haven't in the last couple of days.

*Q.* To clear the air, Mr. President—

#### *1980 Hostage Deal Reports*

*Q.* Mr. Speaker, the President is moving on—

*The President.* Mr. Speaker? Come on. [Laughter]

*Q.* No, no. The Speaker is moving towards—

*The President.* The Speaker is moving. I'm President, he's Speaker. [Laughter] Remember that. [Laughter]

*Q.* I'll try.

*The President.* Just because you're from Texas and think of me entirely differently. [Laughter] Go ahead. What's the question?

*Q.* Never as Mr. Speaker. The Speaker is moving forward a formal committee investigation of the election deal charge.

*The President.* Fine. Fine.

*Q.* Is that all right with you?

*The President.* Absolutely. If he's got some evidence, and just so it's not pure politics.

*Q.* You don't think it's a—

*The President.* I've said that before.

*Q.* —fishing expedition?

*The President.* Well, I wouldn't accuse the Speaker of that. The man—he's another one that's—too much integrity to be in that mode. I think he's in a difficult position. But let's see the evidence, bring it forth. If they're still charging that I was in Paris on October 20th, if it's that kind of case, fine. But the evidence is—what happened—you know, here's a good case. All this rumor, can't quite pin it down, but as Vice President, the President, now President, was supposed to have been in Paris in the month of October, specifically on October 20th. Who's accusing me? Well, nobody's really accusing you of it, but every paper's got it.

We come forth with evidence which includes almost minute-by-minute certification as to where I was, and then they say, well, maybe that's laid to rest, but somebody else is supposed to have been someplace else. Maybe the way to lay it to rest is through what Foley's talking about. And if he decides that, look, he'll have full cooperation from me. How long can you keep denying your knowledge or involvement on something that didn't happen, as far as I know? But maybe he's got some other evidence. But it just seems a little weird that it keeps going. You shoot down one thing, and somebody else raises another.

*Q.* Are you certain that Casey had no dealings that could be interpreted—

*The President.* I have no knowledge of what Casey can do, or did do. The man's dead. Let's have some more interviews with a dead man. You know what I mean? Get it? [Laughter]

Q. I think so. [Laughter]

Q. Mr. President, to clear—

*The President.* Hey, I've got to go fishing; it's much more important than doing this. Yes, Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International]? No.

*Central Intelligence Agency Director Nominee*

Q. Mr. President, to clear the air and get everything out in the open, could you order the release of the CIA telephone conversations?

*The President.* I'm leaving all this in the hands of the legal authorities and I am not going to intervene in a court proceeding. I am not a lawyer. I don't want to divert and have some 22-year-old prosecutor jump up and say that the President has—[laughter]—frustrated the process here. I don't know enough about that. You've got good lawyers that do. I don't know enough about scheduling or how evidence before grand juries work, and I'm disinclined to learn. But I do know a little something about fairplay. And I know how the American people feel about fairplay. And all I'm trying to say is, let's revert to that standard. Let's use that as the guide here and not get caught up in some niggling legal point.

I'm seeing a man's character getting damaged, just as I felt mine was challenged when they said, hey, prove your innocence. You're guilty until innocent. Prove you weren't in Paris on—whatever the hell it was—October 20th. And here he went to the front yard at 10:22. He was at the so-and-so embassy at 10:27. He was so and so. And then finally, well, that one just fades away into the sunset and along comes a bunch of other allegations by unnamed people that you can't find and can't put your—like reaching out and touching a handful of whipped cream, you can't get ahold of it. I've been through it a little bit,

but I don't want to see Bob Gates, a man of honor and integrity, go through it anymore. That's all I'm trying to say.

Thank you. Have a neat day.

*Soviet Union*

Q. Did you get to look at Gorbachev's letter yet?

*The President.* Have a wonderful day. Well, we're getting briefed on it, yes.

Q. What do you think of it?

*The President.* It's a fantastic letter. [Laughter]

Q. What about the plan?

*The President.* And we've got some differences with it. Good letter.

*Note: The exchange began at 10:03 a.m. on the lawn of the President's home at Walker's Point, upon the departure of Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu of Japan. In the exchange, the following persons were referred to: Louis Farrakhan, leader of the Nation of Islam; Robert M. Gates, Assistant to the President and Deputy for National Security Affairs, former Deputy Director of the Central Intelligence Agency (1986), and current nominee for Director; David L. Boren and Frank H. Murkowski, chairman and vice chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence; George J. Mitchell, Senate majority leader; Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives; and William J. Casey, former CIA Director and 1980 Reagan Presidential campaign chairman. One question referred to the acquisition by Iran-contra prosecutor Lawrence E. Walsh of tapes of telephone conversations between the Central Intelligence Agency headquarters and CIA agents in Central America. Another question referred to reports of an effort by the Reagan-Bush Presidential campaign to keep Iran from freeing 52 American hostages just before the 1980 election.*

## White House Statement on the Trade Enhancement Initiative for Central and Eastern Europe

July 12, 1991

During President Walesa's visit to Washington in March, President Bush announced a trade enhancement initiative for the Central and East European countries. President Bush is determined that the historic political and economic transformation in these countries must and will succeed. Supporting these new democracies wherever possible is one of this administration's top priorities. The economic transformation of these countries will depend greatly on increased trade and access to world markets.

In May President Bush dispatched a team of experts to the region to determine ways of reducing trade barriers and other impediments the region faces in trying to expand access to export markets. Based on the team's report, President Bush has approved a package of specific actions to implement his initiative. These actions are outlined below:

1. *Opening Markets.* The United States will provide substantially expanded market access for the Central and East European countries by liberalizing quota programs and by enhancing the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP). We will adjust the quota programs for steel and textiles to meet requests by these countries to the extent possible. For textiles, we will renegotiate successor bilateral agreements with Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia by the end of the year. Concerning cheese quotas, we will act in conjunction with the results in the Uruguay round to increase country access for cheeses covered by quotas. Concerning the GSP, we will give special and expedited consideration to the countries in the region by: 1) inviting additional and reviewing previously rejected product petitions and 2) helping to improve utilization of the GSP program, such as by sponsoring seminars and providing assistance in preparing petitions.

2. *Building Export Infrastructure.* The United States will help the export performance of Central and East European countries through a targeted technical assistance

program. This would include assistance for these countries in setting up export and investment promotion programs, and export finance programs that meet OECD guidelines; additional training in management and marketing; and advice on tariff restructuring, customs service operations, and standards development.

3. *Avoiding the Displacement of Agricultural Exports.* The United States will take precautions to ensure that its agricultural export subsidies do not displace shipments from the Central and East European countries. These precautions will include periodic reviews with these countries of their overall pattern of exports. We will urge that the EC take similar precautions.

At next week's London economic summit, President Bush will urge leaders of other Western nations to take similar trade expansion steps. For example, he will suggest that other countries also give greater priority to opening their markets to textiles, steel, and agriculture.

The actions outlined above are part of a continuing and comprehensive effort by the United States and other developed countries to promote economic growth in Central and East Europe. Other elements are highlighted below.

- The International Monetary Fund has arrangements with countries in the region that will allow it to disburse up to \$5 billion in 1991. The World Bank has announced plans to commit \$9 billion to the region over the next 3 years. The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, established in April, made its first loan in June and is planning to lend more than \$7 billion to the region over the next 5 years.
- The United States has provided \$944 million in grants and more than \$1 billion in other assistance in fiscal years 1990 and 1991.
- The United States is providing techni-

cal assistance valued in excess of \$200 million in a wide range of areas including management training, market economics education, privatization, legal and financial reforms, and strengthening democratic institutions.

- The United States has created enterprise funds in Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. These funds, which promote the development of the private sector, will have a total capitalization of at least \$360 million.
- The United States has provided a total of \$256 million in food aid to countries in the region during 1990 and 1991. This includes food assistance of \$112 million to Romania.
- The United States and other members of the Paris Club have agreed to

reduce official debt owed by Poland equivalent to \$17 billion.

- The G-24 countries have provided more than \$26 billion in grants and loans during 1990 and 1991 in support of Central and East European country reforms.
- The G-24 countries have undertaken to provide financing to fill residual balance of payments requirements estimated by the IMF to be in excess of \$3 billion in 1991.
- The G-24 countries contributed to a \$1 billion stabilization fund for Poland. This included a \$200 million grant from the United States.

*Note: The statement referred to President Lech Walesa of Poland.*

## Remarks at the Legion of Merit Presentation Ceremony in Rambouillet, France

*July 14, 1991*

*The President.* Mr. President, let me say, I am very pleased to mark this brief visit to your country by honoring a Frenchman of great character and courage, General Michel Roquejeoffre.

General, under your able leadership, sir, French forces displayed a valor that brought great credit to the name of France and contributed to the success of our coalition. Like Lafayette before you, you took the field in service to a larger cause. A grateful Nation gives you thanks. And on behalf of all Americans, it is a privilege and a pleasure to present you the Legion of Merit, Degree of Chief Commander.

And now, after translation of that, I will ask Major Cancilla if you would please read the citation, sir.

*Major Cancilla.* The President of the United States takes great pleasure in presenting the Legion of Merit, Degree of Chief Commander, to General Michel Roquejeoffre for exceptionally meritorious conduct in the performance of outstanding service as the commander in chief of the Rapid Action Forces during Operations

Desert Shield and Desert Storm.

General Roquejeoffre assembled and commanded over 16,000 of France's best soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines as a contingent of the largest coalition in modern history. General Roquejeoffre's ability to foster a cohesive and cooperative spirit between all nations resulted in the successful execution of hostilities against one of the world's largest land armies, employment of history's most extensive and impressive air campaigns, an effective maritime intercept and mine operation, and the world's first defense against ballistic missiles.

His air force struck heavily defended targets in Kuwait and was instrumental in neutralizing or reducing a significant number of enemy capabilities, particularly the Iraqi command-and-control infrastructure and its ability to conduct counterattacks. The French Daguet Division conducted a lightning breakthrough and an encircling movement covering over 150 kilometers in less than 48 hours and then protected the coalition's flank. French naval forces were active

during the entire campaign, conducting escort operations and mine clearing and actively participating in the ongoing maritime intercept operations.

Throughout Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm General Roquejeoffre led his forces magnificently and displayed the leadership, vision, wisdom, and perseverance re-

quired to ensure the victory of coalition forces over Iraq.

*Note: The President spoke at 4:47 p.m. on the steps of Chateau de Rambouillet. Maj. Russell Cancilla was Army Aide to the President.*

## The President's News Conference With President François Mitterrand of France in Rambouillet

July 14, 1991

*President Mitterrand.* President George Bush and myself, we have just been discussing some of the major problems, the situation of Iraq: the way the allied forces behaved and are behaving and acting, either in what they should do in the presence of possible future measures of terror taken by Saddam Hussein, both against the Kurds in Kurdistan and also in the region of the southern marshlands where the Shiites are, and also in connection with possible resumption or continuation of the preparations for a nuclear industry.

We also discussed the whole range of problems relating to the Middle East, and clearly there is a link between the two subjects. And lastly, we discussed the question of security in Europe. Over and above certain other conversations perhaps were matters of less interest from the international point of view but of great interest for me.

And I want to thank President Bush very warmly for having come to France and particularly here to Rambouillet. And as Mrs. Bush knows, they both know that they're very welcome, that they're friends, and they're always welcome. They're friends of our country, and they're also personal friends.

Well, having expressed my thanks, and I think it was appropriate that they be expressed, and I can assure you this is very sincere, I think that now President George Bush may have a few words to say to you before you ask your questions.

Thank you.

*President Bush.* Mr. President, my few

words are simply this: I am very grateful to you on your national holiday for receiving me. Once again, the conversations that we've had without notes, without a lot of advanced preparation, has been extraordinarily helpful to me. And the last point I would make is that this visit here, brief as it is, gave me an opportunity to honor, appropriately honor Monsieur Roquejeoffre—my pronunciation is very bad—but your outstanding general who served with such distinction in the Gulf.

And on this holiday, to let me express my appreciation to the French people and particularly to the President of the Republic for the steadfast cooperation in Desert Storm and Desert Shield. And the United States and France were shoulder-to-shoulder then in battle, and we've been shoulder-to-shoulder in peace for a long time. And under the leadership of President Mitterrand, I'm absolutely content that that will continue.

So, thank you, sir, for your extraordinary courtesy.

### *Iraq*

*Q.* Mr. President, the President of France is being quoted as saying there are circumstances that would cause intervention, that would make intervention in Iraq the proper thing to do: massacring their population, arming themselves with nuclear weapons. Have you seen that statement, or could you tell us your own conditions, your own terms for moving militarily against Iraq?

*President Bush.* I just have not seen the

statement, but if it's as you've phrased it, I would support his statement. We are together in the way we're looking at this situation in Iraq, the situation I'm referring to being Saddam Hussein's continuation of lying and trying to go forward with some nuclear capability. And that is a cause for alarm all over the world. And I don't like to talk about a statement I have not seen, but after a discussion with President Mitterrand, I am confident that France and the United States once again are looking at this important matter in the same way.

#### *Soviet Union*

*Q.* President Mitterrand, do you still favor liberalized loans to Gorbachev instead of having to go through the waiting for a whole period of technical assistance? Are you ready to give bank loans to Gorbachev? It seems to be in contrast to the other Western allied positions.

*President Mitterrand.* Well, it would be my wish that Mr. Gorbachev should be able to receive the aid that would be necessary for him to enable the economic situation of his country to pick up. But naturally, such a recovery would not, in fact, be actually done by the foreign powers. That's us. Obviously, if the recovery is to be, it must be a recovery, in fact, done by the Soviet people itself and particularly the Soviet leaders. So, it's important that the Soviet leaders, with determination, embark upon the path towards reforms, the kinds of reforms that might make success possible.

But it's not a question really of starting a discussion on whether it's a question of the chicken or the egg. I mean, should he first have economic recovery to receive aid or vice versa. Now, what I say is that he must be given enough aid so as to be able to succeed, and straightaway.

*Q.* So, there is a difference with the other summit partners on this question. Is that true, President Bush?

*President Bush.* I'm sorry I don't—I didn't get—

*President Mitterrand.* President Bush, if I understand correctly, President Bush also, it is also his wish that Mr. Gorbachev should be able to succeed. As to the method for that, well, he'll explain that himself, but the goal is the same.

*Q.* Mr. President, please, do you mean that on leaving London Mr. Gorbachev should be able to say that he was taking home a certain number of commitments, not checks with so many zeros on it but a certain number of measures that would make it possible to—to accompany the reforms? In other words, to some extent, he should be bound to the West in a lasting manner, for example, by participation in the international monetary institutions?

*President Mitterrand.* That's taking things a bit fast, perhaps, perhaps a bit premature. It's clear that his participation in the last day, in a different framework from the actual G-7, I hope that this can be a prelude to future, more organic links between the Soviet Union and the seven countries concerned. But other measures would be required for that to be achieved.

Secondly, I don't think that one should expect by next Wednesday a whole series of decisions be taken that would simply have emerged from a few hours' discussions. No, I hope what will emerge will be a signal and a starting point. It won't be the point of arrival yet.

*President Bush.* As I'm your guest, do you want to recognize the journalists?

*President Mitterrand.* Yes, you know yours better than I do, and I prefer mine obviously, but I know them. But you're head of a democracy, too.

*President Bush.* Okay.

*President Mitterrand.* So anyway, madam, as you are standing up, please fire away.

*Q.* President Bush, could you tell us what the status of the START talks are in Washington? What is the final hangup, and do you think that there will be a chance by the time that you meet with President Gorbachev on Wednesday that you will have some kind of understanding that will lead to not only a treaty but a summit in Moscow?

*President Bush.* Well, it's my understanding that as of last night they were very close. This morning, General Scowcroft talked to—I talked to Jim Baker at about 10 last night eastern time. And this morning at some hour Brent Scowcroft talked to Jim Baker.

The major problems appear to be re-



solved. But there are two or three problems that are important that need to be finalized before we can say we have a deal. And Secretary Baker has postponed his departure time and is working on those matters now. But I have been out of contact with him in the last 3 or 4 hours, so I just don't know anything more than that.

*Q.* What issues are there, concerning what?

*President Bush.* I don't think it would be helpful to go into the detail of the issues while they are trying to resolve them. But no, I think we have a reasonable opportunity. But we are not going to make a bad deal to just try to get something done before Wednesday, nor are the Soviets.

#### *Middle East Peace Process*

*Q.* —President Bush, that you didn't believe very much anymore in Mr. Baker's mission as far as the Israeli-Arab problem is concerned.

*President Mitterrand.* I said to Mr. Bush exactly what my feeling was on the subject.

*Q.* I would like to ask a question to President Bush. It seems that the peace process has faced many obstacles. Mr. President, do you believe that this process has failed or does it still have a chance? Thank you.

*President Bush.* The peace process, the American initiative of bringing the parties together still has a chance. It is going to take forthcoming positions from several countries, but it still has a chance. I'm a little concerned that it's taken this long, but we are not going to give up on that. So yes, we're not prepared to write off this process. And I had an opportunity to get some suggestions from President Mitterrand and also to share with him where I think these behind-the-scenes talks stand. And some may recall that in Maine a few days ago, I said that it may fall to me to state publicly before too long exactly what we have been trying to do and what our objectives are and who needs to come forward and do what.

But, no, I am not giving up on the process as it now stands.

#### *Soviet Union*

*Q.* President Bush, Mr. Mitterrand said, "What I say is he should be given enough

aid to succeed, and straightaway." And we understand that you feel that there's more proof and testing in the wings before you'll feel that aid should be given. How straightaway are you prepared to give aid to Mr. Gorbachev and to support him?

*President Bush.* Of course, the first question would be, what kind of aid? Second question would be, if it's the kind of technical assistance and ability to reform their economies and move to market and move to liquidity, we'd be prepared to give that today. One of the things we wanted to discuss at the G-7 is exactly this kind of proposal. But again, we've stated our position that this is not blank-check time and that reforms have to take place before money could well be spent in helping to solve these problems.

As you know, the United States—you say given aid—we extended \$1.5-billion-worth of agricultural credits. Now, do you consider that aid, or do you consider that in the interest of the United States? I hope it helps them.

So, there are all kinds of ways to address the aid question. And I am very interested in getting the views of our G-7 summit partners prior to the arrival of Mr. Gorbachev. But you know, at one point people were alleging—I don't know how true it was in France, but it was all over our country—that Mr. Gorbachev was coming, asking for \$150 billion, somebody write out a check for \$150 billion over a period of time. And that isn't in the cards and certainly won't be in the cards until these reforms go forward.

*Q.* May I follow?

*President Bush.* Go ahead. You can't. [Laughter]

#### *Iraq*

*Q.* Thank you, Mr. President. Mr. President, do you at present have tangible proof, evidence, real evidence that Iraq is building or rebuilding or trying to rebuild nuclear weaponry? And has President Bush given you evidence in that respect? And the second part of my question is, do you think that a military intervention, in order to bring to an end what Mr. Bush calls a subterfuge and lying, do you think that a mili-

tary intervention—and my question also goes to President Bush—would such action forward the mission given by the United Nations to the coalition?

*President Mitterrand.* It was decided that our military staffs would remain in close, constant touch, in constant touch, in order to exchange information, and in particular, to the American military, conveying information of the French military on the actual evidence concerning the continuation of Iraqi activities in the nuclear field, the nuclear armament field. That's point number one, because clearly we have to be mutually informed in order to be able to take any decision.

Now, would we be prepared for a military intervention? You did not talk about Kurdistan, incidentally, and yet I decided to maintain by a slight transfer of troops from northern Iraq to Turkey, we decided to keep on the spot a few hundred troops and certain arms and vehicular aircraft in order to be able to intervene within the framework of the coalition if Iraq decided to exercise repression vis-a-vis the Kurds. And that is a fact. I mean that has already been decided.

As to military intervention against a supposed nuclear site, I said to President Bush that the important thing would be for information forthcoming to us so that we could be sufficiently certain that there was nuclear activity going on for it to be justified.

*President Bush.* Mr. President, as much as he addressed some of that question to me, might I just finish, just a little bit?

There have been incontrovertible evidence presented to the United Nations Security Council that the man is lying and cheating. There were rumors that force might be used. Shortly after that, Saddam Hussein came forward and said essentially this: I have been lying and cheating. I have been doing things that I heretofore said I have not been doing, but now I'm not going to do them anymore. And I think it is very important to the security of the whole region, indeed to the world, that he not do them any more, that he not go forward with a nuclear program, that he comply with each and every United Nations resolution.

So, that's what this is all about. And let us

hope that his last confession, or his last statement that he would comply is followed to the letter and to the "t." I can tell you I am still, in spite of that, very much concerned about his intentions, with reason. I'm not just thinking that way; I have evidence to back that up.

*President Mitterrand.* The Security Council has warned Iraq that there could be dire consequences if Iraq does not abide by international rules.

Now, President Bush has to go to London this evening, and so we can't continue this meeting with the press. I would be happy for the President to say himself he'd be prepared still to reply to two or three questions. I don't know. I think three would probably take too long.

*President Bush.* Two.

*President Mitterrand.* This is going to become very difficult. Perhaps a U.S. journalist.

#### *Aid to Emerging Democracies*

*Q.* A question for President Bush. There have been some reports that because of the focus on President Gorbachev's need for economic reform and assistance from Western nations, that some of the needs of the emerging democracies in Eastern Europe might be ignored or not taken care of adequately. Could you address yourself, sir, to your perception of where G-7 might end up with respect to providing aid that's needed for other emerging democracies, not only in Eastern Europe but around the world?

*President Bush.* Well, I had a chance to get President Mitterrand's views on that, his advice on that. And I can tell you that he and I and, I'm confident, the rest of the G-7 will not do anything that will send a signal that we are shifting our attention away from the fledgling democracies in Eastern Europe in order to help the Soviet Union. They need not be mutually exclusive. But you raise a very important point and one that has concerned me. And as for the U.S. side, we will be doing everything we can to make clear to Eastern Europe that we want to be participants in their continued march down democracy's path.

And I feel certain—I don't want to put

words in his mouth, but this was exactly the view that President Mitterrand shared with me. Will they have ideas as to how the United States can do more? I'm sure, although he didn't say that. And we've got ideas. But we must not send a signal that attention has shifted away from their success because we all want to see the success of President Gorbachev in the Soviet Union.

*President Mitterrand.* In actual fact, the European Community has started discussions with several of Central, Eastern Europe. And already certain agreements have been signed, and others underway. These are association agreements. Furthermore, I'd like to point out that aid to Eastern European countries has not in any way affected the total amount of aid given to the African countries, the countries which are part of the Lome agreements with the EC, which shows that our countries are prepared to make a substantial effort in order to meet all these needs. It's difficult for them.

So, a member of the French press, perhaps. What paper do you represent? [Laughter] I think you, sir. You win.

*Iraq*

*Q.* Mr. President, coming back to President Saddam Hussein, let's put the question in a very straight way: Do you think it's time to get rid of him?

*President Bush.* You put it in a straight way, and I'll put the answer in a rather circuitous way. The United States will not have improved nor normalized relations with Iraq as long as Saddam Hussein is in

power. I will not have our people voting to lift sanctions as long as he is in power.

He is hurting his people. Before the war started I made very clear, over and over again, that our argument was not with the people of Iraq. It wasn't even with the regime in Iraq. It was with Saddam Hussein. I had a chance to talk to President Mitterrand on this and get his views. And my view remains that the best thing that could happen would be for him to step aside and let us all begin with whoever took his place to try to have improved relations. That would mean, of course, full and total compliance to every "t" and every "i" in the U.N. resolutions.

But that's the way to bring relief to the people of Iraq. We're sending food over there, and the food gets diverted by this brutal man to support his army or to support the people in Takrit. And world opinion is getting sick and tired of it. So, they can sort that out at home, but I can state the position of the United States.

Thank you, sir.

*Q.* May I follow up, Mr. President?

*President Mitterrand.* I want to thank President George Bush, warmly. And I wish him a very good trip to London where I'll have the pleasure of meeting him again tomorrow. And thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

*Note: President Bush's 91st news conference began at 6:24 p.m. on the lawn of Chateau de Rambouillet. President Mitterrand spoke in French, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.*

## Remarks at the Legion of Merit Presentation Ceremony in London, United Kingdom

July 14, 1991

*The President.* Mr. Prime Minister, may I thank you, sir, for setting the arrangements for this ceremony. And I am very pleased to mark this visit by honoring one of Her Majesty's finest, Sir Peter de la Billiere. My pronunciation is horrible; my respect knows no bounds.

We do this for his many contributions to the coalition victory in the Gulf. And General, under your leadership, sir, in the midst of the most daunting task, never once did your country hesitate or waver. Always Britain was there, steadfast and strong. So, let me say to you, sir, to you and also to the

forces under your command: America is honored to be your ally.

In recognition of your courage and accomplishment, it is a privilege and a pleasure to present you with the Legion of Merit, Degree of Chief Commander.

And now I'd ask Commander Justice to read the citation.

*Commander Justice.* The President of the United States takes pleasure in presenting the Legion of Merit, Degree of Chief Commander, to Sir Peter de la Billiere, General, British Armed Forces, for exceptionally meritorious conduct in the performance of outstanding service as the commander of British forces, Middle East, during Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm.

General de la Billiere assembled and commanded over 43,500 of Britain's best soldiers and airmen, a contingent of the largest military coalition in modern history. General de la Billiere's ability to foster a cohesive and cooperative spirit between all of the nations resulted in the successful execution of hostilities against one of the

world's largest land armies, employment of history's most extensive and impressive air campaign, and the world's first defense against ballistic missiles.

His air force closed 16 airfields and flew over 5,500 sorties that were instrumental in neutralizing or reducing a significant number of enemy capabilities, particularly the Iraq command-and-control infrastructure and their ability to conduct counterattacks. His army attacked through some of the thickest offenses in theater, covering over 260 kilometers in less than 72 hours.

Throughout Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm, General de la Billiere led his forces magnificently and displayed the leadership, vision, wisdom, and perseverance required to ensure the victory of coalition forces over Iraq.

*Note: The President spoke at 8:50 p.m. at No. 10 Downing Street, the residence and office of Prime Minister John Major of the United Kingdom. Lt. Comdr. Wayne Justice was Coast Guard Aide to the President.*

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on Middle East Peace Talks July 15, 1991

*Mr. Fitzwater.* President Bush has asked Secretary of State Baker to return to the Middle East immediately upon the conclusion of the G-7 summit rather than accompanying him to Greece and Turkey as originally planned. Since the Secretary's last trip, we have been engaged in quiet diplomacy to get agreement to a conference that would launch direct bilateral and multilateral negotiations following President Assad's response to President Bush's letter. The President and the Secretary are hopeful that progress can be made and feel that it could be very useful for the Secretary to meet again with the leaders in the region. The Secretary will, however, complete his plans to attend the ASEAN meeting in

Kuala Lumpur, arriving Monday evening.

The Secretary will hold discussions in the following countries: Syria, Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Israel.

I don't have any other details at this time, but I did want to make that announcement. And we'll provide more as soon as we can get it.

*Q.* When does he leave?

*Mr. Fitzwater.* Right after the G-7 meeting.

*Note: The Press Secretary read this statement at 5:58 p.m. to reporters at the Hilton Hotel in London, United Kingdom. The statement referred to President Hafiz al-Assad of Syria.*

## Exchange With Reporters in London, United Kingdom

July 15, 1991

*The President.* Well, I was just asking what the press interest was in. And tonight at our dinner, the Secretary having covered Yugoslavia and a lot of other issues at the foreign minister level, we talked about the Iraq situation. And we talked mainly about conventional arms control or how the various participants in the G-7 could show their keen interest in arms control. We didn't go into the details of START or anything of that nature.

So, those were the subjects at our dinner. And, Jim, you were into several other subjects, Yugoslavia—

*Secretary Baker.* Yugoslavia, Asia, a whole host of regional political issues.

*The President.* And then a main topic at our dinner was the Middle East. And with that in mind, we have received a response from Syria. We view it as a positive response. We're not suggesting that everything is fine and that there couldn't be some last minute hitch to it, but we're approaching this very positively. And so much so that I've asked Jim Baker to go back to the area to immediately follow up.

This is what we would term a breakthrough from what we know about it, something very important. We're grateful that President Assad has come forward at this point, appears to have come forward, willing to engage in the kinds of discussions that Secretary Baker has been pressing for. That's been part of our policy.

So, we'll see where we go from here. And I regret that Jim won't be with me at Turkey and Greece. Both countries have been important to us. He's done a lot of work with their ministers. But this takes priority. And so he will go to several countries in the Middle East, and we'll see where we come out.

### *Middle East Peace Talks*

*Q.* Mr. President, how would you describe the significance of this breakthrough? Do you see real hope here?

*The President.* Well, again, I will wait until I hear from Jim Baker after he's been in the area, been to several of these coun-

tries. But I think, in fairness to President Mubarak who worked with President Assad of Syria on this and to others, we would say, from what we've seen, we would say "breakthrough." But we've learned that you—we want to go into all the details so that there can't have been some hangup. But clearly, it is a coming forward by President Assad that we view as very, very positive; breakthrough, perhaps or maybe. But I think these words, we've got to be careful until the details are finalized.

*Q.* What is your plan, and why is it still a secret? And what will Israel respond to this since it's already rejected it?

*The President.* Well, I don't know that Israel has rejected this. And the plan has—the major components of it are well-known. But there are details of it better kept for quiet diplomacy. So, I think mostly people realize what we're talking about here in trying to get these parties to engage one with the other, starting mechanism being a conference of sorts. But we're just going to go forward and keep pressing. And I don't believe Israel has rejected this. They haven't had a chance to even understand what President Assad is proposing. And one of their concerns has been that Syria hasn't been coming forward. And now if it is proper that they are coming forward, that clearly would, I would think, be good for those who want peace in the area. It is a very important step that's taken place.

*Q.* You mean he has made a concession on some of the—

*The President.* I wouldn't call it a concession. He's just agreed now to come forward to the kinds of meetings that are necessary to get this process going. And that is a major step if it proves to be correct.

*Q.* Mr. President, how will you convince Israel to get on board now that the Syrians have made this move?

*The President.* I would like to think that when they say they want peace, that they would get on board naturally. They've been wanting talks with people in the area, and if all goes well here, that's exactly what will

happen. So, I'm not going to do anything other than—to suggest that they'll be unwilling to. My view is that, if it's as represented, that they will want to. They've made statements to us of wanting to do these things, so now here will be a good test, a good—

*Q.* You mean they have not responded?

*The President.* Well, we haven't asked Israel to respond to the Syrian response yet. We're, as I say, examining it in every detail.

#### *Iraq*

*Q.* Mr. President, the other side of this is the possibility of renewed bombing inside Iraq. When you talked to the various leaders tonight, do you have support—if Iraq does not come forward and give the information that we all want, do you have support for military action against Iraq?

*The President.* There would be strong, strong support for that. I would refer you to what President Mitterrand said yesterday morning, very clear, very direct. The British clearly are in that supportive mode. And I think most countries, recognizing the terrible danger of this man going forward with a nuclear program, would be of the same mind.

*Mr. Fitzwater.* Thank you all.

*The President.* Thank you all.

*Q.* Mr. President, can I ask you one last question?

*The President.* Yes, you've got it.

#### *START Negotiations*

*Q.* Is there a possibility that by the time you meet Mr. Gorbachev later this week there will be an agreement on a strategic arms accord?

*The President.* Well, I meet him the day after tomorrow. And so I don't want to raise people's hopes, except to say this, that the hard work that went into this by the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Bessmertnykh, and by our Secretary of State produced a lot of results, a lot of results. And we have one sticking point that is highly technical. And whether President Gorbachev and I are able to even discuss something of this technical nature without a lot of experts around, I'm not prepared to say.

This G-7 meeting was not to be dominated by some agreement or lack of agree-

ment on START. And I'm determined to keep it that way. But clearly, if he wants to discuss it further at this meeting, we will be prepared. Maybe there will be other ways to meet. Maybe after Jim and I and General Scowcroft and others who are key to this have a chance to discuss in detail the highly technical arguments, maybe we'll be able to sit with the Foreign Minister when he gets here.

So, we don't have a plan to try to hammer it out in that way. And again, I don't want to confuse President Gorbachev's coming to the G-7 summit with arms control, with START. It still remains, however, that we want a summit agreement. It still remains that to have a summit agreement, we should have all these details worked out and to have broad agreement on START. Not every single "t" crossed or "i" dotted—we're talking there, I'm told, of several hundred pages of documentation—that isn't necessary. But the Secretary and the Foreign Minister having hammered out agreement on the major sticking principles, we're now, I think, to use Jim's word, about 99 percent of the way there. But having said that, this last issue is sticky, and we'll have to see where we go.

But I think the Soviets want a summit. We've got many things that I want to talk to him about at a summit. And so, let's hope that this matter will be resolved in the short period of time that lies ahead. I still would say to you that if that's done, there could be a summit by the end of this month still. So, pack your bags, but don't have them zipped up. It's that kind of a thing.

*Q.* Well, if it's 99 percent, what's that big hang-up? It seems to me—10 years.

*The President.* The other 1 percent; you've got to deduct 99 from 100. [*Laughter*]

#### *Secretary of State's Travel*

*Q.* When do you leave? When do you leave? Wednesday night or Thursday?

*Secretary Baker.* Probably Thursday morning.

*The President.* Why don't you ask the Secretary of State a few questions? [*Laughter*]

*Secretary Baker.* Probably Thursday morning.

*London Economic Summit*

*The President.* No, but it's been a good meeting so far. Let me just say this since we're here at Winfield House: We are very grateful to Prime Minister Major, not just for the hospitality and the lovely evening and the arrangements and all of that but to the time and attention that he put in, the leadership that he put into this G-7 summit. He's worked out the agenda in a good way. He's been very tolerant of dissenting views, and these discussions we've had are freewheeling. And I am very impressed with the job he has done. I think everyone else attending the summit would agree with that.

*Q.* Yes, but he won't let us cover anything.

*The President.* Well, that's your problem, not Major's. [Laughter]

Hey, would you like to say a few words for Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International]? [Laughter] She wants somebody to answer her questions about anything.

*Mrs. Bush.* I'll be out later, Helen. [Laughter]

*The President.* Here's our hostess. Helen Thomas would like to get your view on the balance of payments. [Laughter]

*Q.* No. We just want to be able to cover the wives occasionally.

*Note: The exchange began at 10:50 p.m. at Winfield House. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.*

## London Economic Summit Declaration on Conventional Arms Transfers and Nuclear, Biological, and Chemical Weapons Proliferation

*July 16, 1991*

1. At our meeting in Houston last year, we, the Heads of State and Government and the representatives of the European Community, underlined the threats to international security posed by the proliferation of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons and of associated missile delivery systems. The Gulf crisis has highlighted the dangers posed by the unchecked spread of these weapons and by excessive holdings of conventional weapons. The responsibility to prevent the re-emergence of such dangers is to be shared by both arms suppliers and recipient countries as well as the international community as a whole. As is clear from the various initiatives which several of us have proposed jointly and individually, we are each determined to tackle, in appropriate fora, these dangers both in the Middle East and elsewhere.

### CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS

2. We accept that many states depend on arms imports to assure a reasonable level of security and the inherent right of self-de-

fence is recognised in the United Nations Charter. Tensions will persist in international relations so long as underlying conflicts of interest are not tackled and resolved. But the Gulf conflict showed the way in which peace and stability can be undermined when a country is able to acquire a massive arsenal that goes far beyond the needs of self defence and threatens its neighbours. We are determined to ensure such abuse should not happen again. We believe that progress can be made if all states apply the three principles of transparency, consultation and action.

3. The principle of *transparency* should be extended to international transfers of conventional weapons and associated military technology. As a step in this direction we support the proposal for a universal register of arms transfers under the auspices of the United Nations, and will work for its early adoption. Such a register would alert the international community to an attempt by a state to build up holdings of conventional weapons beyond a reasonable level.

Information should be provided by all states on a regular basis after transfers have taken place. We also urge greater openness about overall holdings of conventional weapons. We believe the provision of such data, and a procedure for seeking clarification, would be a valuable confidence and security building measure.

4. The principle of *consultation* should now be strengthened through the rapid implementation of recent initiatives for discussions among leading arms exporters with the aim of agreeing a common approach to the guidelines which are applied in the transfer of conventional weapons. We welcome the recent opening of discussions on this subject. These include the encouraging talks in Paris among the Permanent Members of the United Nations Security Council on 8/9 July; as well as ongoing discussions within the framework of the European Community and its Member States. Each of us will continue to play a constructive part in this important process, in these and other appropriate fora.

5. The principle of *action* requires all of us to take steps to prevent the building up of disproportionate arsenals. To that end all countries should refrain from arms transfers which would be destabilising or would exacerbate existing tensions. Special restraint should be exercised in the transfer of advanced technology weapons and in sales to countries and areas of particular concern. A special effort should be made to define sensitive items and production capacity for advanced weapons, to the transfer of which similar restraints could be applied. All states should take steps to ensure that these criteria are strictly enforced. We intend to give these issues our continuing close attention.

6. Iraqi aggression and the ensuing Gulf war illustrate the huge costs to the international community of military conflict. We believe that moderation in the level of military expenditure is a key aspect of sound economic policy and good government. While all countries are struggling with competing claims on scarce resources, excessive spending on arms of all kinds diverts resources from the overriding need to tackle economic development. It can also build up large debts without creating the means by which these may be serviced. We note with

favour the recent report issued by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the recent decisions by several donor countries to take account of military expenditure where it is disproportionate when setting up aid programmes and encourage all other donor countries to take similar action. We welcome the attention which the Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the President of the World Bank have recently given to excessive military spending, in the context of reducing unproductive public expenditure.

#### NON-PROLIFERATION

7. We are deeply concerned about the proliferation of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons and missile delivery systems. We are determined to combat this menace by strengthening and expanding the non-proliferation regimes.

8. Iraq must fully abide by Security Council Resolution 687, which sets out requirements for the destruction, removal or rendering harmless under international supervision of its nuclear, biological, and chemical warfare and missile capabilities; as well as for verification and long-term monitoring to ensure that Iraq's capability for such weapon systems is not developed in the future. Consistent with the relevant UN resolutions, we will provide every assistance to the United Nations Special Commission and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) so that they can fully carry out their tasks.

9. In the nuclear field, we:

- Re-affirm our will to work to establish the widest possible consensus in favour of an equitable and stable non-proliferation regime based on a balance between nuclear non-proliferation and the development of peaceful uses of nuclear energy.
- Reaffirm the importance of the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and call on all other non-signatory states to subscribe to this agreement;
- Call on all non-nuclear weapon states to submit all their nuclear activities to IAEA safeguards, which are the cornerstone of the international non-prolifera-



tion regime;

- Urge all supplier states to adopt and implement the Nuclear Suppliers Group guidelines.

We welcome the decision of Brazil and Argentina to conclude a full-scope safeguard agreement with the IAEA and to take steps to bring the Treaty of Tlatelolco into force, as well as the accession of South Africa to the NPT.

10. Each of us will also work to achieve:
  - Our common purpose of maintaining and reinforcing the NPT regime beyond 1995;
  - A strengthened and improved IAEA safeguards system;
  - New measures in the Nuclear Suppliers Group to ensure adequate export controls on dual-use items.

11. We anticipate that the Biological Weapons Review Conference in September will succeed in strengthening implementation of the convention's existing provisions by reinforcing and extending its confidence-building measures and exploring the scope for effective verification measures. Each of us will encourage accession to the convention by other states and urge all parties strictly to fulfil their obligations under the convention. We each believe that a successful Review Conference leading to strengthened implementation of the BWC, would make an important contribution to preventing the proliferation of biological weapons.

12. The successful negotiation of a strong, comprehensive, and effectively verifiable convention banning chemical weapons, to which all states subscribe, is the best way to prevent the spread of chemical weapons. We welcome recent announcements by the United States which we believe will contribute the swift conclusion of such a convention. We hope that the negotiation will be successfully concluded as soon as possible. We reaffirm our intention to become original parties to the convention. We urge others to become parties at the earliest opportunity so that it can enter into force as soon as possible.

13. We must also strengthen controls on exports which could contribute to the proliferation of biological and chemical weapons. We welcome the measures taken by members of the Australia Group and by other states on the control of exports of chemical weapons precursors and related equipment. We seek to achieve increasingly close convergence of practice between all exporting states. We urge all states to support these efforts.

14. Our aim is a total and effective ban on chemical and biological weapons. Use of such weapons is an outrage against humanity. In the event that a state uses such weapons each of us agrees to give immediate consideration to imposing severe measures against it both in the UN Security Council and elsewhere.

15. The spread of missile delivery systems has added a new dimension of instability to international security in many regions of the world. As the founders of the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), we welcome its extension to many other states in the last two years. We endorse the joint appeal issued at the Tokyo MTCR meeting in March 1991 for all countries to adopt these guidelines. These are not intended to inhibit cooperation in the use of space for peaceful and scientific purposes.

16. We can make an important contribution to reducing the dangers of proliferation and conventional arms transfers. Our efforts and consultations on these issues, including with other supplier countries, will be continued in all appropriate fora so as to establish a new climate of global restraint. We will only succeed if others, including recipient countries, support us and if the international community unites in a new effort to remove these threats which can imperil the safety of all our peoples.

16 July 1991

*Note: The declaration was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary but was not issued as a White House press release.*

## London Economic Summit Political Declaration: Strengthening the International Order

*July 16, 1991*

1. We, the leaders of our seven countries and the representatives of the European Community, renew our firm commitment to the ideal of a peaceful, just, democratic and prosperous world. The international community faces enormous challenges. But there is also reason for hope. We must reinforce the multilateral approach to the solution of common problems and work to strengthen the international system of which the United Nations, based on its Charter, remains so central a part. We call on the leaders of other nations to join us in that cause.

2. It is a matter for hope and encouragement that the United Nations Security Council, with the backing of the international community, showed during the Gulf crisis that it could fulfil its role of acting to restore international peace and security and to resolve conflict. With the East-West confrontation of the last four decades behind us, the international community must now build on this new spirit of cooperation not only in the Middle East but wherever danger and conflict threaten or other challenges must be met.

3. We believe the conditions now exist for the United Nations to fulfil completely the promise and the vision of its founders. A revitalised United Nations will have a central role in strengthening the international order. We commit ourselves to making the UN stronger, more efficient and more effective in order to protect human rights, to maintain peace and security for all and to deter aggression. We will make preventive diplomacy a top priority to help avert future conflicts by making clear to potential aggressors the consequences of their actions. The UN's role in peacekeeping should be reinforced and we are prepared to support this strongly.

4. We note that the urgent and overwhelming nature of the humanitarian problem in Iraq caused by violent oppression by the Government required exceptional action by the international community, fol-

lowing UNSCR 688. We urge the UN and its affiliated agencies to be ready to consider similar action in the future if the circumstances require it. The international community cannot stand idly by in cases where widespread human suffering from famine, war, oppression, refugee flows, disease or flood reaches urgent and overwhelming proportions.

5. The recent tragedies in Bangladesh, Iraq and the Horn of Africa demonstrate the need to reinforce UN relief in coping with emergencies. We call on all Member States to respond to the Secretary General's appeal for voluntary contributions. We would like to see moves to strengthen the coordination, and to accelerate the effective delivery, of all UN relief for major disasters. Such initiatives, as part of an overall effort to make the UN more effective could include:

(a) the designation of a high level official, answerable only to the United Nations Secretary-General, who would be responsible for directing a prompt and well-integrated international response to emergencies, and for coordinating the relevant UN appeals; and

(b) improvement in the arrangements whereby resources from within the UN system and support from donor countries and NGOs can be mobilised to meet urgent humanitarian needs in time of crisis.

The United Nations would then be able to take the early action that has sometimes been missing in the past. The United Nations should also make full use of its early warning capacity to alert the international community to coming crises and to work on the preparation of contingency plans, to include the question of prior earmarking of resources and material that would be available to meet these contingencies.

6. Since we last met the world has witnessed the invasion, occupation and subsequent liberation of Kuwait. The overwhelming response of the international community in reversing the forcible annexation of

one small nation was evidence of the widespread preference for

- taking collective measures against threats to the peace and to suppress aggression
- settling disputes peacefully
- upholding the rule of law and
- protecting human rights.

These principles are essential to the civilised conduct of relations between states.

7. We express our support for what the countries of the Gulf and their neighbours are doing to ensure their security in future. We intend to maintain sanctions against Iraq until all the relevant resolutions of the Security Council have been implemented in full and the people of Iraq, as well as their neighbours, can live without fear of intimidation, repression or attack. As for the Iraqi people, they deserve the opportunity to choose their leadership openly and democratically. We look forward to the forthcoming elections in Kuwait and to an improvement of the human rights situation there and in the region.

8. We attach overriding importance to the launching of a process designed to bring comprehensive, just and lasting peace between Israel and her Arab neighbours, including the Palestinians. Such a peace should be based on UN SCRs 242 and 338 and the principle of territory for peace. We support the concept of a peace conference starting parallel and direct negotiations between Israel and representative Palestinians on the one hand and Israel and the Arab states on the other. We confirm our continuing support for the current American initiative to advance the peace process, which we believe offers the best hope of progress towards a settlement. We urge all the parties to the dispute to adopt reciprocal and balanced confidence-building measures and to show the flexibility necessary to allow a peace conference to be convened on the basis set out in this initiative. In that connection we believe that the Arab boycott should be suspended as should the Israeli policy of building settlements in the occupied territories.

9. We take note with satisfaction of the prospects opened by the restoration of security in Lebanon. We continue to support efforts by the Lebanese authorities to

achieve the implementation of the Taif process, which will lead to the departure of all foreign forces and the holding of free elections.

10. We express our willingness to support the development of economic cooperation among the countries of the Middle East on the basis of liberal policies designed to encourage the repatriation of capital, an increase in investment and a decrease in obstacles to trade. Such policies should be accompanied by comprehensive long-term efforts to bring about more stability for the Middle East and the Mediterranean.

11. We welcome the further substantial progress in reform, both political and economic, achieved in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe during the last year and recognise that these gains will need to be maintained through a difficult period of economic transition, including through regional initiatives. We have a strong interest in the success of market reforms and democracy in Central and Eastern Europe and we commit ourselves to full support for these reforms. We also take note of the progress of Albania towards joining the democratic community of nations.

12. Our support for the process of fundamental reform in the Soviet Union remains as strong as ever. We believe that new thinking in Soviet foreign policy, which has done so much to reduce East/West tension and strengthen the multilateral peace and security system, should be applied on a global basis. We hope that this new spirit of international co-operation will be as fully reflected in Asia as in Europe. We welcome efforts to create a new union, based on consent not coercion, which genuinely responds to the wishes of the peoples of the Soviet Union. The scale of this undertaking is enormous: an open and democratic Soviet Union able to play its full part in building stability and trust in the world. We reiterate our commitment to working with the Soviet Union to support their efforts to create an open society, a pluralistic democracy and a market economy. We hope the negotiations between the U.S.S.R. and the elected governments of the Baltic countries will resolve their future democratically and in accordance with the legitimate aspira-

tions of the people.

13. It is for the peoples of Yugoslavia themselves to decide upon their future. However the situation in Yugoslavia continues to cause great concern. Military force and bloodshed cannot lead to a lasting settlement and will only put at risk wider stability. We call for a halt to violence, the deactivation and return of military forces to barracks and a permanent ceasefire. We urge all parties to comply with the provisions of the Brioni agreement as it stands. We welcome the efforts of the European Community and its member states in assisting in the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis. We therefore support the dispatch of EC monitors to Yugoslavia, within the framework of the CSCE emergency mechanism. We will do whatever we can, with others in the international community, to encourage and support the process of dialogue and negotiation in accordance with the principles enshrined in the Helsinki Final Act and the Paris Charter for a new Europe, in particular respect for human rights, including rights of minorities and the right of peoples to self-determination in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations and with the relevant norms of international law, including those relating to territorial integrity of states. The normalisation of the present situation will allow us to contribute to the indispensable economic recovery of the country.

14. We welcome the positive developments in South Africa, where the legislative pillars of apartheid have at last been dismantled. We hope that these important steps will be followed by the de facto elimination of apartheid and improvement in the situation of the most impoverished among the population of South Africa. We hope that negotiations on a new Constitution leading to non-racial democracy will begin shortly and will not be disrupted by the tragic upsurge of violence. All parties must do all that is in their power to resolve the problem of violence. We are concerned that the foundation for a new non-racial South Africa will be undermined by mounting social problems and declining economic prospects for the majority of the population, which have contributed to the violence. There is an urgent need to restore growth

to the economy to help reduce inequalities of wealth and opportunity. South Africa needs to pursue new economic, investment and other policies that permit normal access to all sources of foreign borrowing. In addition to its own domestic efforts, South Africa also needs the help of the international community, especially in those areas where the majority have long suffered deprivation: education, health, housing and social welfare. We will direct our aid for these purposes.

15. Finally, we look for further strengthening of the international order by continued vigorous efforts to deter terrorism and hostage taking. We call for the immediate and unconditional release of all hostages wherever they may be held and for an accounting of all persons taken hostage who may have died while being held. We welcome the undertakings given by governments with an influence over hostage holders to work for the release of hostages and urge them to intensify their efforts to this end. We extend our sympathy to the friends and relations of those held. We reaffirm our condemnation of all forms of terrorism. We will work together to deter and combat terrorism by all possible means within the framework of international law and national legislation, particularly in the fields of international civil aviation security and the marking of plastic explosives for the purpose of detection.

\* \* \* \* \*

16. This forum continues to provide an invaluable opportunity for representatives from Europe, Japan and North America to discuss the critical challenges of the coming years. But we cannot succeed alone. We call on the leaders of the other nations to join us in our efforts to make a practical and sustained contribution to the cause of peace, security, freedom and the rule of law, which are the preconditions for trying to bring about greater justice and prosperity throughout the world.

16 July 1991

*Note: The declaration was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary but was not issued as a White House press release.*

## Letter to Congressional Leaders on Iraq's Compliance With United Nations Security Council Resolutions

July 16, 1991

*Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)*

Consistent with the Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution (Public Law 102-1), and as part of my continuing effort to keep the Congress fully informed, I am again reporting on the status of efforts to obtain compliance by Iraq with the resolutions adopted by the U.N. Security Council.

As I stated in my report of May 17, 1991, U.N. Security Council Resolution 687 required as a precondition for the formal cease-fire that Iraq accept the destruction, removal or rendering harmless of all chemical and biological weapons, ballistic missiles with a range greater than 150 kilometers, and nuclear-weapons-usable material, together with related facilities and equipment; and that it accept international supervision and inspection to verify compliance with these requirements. On June 17, the Security Council approved a plan for this supervision and inspection, to be conducted by the International Atomic Energy Agency and the Special Commission created under Resolution 687.

With the strong support and encouragement of the United States, these bodies have been working actively to identify, inspect and arrange for the elimination of these weapons and related items. While some inspections of declared missiles and chemical weapons have occurred, Iraq has generally engaged in obfuscation and evasion of its obligations. In recent weeks, public attention has focused on Iraq's nuclear equipment and material, but this has also been true with respect to Iraq's undeclared chemical weapons and ballistic missiles and its continuing refusal to acknowledge any biological weapons development activities. We will not allow these Iraqi actions to succeed. We will continue to insist on the full identification and complete elimination of all relevant items as well as the imposition of a thorough and effective monitoring regime to assure Iraq's long-term compliance with Resolution 687.

In addition, the United Nations has moved forward in the implementation of other requirements of Resolution 687. The Security Council has created a U.N. Compensation Commission to consider and pay claims for losses caused by the Iraqi invasion and occupation of Kuwait, to be funded by deductions from Iraqi oil export revenues. The U.N. Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission has deployed into the demilitarized zone created by the Security Council along the Iraq-Kuwait border, and the Iraq-Kuwait Boundary Demarcation Commission has made a substantial start toward the final demarcation of the boundary, which would eliminate one of the ostensible causes of the war. However, in light of the intransigence of Saddam Hussein and the failure of Iraq to comply with its obligations under the Resolution, the Security Council has not further relaxed the current economic sanctions.

In my last report, I described the Iraqi repression of the Kurds and other internal population groups, which necessitated the introduction of U.S. and other coalition armed forces into northern Iraq to provide relief and security for the civilian population. As I stated then, this effort was not intended as a permanent solution to the problem, nor as a military intervention in the internal affairs of Iraq. Rather, it was intended as a humanitarian measure to save lives. Having succeeded in providing safe conditions for the return of Kurdish refugees from the mountainous border areas, U.S. forces have now withdrawn from northern Iraq. However, we have informed the Iraqi Government that we will continue to monitor carefully its treatment of its citizens, and that we remain prepared to take appropriate steps if the situation requires. To this end, the coalition plans to maintain an appropriate level of forces in the region for as long as required by the situation in Iraq.

I remain grateful for Congress' support of these endeavors, and I look forward to con-

tinued cooperation toward achieving our objectives.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

*Note: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Robert C. Byrd, President pro tempore of the Senate.*

## Nomination of Sylvia Chavez Long To Be an Assistant Secretary of Veterans Affairs

*July 16, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Sylvia Chavez Long, of New Mexico, to be an Assistant Secretary of Veterans Affairs for Congressional Affairs at the Department of Veterans Affairs. She would succeed Edward G. Lewis.

Since 1989 Ms. Long has served as a Deputy Assistant Secretary for Program Coordination and Evaluation at the Department of Veterans Affairs. Prior to this she

served as veterans/military liaison and deputy district office manager for Congressman Steve Schiff in Washington, DC.

Ms. Long graduated from the University of New Mexico (B.A., 1988). She was born October 26, 1948, in Sante Fe, NM. Ms. Long serves in the U.S. Navy Reserve, 1974-present. She has two children and resides in Fairfax, VA.

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Senate Confirmation Hearings for Central Intelligence Agency Director Nominee Robert M. Gates

*July 16, 1991*

Last week, the President urged in the strongest terms that the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence and the full Senate promptly schedule hearings and act favorably on the nomination of Robert Gates to be Director of Central Intelligence. The President took this position because a prolonged process would be unfair to Mr. Gates and subject him to continuing innuendo and groundless allegations. We still have those concerns.

While the committee is prepared to begin hearings next week, it has informed the White House that it would not complete the confirmation process prior to the

August recess and suggested starting the hearings on September 16, 1991. The White House concurs in this delay.

We are hopeful that the September 16 date to begin hearings provides the opportunity to move the nomination forward expeditiously and without interruption. A start-and-stop hearing and confirmation process dragging out over a number of weeks would not be fair to Mr. Gates.

The President again underscores his total support for Mr. Gates and urges the committee and the full Senate to act as soon as possible to confirm this honorable, able, and dedicated public servant.

## London Economic Summit Economic Declaration: Building World Partnership

July 17, 1991

1. We, the Heads of State and Government of the seven major industrial democracies and the representatives of the European Community, met in London for our seventeenth annual Summit.

2. The spread of freedom and democracy which we celebrated at Houston has gathered pace over the last year. Together the international community has overcome a major threat to world peace in the Gulf. But new challenges and new opportunities confront us.

3. We seek to build world partnership, based on common values, and to strengthen the international order. Our aim is to underpin democracy, human rights, the rule of law and sound economic management, which together provide the key to prosperity. To achieve this aim, we will promote a truly multilateral system, which is secure and adaptable and in which responsibility is shared widely and equitably. Central to our aim is the need for a stronger, more effective UN system, and for greater attention to the proliferation and transfer of weapons.

### *Economic policy*

4. Over the last year, some of our economies have maintained good growth, while most have slowed down and some gone into recession. But a global recession has been avoided. The uncertainty created by the Gulf crisis is behind us. We welcome the fact that there are now increasing signs of economic recovery. Progress has been made too in reducing the largest trade and current account imbalances.

5. Our shared objectives are a sustained recovery and price stability. To this end, we are determined to maintain, including through our economic policy coordination process, the medium-term strategy endorsed by earlier Summits. This strategy has contained inflationary expectations and created the conditions for sustainable growth and new jobs.

6. We therefore commit ourselves to implement fiscal and monetary policies,

which, while reflecting the different situations in our countries, provide the basis for lower real interest rates. In this connection, continued progress in reducing budget deficits is essential. This, together with the efforts being made to reduce impediments to private saving, will help generate the increase in global savings needed to meet demands for investment. We also welcome the close cooperation on exchange markets and the work to improve the functioning of the international monetary system.

7. We will also, with the help of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and other institutions, pursue reforms to improve economic efficiency and thus the potential for growth. These include:—

- a) greater competition in our economies, including regulatory reform. This can enhance consumer choice, reduce prices and ease burdens on business.
- b) greater transparency, elimination or enhanced discipline in subsidies that have distorting effects, since such subsidies lead to inefficient allocation of resources and inflate public expenditure.
- c) improved education and training, to enhance the skills and improve the opportunities of those both in and out of employment, as well as policies contributing to greater flexibility in the employment system.
- d) a more efficient public sector, for example through higher standards of management and including possibilities for privatisation and contracting out.
- e) the wide and rapid diffusion of advances in science and technology.
- f) essential investment, both private and public, in infrastructure.

8. We will encourage work nationally and internationally to develop cost-effective economic instruments for protecting the environment, such as taxes, charges and tradeable permits.

*International trade*

9. No issue has more far-reaching implications for the future prospects of the world economy than the successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round. It will stimulate non-inflationary growth by bolstering confidence, reversing protectionism and increasing trade flows. It will be essential to encourage the integration of developing countries and Central and East European nations into the multilateral trading system. All these benefits will be lost if we cannot conclude the Round.

10. We therefore commit ourselves to an ambitious, global and balanced package of results from the Round, with the widest possible participation by both developed and developing countries. The aim of all contracting parties should be to complete the Round before the end of 1991. We shall each remain personally involved in this process, ready to intervene with one another if differences can only be resolved at the highest level.

11. To achieve our objectives, sustained progress will be needed in the negotiations at Geneva in all areas over the rest of this year. The principal requirement is to move forward urgently in the following areas taken together:—

- a) market access, where it is necessary, in particular, to cut tariff peaks for some products while moving to zero tariffs for others, as part of a substantial reduction of tariffs and parallel action against non-tariff barriers.
- b) agriculture, where a framework must be decided upon to provide for specific binding commitments in domestic support, market access and export competition, so that substantial progressive reductions of support and protection may be agreed in each area, taking into account non-trade concerns.
- c) services, where accord on a general agreement on trade in services should be reinforced by substantial and binding initial commitments to reduce or remove existing restrictions on services trade and not to impose new ones.
- d) intellectual property, where clear and enforceable rules and obligations to protect all property rights are neces-

sary to encourage investment and the spread of technology.

12. Progress on these issues will encourage final agreement in areas already close to conclusion, such as textiles, tropical products, safeguards and dispute settlement. Agreement to an improved dispute settlement mechanism should lead to a commitment to operate only under the multilateral rules. Taken all together, these and the other elements of the negotiations, including GATT rule-making, should amount to the substantial, wide-ranging package which we seek.

13. We will seek to ensure that regional integration is compatible with the multilateral trading system.

14. As we noted at Houston, a successful outcome of the Uruguay Round will also call for the institutional reinforcement of the multilateral trading system. The concept of an international trade organisation should be addressed in this context.

15. Open markets help to create the resources needed to protect the environment. We therefore commend the OECD's pioneering work in ensuring that trade and environment policies are mutually supporting. We look to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) to define how trade measures can properly be used for environmental purposes.

16. We are convinced that OECD members must overcome in the near future and, in any case, by the end of the year, remaining obstacles to an agreement on reducing the distortions that result from the use of subsidised export credits and of tied aid credits. We welcome the initiative of the OECD in studying export credit premium systems and structures and look forward to an early report.

*Energy*

17. As the Gulf crisis showed, the supply and price of oil remain vulnerable to political shocks, which disturb the world economy. But these shocks have been contained by the effective operation of the market, by the welcome increase in supplies by certain oil-exporting countries and by the actions co-ordinated by the International Energy Agency (IEA), particularly the use of stocks.



We are committed to strengthen the IEA's emergency preparedness and its supporting measures. Since the crisis has led to improved relations between producers and consumers, contacts among all market participants could be further developed to promote communication, transparency and the efficient working of market forces.

18. We will work to secure stable worldwide energy supplies, to remove barriers to energy trade and investment, to encourage high environmental and safety standards and to promote international cooperation on research and development in all these areas. We will also seek to improve energy efficiency and to price energy from all sources so as to reflect costs fully, including environmental costs.

19. In this context, nuclear power generation contributes to diversifying energy sources and reducing greenhouse gas emissions. In developing nuclear power as an economic energy source, it is essential to achieve and maintain the highest available standards of safety, including in waste management, and to encourage co-operation to this end throughout the world. The safety situation in Central and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union deserves particular attention. This is an urgent problem and we call upon the international community to develop an effective means of coordinating its response.

20. The commercial development of renewable energy sources and their integration with general energy systems should also be encouraged, because of the advantages these sources offer for environmental protection and energy security.

21. We all intend to take a full part in the initiative of the European Community for the establishment of a European Energy Charter on the basis of equal rights and obligations of signatory countries. The aim is to promote free and undistorted energy trade, to enhance security of supply, to protect the environment and to assist economic reform in Central and East European countries and the Soviet Union, especially by creating an open, non-discriminatory regime for commercial energy investment.

#### *Central and Eastern Europe*

22. We salute the courage and determina-

tion of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe in building democracy and moving to market economies, despite formidable obstacles. We welcome the spread of political and economic reform throughout the region. These changes are of great historical importance. Bulgaria and Romania are now following the pioneering advances of Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. Albania is emerging from its long isolation.

23. Recognising that successful reform depends principally on the continuing efforts of the countries concerned, we renew our own firm commitment to support their reform efforts, to forge closer ties with them and to encourage their integration into the international economic system. Regional initiatives reinforce our ability to cooperate.

24. All the Central and East European countries except Albania are now members of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. We welcome the steps being taken by those countries that are implementing IMF-supported programmes of macro-economic stabilisation. It is crucial that these programmes are complemented by structural reforms, such as privatising and restructuring state-owned enterprises, increasing competition and strengthening property rights. We welcome the establishment of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), which has a mandate to foster the transition to open, market-oriented economies and to promote private initiative in Central and East European countries committed to democracy.

25. A favourable environment for private investment, both foreign and domestic, is crucial for sustained growth and for avoiding dependence on external assistance from governments. In this respect, technical assistance from our private sectors and governments, the European Community and international institutions should concentrate on helping this essential market-based transformation. In this context, we emphasise the importance of integrating environmental considerations into the economic restructuring process in Central and Eastern Europe.

26. Expanding markets for their exports are vital for the Central and East European

countries. We welcome the substantial increases already made in exports to market economies and we undertake to improve further their access to our markets for their products and services, including in areas such as steel, textiles and agricultural produce. In this context, we welcome the progress made in negotiating Association Agreements between the European Community and Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, as well as the Presidential Trade Enhancement Initiative announced by the United States, all of which will be in accordance with GATT principles. We will support the work of the OECD to identify restrictions to East/West trade and to facilitate their removal.

27. The Group of Twenty-four (G24) process, inaugurated by the Arch Summit and chaired by the European Commission, has mobilised \$31 billion in bilateral support for these countries, including balance of payments finance to underpin IMF-supported programmes. Such programmes are in place for Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. We welcome the contributions already made for Bulgaria and Romania. We are intensifying the G24 coordination process and we reaffirm our shared willingness to play our fair part in the global assistance effort.

#### *The Soviet Union*

28. We support the moves towards political and economic transformation in the Soviet Union and are ready to assist the integration of the Soviet Union into the world economy.

29. Reform to develop the market economy is essential to create incentives for change and enable the Soviet people to mobilise their own substantial natural and human resources. A clear and agreed framework within which the centre and the republics exercise their respective responsibilities is fundamental for the success of political and economic reform.

30. We have invited President Gorbachev to meet us for a discussion of reform policies and their implementation, as well as ways in which we can encourage this process.

31. We commend the IMF, World Bank, OECD and EBRD for their study of the

Soviet economy produced, in close consultation with the European Commission, in response to the request we made at Houston. This study sets out many of the elements necessary for successful economic reform, which include fiscal and monetary discipline and creating the framework of a market economy.

32. We are sensitive to the overall political context in which reforms are being conducted, including the "New Thinking" in Soviet foreign policy around the world. We are sensitive also to the importance of shifting resources from military to civilian use.

33. We are concerned about the deterioration of the Soviet economy, which creates severe hardship not only within the Soviet Union but also for the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

#### *The Middle East*

34. Many countries have suffered economically as a result of the Gulf crisis. We welcome the success of the Gulf Crisis Financial Co-ordination Group in mobilising nearly \$16 billion of assistance for those countries suffering the most direct economic impact of the Gulf crisis and urge all donors to complete disbursements rapidly. Extensive assistance is being provided by Summit participants for the Mediterranean and the Middle East, as well as by the IMF and World Bank.

35. We believe that enhanced economic co-operation in this area, on the basis of the principles of non-discrimination and open trade, could help repair the damage and reinforce political stability. We welcome the plans of major oil exporting countries for providing financial assistance to others in the region and their decision to establish a Gulf Development Fund. We support closer links between the international financial institutions and Arab and other donors. We believe this would encourage necessary economic reforms, promote efficient use of financial flows, foster private sector investment, stimulate trade liberalisation and facilitate joint projects e.g. in water management, which would draw on our technical skills and expertise.

*Developing Countries and Debt*

36. Developing countries are playing an increasingly constructive role in the international economic system, including the Uruguay Round. Many have introduced radical policy reforms and are adopting the following principles:

- (a) respect for human rights and for the law, which encourages individuals to contribute to development;
- (b) democratic pluralism and open systems of administration, accountable to the public;
- (c) sound, market-based economic policies to sustain development and bring people out of poverty;

We commend these countries and urge others to follow their example. Good governance not only promotes development at home, but helps to attract external finance and investment from all sources.

37. Our steadfast commitment to helping developing countries, in conjunction with a durable non-inflationary recovery of our economies and the opening of our markets, will be the most effective way we have of enhancing prosperity in the developing world.

38. Many of these countries, especially the poorest, need our financial and technical assistance to buttress their own development endeavours. Additional aid efforts are required, to enhance both the quantity and the quality of our support for priority development issues. These include alleviating poverty, improving health, education and training and enhancing the environmental quality of our aid. We endorse the increasing attention being given to population issues in devising strategies for sustainable progress.

39. Africa deserves our special attention. Progress by African governments towards sound economic policies, democracy and accountability is improving their prospects for growth. This is being helped by our continued support, focused on stimulating development of the private sector, encouraging regional integration, providing concessional flows and reducing debt burdens. The Special Programme of Assistance for Africa, co-ordinated by the World Bank and providing support for economic reform in over 20 Af-

rican countries, is proving its worth. We will provide humanitarian assistance to those parts of Africa facing severe famine and encourage the reform of United Nations structures in order to make this assistance more effective. We will also work to help the countries concerned remove the underlying causes of famine and other emergencies, whether these are natural or provoked by civil strife.

40. In the Asia-Pacific region, many economies, including members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC), continue to achieve dynamic growth. We welcome the efforts by those economies of the region which are assuming new international responsibilities. Other Asian countries, which are strengthening their reform efforts, continue to need external assistance.

41. In Latin America we are encouraged by the progress being made in carrying out genuine economic reforms and by developments in regional integration. We welcome the continuing discussions on the Multilateral Investment Fund, under the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative which, together with other efforts, is helping to create the right climate for direct investment, freer trade and a reversal of capital flight.

42. We recognize with satisfaction the progress being made under the strengthened debt strategy. Some countries have already benefited from the combination of strong adjustment with commercial bank debt reduction or equivalent measures. We encourage other countries with heavy debts to banks to negotiate similar packages.

43. We note:

- (a) the agreement reached by the Paris Club on debt reduction or equivalent measures for Poland and Egypt, which should be treated as exceptional cases;
- (b) the Paris Club's continued examination of the special situation of some lower middle-income countries on a case by case basis.

44. The poorest, most indebted countries need very special terms. We agree on the need for additional debt relief measures, on a case by case basis, for these countries, going well beyond the relief already grant-

ed under Toronto terms. We therefore call on the Paris Club to continue its discussions on how these measures can best be implemented promptly.

45. We recognize the need for appropriate new financial flows to developing countries. We believe the appropriate way to avoid unsustainable levels of debt is for developing countries to adopt strengthened policies to attract direct investment and the return of flight capital.

46. We note the key role of the IMF, whose resources should be strengthened by the early implementation of the quota increase under the Ninth General Review and the associated Third Amendment to the Articles of Agreement.

### *Environment*

47. The international community will face formidable environmental challenges in the coming decade. Managing the environment continues to be a priority issue for us. Our economic policies should ensure that the use of this planet's resources is sustainable and safeguards the interests of both present and future generations. Growing market economies can best mobilize the means for protecting the environment, while democratic systems ensure proper accountability.

48. Environmental considerations should be integrated into the full range of government policies, in a way which reflects their economic costs. We support the valuable work in this field being undertaken by the OECD. This includes the systematic review of member countries' environmental performance and the development of environmental indicators for use in decision-making.

49. Internationally, we must develop a co-operative approach for tackling environmental issues. Industrial countries should set an example and thus encourage developing countries and Central and East European nations to play their part. Co-operation is also required on regional problems. In this context, we welcome the consensus reached on the Environmental Protocol of the Antarctic Treaty, aimed at reinforcing the environmental preservation of this continent. We note the good progress of the Sahara and Sahel Observatory as well as the Budapest Environmental Centre.

50. The UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in June 1992 will be a landmark event. It will mark the climax of many international environmental negotiations. We commit ourselves to work for a successful Conference and to give the necessary political impetus to its preparation.

51. We aim to achieve the following by the time of UNCED:—

- a) an effective framework convention on climate change, containing appropriate commitments and addressing all sources and sinks for greenhouse gases. We will seek to expedite work on implementing protocols to reinforce the convention. All participants should be committed to design and implement concrete strategies to limit net emissions of greenhouse gases, with measures to facilitate adaptation. Significant actions by industrial countries will encourage the participation of developing and East European countries, which is essential to the negotiations.
- b) agreement on principles for the management, conservation and sustainable development of all types of forest, leading to a framework convention. This should be in a form both acceptable to the developing countries where tropical forests grow and consistent with the objective of a global forest convention or agreement which we set at Houston.

52. We will seek to promote, in the context of UNCED:

- a) mobilization of financial resources to help developing countries tackle environmental problems. We support the use of existing mechanisms for this purpose, in particular the Global Environment Facility (GEF). The GEF could become the comprehensive funding mechanism to help developing countries meet their obligations under the new environmental conventions.
- b) encouragement of an improved flow of beneficial technology to developing countries, making use of commercial mechanisms.
- c) a comprehensive approach to the oceans, including regional seas. The environmental and economic importance

of oceans and seas means that they must be protected and sustainably managed.

- d) further development of international law of the environment, drawing inter alia on the results of the Siena Forum.
- e) the reinforcement of international institutions concerned with the environment, including the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), for the decade ahead.

53. We support the negotiation, under the auspices of UNEP, of an acceptable framework convention of biodiversity, if possible to be concluded next year. It should concentrate on protecting ecosystems, particularly in species-rich areas, without impeding positive developments in biotechnology.

54. We remain concerned about the destruction of tropical forests. We welcome the progress made in developing the pilot programme for the conservation of the Brazilian tropical forest, which has been prepared by the Government of Brazil in consultation with the World Bank and the European Commission, in response to the offer of co-operation extended following the Houston Summit. We call for further urgent work under the auspices of the World Bank, in co-operation with the European Commission, in the framework of appropriate policies and with careful attention to economic, technical and social issues. We will financially support the implementation of the preliminary stage of the pilot programme utilising all potential sources, including the private sector, non-governmental organisations, the multilateral development banks, and the Global Environmental Facility. When details of the programme have been resolved, we will consider supplementing these resources with bilateral assistance, so that progress can be made on the ground. We believe that good progress with this project will have a beneficial impact on the treatment of forests at UNCED. We also welcome the spread of debt for nature exchanges, with an emphasis on forests.

55. The burning oil wells and polluted seas in the Gulf have shown that we need greater international capacity to prevent and respond to environmental disasters. All international and regional agreements for

this purpose, including those of the International Maritime Organisation (IMO), should be fully implemented. We welcome the decision by UNEP to establish an experimental centre for urgent environmental assistance. In the light of the recent storm damage in Bangladesh, we encourage the work on flood alleviation under the auspices of the World Bank, which we called for at the Arch Summit.

56. Living marine resources threatened by over-fishing and other harmful practices should be protected by the implementation of measures in accordance with international law. We urge control of marine pollution and compliance with the regimes established by regional fisheries organisations through effective monitoring and enforcement measures.

57. We call for greater efforts in co-operation in environmental science and technology, in particular:—

- a) scientific research into the global climate, including satellite monitoring and ocean observation. All countries, including developing countries, should be involved in this research effort. We welcome the development of information services for users of earth observation data since the Houston Summit.
- b) the development and diffusion of energy and environment technologies, including proposals for innovative technology programmes.

### *Drugs*

58. We note with satisfaction progress made in this field since our Houston meeting, notably the entry into force of the 1988 United Nations Convention Against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychiatric [Psychotropic] Substances. We welcome the formation of the United Nations International Drugs Control Programme (UNDCP).

59. We will increase our efforts to reduce the demand for drugs as a part of overall anti-drug action programmes. We maintain our efforts to combat the scourge of cocaine and will match these by increased attention to heroin, still the principal hard drug in Europe and Asia. Enhanced co-operation is needed both to reduce production of heroin in Asia and to check its flow into Europe.

Political changes in Central and Eastern Europe and the opening of frontiers there have increased the threat of drug misuse and facilitated illicit trafficking, but have also given greater scope for concerted Europe-wide action against drugs.

60. We applaud the efforts of the "Dublin Group" of European, North American and Asian governments to focus attention and resources on the problems of narcotics production and trafficking.

61. We commend the achievements of the task-forces initiated by previous Summits and supported by an increasing number of countries:—

- a) We urge all countries to take part in the international fight against money laundering and to cooperate with the activities of the Financial Action Task Force (FATF). We strongly support the agreement on a mutual evaluation process of each participating country's progress in implementing the FATF recommendations on money laundering. We endorse the recommendation of the FATF that it should operate on a continuing basis with a secretariat supplied by the OECD.
- b) We welcome the report of the Chemical Action Task Force (CATF) and endorse the measures it recommends for countering chemical diversion, building on the 1988 UN Convention against drug trafficking. We look forward to the special meeting in Asia, concentrat-

ing on heroin, and the CATF meeting due in March 1992, which should consider the institutional future of this work.

62. We are concerned to improve the capacity of law enforcement agencies to target illicit drug movements without hindering the legitimate circulation of persons and goods. We invite the Customs Cooperation Council to strengthen its cooperation with associations of international traders and carriers for this purpose and to produce a report before our next Summit.

#### *Migration*

63. Migration has made and can make a valuable contribution to economic and social development, under appropriate conditions, although there is a growing concern about worldwide migratory pressures, which are due to a variety of political, social and economic factors. We welcome the increased attention being given these issues by the OECD and may wish to return to them at a future Summit.

#### *Next meeting*

64. We have accepted an invitation from Chancellor Kohl to hold our next Summit in Munich, Germany in July 1992.

17 July 1991

*Note: The declaration was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary but was not issued as a White House press release.*

## **The President's News Conference With Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev in London, United Kingdom** *July 17, 1991*

*President Bush.* Well, may I say that it was a pleasure to have President Gorbachev in this Embassy. We've made a good deal of progress, and we will—he might have something to say about how much progress. But from the standpoint of the United States and the economic front and the arms front, we are very pleased with this meeting.

And once again, Mikhail, welcome, sir. I'm delighted to see you and your top

people here.

*President Gorbachev.* Mr. President, it was very short, and that's because of the circumstances. In fact, we didn't have a lot of time at our disposal, but we used it very well and very productively. And we were able to talk about quite a few things. Again, there's not much time for the press conference, and maybe later you will be able to satisfy yourselves as far as what happens at

our subsequent meeting.

Now, what I wanted to say was, in view of the fact that we were told that all of the issues are solved on the START treaty, we, with the President of the United States, have agreed to finalize everything in Geneva, and we will give commensurate instructions so that we could then sign that treaty. And this connection, there's also the issue of the visit of the President of the United States to the Soviet Union.

Once again, I've invited the President to come to the Soviet Union on a visit at the very end of July, and I hope that everything is clear now about the visit. The visit will take place. The Soviet people, all of us will be ready to give our hospitality to the President of the United States and, I also hope, to Mrs. Bush and to all those who will accompany him to Moscow. Welcome, Mr. President, to Moscow, and welcome all of you to Moscow.

And the last point: The President and I have had a discussion within the framework of what is happening in the context of this unique meeting with the G-7. And we are pleased with the kind of discussion that has taken place on those issues. So, I'm through, too.

*President Bush.* May I simply say that we accept with pleasure President Gorbachev's invitation. I hope we can get a lot done. And we've already accomplished a lot in these treaty negotiations.

The goal, of course, is an economic goal. We'd be cooperatively working with President Gorbachev and, I would say, the rest of the G-7 and the rest of the world in integrating the Soviet economy into the rest of the world's economies. It's a big problem, a big project, but I pledge to him my interest and our efforts to do just exactly that.

But thank you, Mikhail, for your invitation. And before you change your mind, we accept with pleasure. [Laughter]

*President Gorbachev.* Well, I think that over the years of our cooperation you have seen, Mr. President, that we are true to our word in all those things: in working together, in accommodating you, your interests, and the interests both of ourselves and of our partners, particularly the United States.

I think that we have to say that the Presi-

dent and I have very limited time and so will not be able to answer all the questions that you would like to ask. After the meeting with the G-7, maybe then I will be able to answer all of your questions.

#### *Soviet-U.S. Relations*

*Q.* Does this mean you have a START treaty ready to sign now, and you are going to Moscow, and everything is on the line? Who caved? Who gave in?

*President Bush.* Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International] always asks the questions where there has to be a winner or a loser or somebody continuing to fight each other; that's the way it is. There was compromise on all sides. And it's in the best interest of the United States, and I hope that the Soviet people feel it's in the best interest of the Soviet people.

*Q.* Well, does that mean that you will not build a new missile?

*President Gorbachev.* Let me say, I share what the President has just said. We will not be able to succeed either today or tomorrow in building new international relations, new international security, in achieving a balance of interest in the world if we try to achieve advantage and if we try to win. We have to move reciprocally towards each other in the interests of both our peoples. And I hope very much that the meeting that will take place in Moscow will be in the interest of all mankind, of all those who will be able to now breathe more quietly and to say that we have moved further away from the threat of nuclear war. So, it's our common victory, and I think that all those who have worked toward this important step, they really deserve a lot of credit.

*Q.* About G-7, what do you see as the strong position, strong points of the Gorbachev proposal?

*President Bush.* I think it would be unwise and inhospitable for me to start talking about the G-7 and what might happen to it until Mr. Gorbachev has a chance to come to this meeting hosted by John Major. That's the first point.

Secondly, leave out any communication between the two of us, let me simply say that in terms of our luncheon, I am convinced, as I have been, that President Gor-

bachev is determined to continue with economic reform. They face difficult problems. I'll be candid with you: We face difficult problems at home in a budgetary sense. But all in all, I would leave anything coming out of the G-7 until after the President has had a chance to discuss this with the other seven leaders.

*Q. President Gorbachev—*

*President Gorbachev.* Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

*President Bush.* Are we finished? [*Laughter*]

*Q.* There's been talk during this summit of political support and technical assistance—

*President Gorbachev.* We have discussed with the President.

*Q.* Is that enough for you to take home in terms of economic aid, or are you looking for a bundle of cash here? [*Laughter*]

*President Gorbachev.* Well, that's my gen-

eral answer. [*Laughter*]

*President Bush.* I've learned something about how to handle all these guys. This is good news.

*Q.* What's the date—[*inaudible*—pin it down?

*President Bush.* Well, we're pinning it down, but I'd say the very end of July.

*Q.* How long will the summit be?

*President Bush.* Oh, 2 or 3 days, but that's up to our host.

*Q.* Will you actually sign it then?

*President Bush.* We're trying.

*Q.* Was President Gorbachev helpful to you on the Mideast? Was he helpful to you?

*President Bush.* Very much. He continues to be.

*Note: President Bush's 92d news conference began at 1:25 p.m. in the garden of Winfield House. President Gorbachev spoke in Russian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.*

## The President's News Conference in London, United Kingdom July 17, 1991

*The President.* I have a brief statement, and then be glad to take a couple of questions.

But this is an historic day for the United States and for East-West relations. We've today concluded with the Soviet Union a nuclear arms treaty that will begin the reduction of long-range nuclear weapons. And this treaty really has been in the works for more than 9 years. I've been marginally involved in it for a long period of time, that period of time. I think it's appropriate to thank President Reagan, who started this negotiation back in 1982 and who nurtured the START talks through the sometimes turbulent changes in the U.S.-Soviet relationship.

It's perhaps difficult to understand how a treaty involving several hundred pages of detailed negotiations can evolve down to one very technical and complex issue, but it did. And I'm delighted that we were able to resolve that issue finally today. And it was a

mutually satisfactory solution. There wasn't a case of winners or losers, or who gave or who didn't give. And it was a case of both sides agreeing to a limitation that will mean real reductions in nuclear long-range missiles.

And I also want to compliment President Gorbachev, who stuck with these discussions while he works to reorient the entire economy and the social fabric of his country. He's shown enormous leadership in forging ahead with these plans.

It's a strong symbol of the growing U.S.-Soviet relationship that we accept the opportunity to meet with President Gorbachev in Moscow in only a few days' time to discuss many other problems now of mutual interest. We will be in Moscow on July 30th and 31st to discuss issues across the full range of the so-called five baskets that we've described in the past; that's bilateral issues, the regional matters, the human rights, arms control, and transnational



issues, drugs and terrorism and these kinds of things.

I look forward to these meetings and the opportunity it gives me to follow up on what I think were productive meetings with the G-7, certainly productive with the G-7 summit and then with President Gorbachev here for the wrap-up of the G-7 summit.

Today he outlined his program for reforming the Soviet economic and social system. And the G-7 has responded with the kind of assistance that we believe will most encourage progress toward a free market economy and a democratic society.

We had a very frank, incidentally, not the diplomatic use of the word but a very frank and good discussion over at Lancaster House on the Soviet economy. He responded very directly to questions. And I thought it was a good meeting. I think he did, too.

And I think John Major, frankly, deserves a great deal of credit, the way he conducted the G-7 meetings and then the way he graciously conducted the meetings today. He was an outstanding chairman, and I was proud to be there and see him in action. It was good stuff.

It's not going to be quick or easy to implement change in the Soviet Union; it's enormous problems they face. But we believe that President Gorbachev has made an irrevocable commitment, and I would like to feel that this course that he has embarked on, and others in the Republics are embarked on, is irreversible.

But it's been a good day. I think it's a good day for the United States, which concerns me most of all.

#### *START Agreement*

*Q.* Mr. President, let me ask you what clinched the arms deal. Did the Soviets come in with a proposal today? Did you accept it as is? Did you make a counter-offer? And exactly what's in the deal? We don't know yet.

*The President.* Well, we'll find out about that as we go along. But the details of how it worked out is, we had one sticking point in new types, and it's very, very technical, Terry [Terence Hunt, Associated Press]. And it was resolved today. They came with a proposal, Jim Baker and Bessmertnykh

having spent hours wrestling the details with our experts; this one had to require our calling back to the technical experts to be sure we weren't overlooking something. And while we were sitting at lunch we told Mr. Gorbachev that—no, wait a minute, we finished lunch, and I went into a private meeting with him. Jim Baker was waiting to get the callback; he got it back. In principle we'd agreed, but then the experts signed off on it, specific parts of the language. So we got the thumbs-up, and we agreed that we have a deal.

And this was true of a lot of other issues. There was give-and-take all along the way on, you know, technical stuff, encryption of telemetry. I mean, it's a very technical subject that's plagued us for years. And I am satisfied, given the response from the defense people, that it is clearly in our interest. They are very pleased about all of this.

*Q.* So, you accepted just what they brought in; you said, "Yes, that's okay?"

*The President.* Today the language they brought in was fine, yes. And what had happened before was, the language that we had proposed and they had proposed was unsatisfactory.

#### *Soviet Union*

*Q.* Mr. President, the long document that Mr. Gorbachev sent in advance of this meeting was greeted with some skepticism, complaints that it was too vague. Listening to Mr. Major and Mr. Gorbachev at their news conference, it still sounds vague as to what it is Mr. Gorbachev is proposing to do in the Soviet Union. Has he spelled out details, and really, what are they?

*The President.* Not in a 432-point program or paragraph by paragraph. But he's committed himself to the broad principles that are necessary. But the reason we are going to have the follow-on the way it was defined by Mr. Major is to be sure we can be helpful to assist fleshing it out. For example, the cooperation with these IFI's, these international financial organizations, is very important stuff. He will come in an associate status to the IMF, to the World Bank; he'll see how all these things work. And out of all that, and I think in a relatively short period of time, practical suggestions

will occur to their experts as to how we can go ahead and implement the broad market reforms he talks about, price reforms he's talking about, how we can sooner achieve convertibility of the ruble rather than later.

So, I accept your premise that it's not all fleshed out in every detail, and I think President Gorbachev recognizes that. Otherwise, he wouldn't have been quite as enthusiastic over what transpired today as he was.

Q. Mr. President, you said that this was a very frank discussion—

*The President.* Right here, and I'll be right over to you, Susan [Susan Spencer, CBS News].

Q. Is there anything the United States can do unilaterally for the Soviet Union at this point, or is there zero that you could tell him either at lunch or during the afternoon discussion?

*The President.* I don't know whether what we did today on arms control was unilateral in terms of the U.S. but—

Q. But I thought this separated the economic and the arms control. On economics, is there any single thing the United States can do?

*The President.* Well, look, we've got a tremendous know-how in the field of energy, and so do other countries. But if there's one sector of their economy in addition to agriculture, distribution reform, that's crying out for outside help, technological help, it's the energy side. And I think we can help them enormously there. But to do all that, there has to be a finalization of the details between these Republics and the center. And that's what's very difficult.

But I think President Gorbachev understands that. I think he's determined to finalize this union treaty. And as I may have mentioned to you when we had some experts up the other day, our experts, outside-the-government experts, they were unanimous in the view that this is the single most important thing they can do for us then to facilitate energy and agriculture distribution and all of that. Plus, I think when our finance minister goes there, Nick Brady, when that is all resolved, I think there are things we can do bilaterally. But at this juncture there isn't one single program or something of that nature that comes to

mind.

Q. Does he understand the relationship between things like aid to Cuba and their high levels of defense spending and the barrier that that may put in the future to aid from the West? Did you discuss that with him?

*The President.* I think he understands the political problems, Susan, that go with that, especially for the United States. And that was discussed by me. And then it came up in the G-7. And he points out that there's much, much less aid going into Cuba. But I think what you're asking about is the political problem that we've got about helping the Soviet Union as long as they're propping up the one totalitarian dictator, Communist dictator in our hemisphere. So, I think he understands it.

In terms of total economic drawdown on the Soviet Union, it's very small, even though they've got some enormous economic problems. But yes, that was discussed, and other issues as well of that nature.

Q. Was it clear to him that the political side is going to be the determining factor, or could be, in terms of reaching a point where actual cash is provided to the Soviet Union?

*The President.* I think he understands because we've been talking about that one, particularly on Cuba. We've been talking about that for a long time.

But let me give you another example coming at it in a different way. Iraq used to have a very special relationship with the Soviet Union, and yet the Soviet Union, I think, was very helpful in the United Nations in standing up against Iraq. It showed a shift. So, I think they've demonstrated an ability to shift. Well, I think your point is well-taken because it's very hard to ask the American people, please spend money, send checks, when this one dictatorship 80 miles from our shores is being propped up.

So, I think there's much more understanding on that. Not that I've worked any magic on it, but yes, we talked about it here. But also because it was brought up without any prompting by others as an example of the kinds of regional problems that we'd like to see resolved.

But just as we go forward on a bilateral arms control agreement because it is in the national interest of the United States, we can do other things, even though all those regional problems aren't totally resolved. It makes it much more difficult, however, to have the Cuban problem hang.

*Q.* If you were still in the oil business, would you feel safe in risking any capital in a joint venture with the Soviet Union and taking this beyond technical assistance, given the example of, say, Chevron in Kazakhstan, and some other instances?

*The President.* I think I'd want to know who I was making a deal with. I think I'd want to know that I could get my money back out. I think I'd want to know that they had worked out their problems on taxation.

But, you know, I used an example from my own limited experience a long time ago. And I told him that we've got a federation of States. We've had 200 years to sort it out. But even so, in the offshore drilling business, I remember arguing with the Federal branch, the Coast Guard, while still having to get permits from the States, State of Louisiana, State of Texas, and then worrying about how the States interacted with the Federal Government on offshore drilling rights, who gets what.

And so, there's a parallel there. But we've sorted it out in the United States. We have orderly arrangements. We don't need a union treaty, but people know where the taxes are going to be levied and who's in charge of making the deal and the contract. And those things have to be resolved. Once resolved, I think that the future is wide open because they are rich in natural resources.

And they want the reform to keep going, and they're trying to move to market. So, I think it just depends on how this union treaty works out for large-scale investments. But there's an enormous potential there.

And I keep saying to myself: Think how things were 5 years ago. Think what it was like. Who would have dreamed we'd be talking about the kinds of things we are with the Soviet Union. Who would have dreamed the Russian Republic would have had literally a fair and popular election or that the Eastern Europeans would be free or that the Berlin Wall would be down? I

mean, a lot has happened. And it's going to take a while before a lot more happens.

But I think what's important for American people and certainly for this President, to keep in mind the big picture as we worry about the difficulties that they face now in moving to a market economy.

#### *START Agreement*

*Q.* Mr. President, when did you actually know that a new deal had been clinched—I'm following up on Terry—and had you had a feeling beforehand, and is this the end of the road? And what did you agree upon? I mean, I know it's technical, but can you give us one word, because we're writing stories, and we don't know what was—

*The President.* Well, let me get Brent to help you with the details on it. But when we actually agreed—that means I'm not familiar with absolutely every "t" being crossed and every "i" being dotted—

*Q.* No, but I mean, when did you actually have the feeling that it was—

*The President.* After Bessmertnykh sat down with Jim Baker, which was just a few minutes before Mr. Gorbachev walked in here. In other words, this wasn't a stacked deck. This wasn't set. We didn't have an indication that they were going to come with a proposal, our having made some, that was acceptable to them. But so, it really, literally, Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International], it happened when their party arrived here. Jim went off in another room there, and then he came in and told me that he thought this looked very good. He'd run it by General Scowcroft, who took a look at it. He's an expert in these matters, and he felt that it was acceptable.

But again, it is so highly technical on ranges of missiles and all of this that we felt more comfortable going back talking to the technical arms control experts. But it wasn't a set deal. I mean, we haven't known that this was going to happen. I was perfectly prepared to say to him today, "Look, let's keep working on it."

But he was very pleased. I think he felt that what they came with was a deal-maker, and sure enough, it was.

Q. So, you had no previous inkling—

*The President.* No.

Q. —and nothing last night?

*The President.* Nothing.

Q. They all came in smiling, though, and they seemed to—

*The President.* The Soviets you mean?

Q. Yes.

*The President.* Well, I think they felt that they had met the criteria that had been spelled out by Jim Baker and our defense experts in Washington. I think that accounts for that.

Q. You noted, Mr. President, that you've been 9 years at this. Are you prepared now to take a breather and say that's enough on arms control? Or do you want to roll up your sleeves and see if you can follow up with more deep cuts?

*The President.* Well, I think we always ought to be willing to reduce arms between the two countries if it is in the national interests of the United States. But let us get this one put to bed with the "t's" crossed and the "i's" dotted, and then we'll think as to what the next step should be. But I haven't started thinking that way. We want to get this one anchored down.

Q. Have you any concern about the Senate on this?

*The President.* I don't, no. I mean, I don't. No. It's a good deal, and the defense people are so enthusiastic that it's in the interests of the United States that I think it ought to sail through the Senate. Now, we have every obligation to answer their technical questions. They've got some great arms control experts up there on both sides of the aisle. But I think they will be well-satisfied with this.

Yes, Charles [Charles Bierbauer, Cable News Network] and then Jim [Jim Miklaszewski, NBC News]. Oh, excuse me, Jim and then Charles, or just Jim.

#### *Soviet-U.S. Relations*

Q. It wasn't too many years ago, Mr. President, that the U.S. considered the Soviet Union the evil empire. Understanding that the relationship is improving, how do you consider the Soviets today: ally, still an adversary?

*The President.* Well, I think as long as we have missiles deployed, we've got to be re-

alistic—missiles deployed against each other. Allies aren't in that posture. We're moving. In the first place, we've got friendly relations. The evil empire syndrome ended when, I think, the cold war ended, and I think it has ended. And we've got very different times now. But I don't want to suggest that everything is perfect.

We've got the problems that Susan asked about. We've got certain arms problems. But we've gone so far that I would say, very friendly relations at this point and a determination on our part to try to help in every practical way to further reform. Because reform is not just internal reform; it's democracy that they're moving towards and have really manifested a real interest in. It's markets. It's capitalism. It's all the things that have helped other people around the world, and it can help them. And as that develops, I am just convinced that any things that have been in our way of friendship before, such as arms and our worries about each other, will diminish. Trade is great. It's a good, salutary way to make things better.

So, I would characterize the relations as good, still some problems. Nobody that I know of and certainly in our administration is interested in seeing them fly apart or having their wheels fall off, on the economy or anything of that nature. That's quite different than it was a few years ago.

Q. But you made the point very strongly that there was no linkage between START—

*The President.* Right.

Q. —and what went on here with the G-7 in terms of providing technical assistance to the Soviets. But how far can you go with the Soviet Union when, in fact, missiles are pointed at each other?

*The President.* Well, that's a good question. But I think trade can help an awful lot to make the climate such that the suspicion that they might still harbor in some corners of the Soviet Union about our intentions is laid to rest. I think there are some elements there that are still highly suspicious of U.S. intentions towards them. And perhaps there are some highly suspicious in the United States of Soviet intentions toward us.

But I think we can move forward just as

fast as practicality dictates on the economy. And I think with that will come enhanced democracy in the Soviet Union because I think people, once they see how privatization works, once they see how markets work, once they see how elections work, it's bound to steamroller. So, I think the long-range problem will take care of itself. Shorter range, we want to move forward, irrespective of what's happening now, in the arms field in terms of helping them do what we want to see them do, move down the democracy road.

*Iraq*

*Q.* Mr. President, you mentioned Iraq earlier. Will President Gorbachev support you if it's necessary to renew military action?

*The President.* That was not discussed today. I think that they, like us, would hope that we wouldn't have to use force. But perhaps that matter will come up when we're in Moscow. But I will just revert back to how they stood up against aggression with us in the United Nations. And I know that they're very concerned about nuclear proliferation, proliferation of nuclear capabilities. But I didn't get into any question of, if we had to use force would they join us.

But clearly, I've said before and I'll say it here again, we don't want to go—we're not any Lone Ranger out there. We think we have authorities under the United Nations resolutions to do what's needed to be done, but I am hopeful that it can be done without force. But if they continue to lie, if they continue to harbor equipment that could lead to development of nuclear weapons in direct contravention of their obligations, then we have to review our options. But it wasn't discussed in that manner today.

*Q.* Do you feel that you have the support of the other G-7 countries?

*The President.* I thought it was fairly well-spoken on that, teeing off from what François Mitterrand said the day that we arrived in Paris. I don't want to put words in everybody's mouth, but I think most would agree with what Mitterrand said.

Yes, Jim. You've done it? I thought I saw your hand again.

*Q.* Just to follow up on Dan's [Dan Good-

game, Time Magazine] question, you may not have discussed Iraq with Mr. Gorbachev, but Mr. Baker and Bessmertnykh have. And is there not a sense that Mr. Bessmertnykh has conveyed that the Soviets are not as supportive as your other allies?

*The President.* I think they made clear they hope that force would not be used. But they were in that mode back early on in the Iraq days. I'm not suggesting they want to use force. I'm not suggesting I do. And I think it would be very important to work cooperatively with them again. But we've got too much hypothesis here. I'm just hoping now that Iraq will totally reveal their hidden capabilities. And I'm a little suspicious, very candidly. I haven't seen anything to allay my concerns.

Any other before we go around again? Yes, Terry.

*Soviet Union*

*Q.* Did Mr. Gorbachev get enough to go home with his head high, Mr. President, or do you think that he's going to be attacked by the hardliners when he gets back in Moscow?

*The President.* I didn't hear his press conference right now, but I'm told it was quite positive. And at the end of our meeting it sounded quite positive. So, I think he feels it was a good meeting and very much worthwhile.

*Q.* Did he ask for U.S. support for a fund to support the ruble, to make it a convertible currency?

*The President.* No, he did not ask for funding to do that.

*Q.* Did he ask for any sort of direct funding?

*The President.* We had a long discussion about the convertibility of the ruble, but it didn't come to that kind of a request.

*Q.* Did he seem satisfied strictly with technical assistance in these meetings, or did he urge that the seven do more than that?

*The President.* I'm trying to think of something that he asked for that didn't materialize. He really was trying to explain more what was going on inside the Soviet Union, what the pressures were, what he

was up against in terms of history if you will, and how they were coping and how determined they were to work with the Republics and how much help they did need in terms of technical assistance. But he really stopped short of what some had predicted might be on his agenda.

*Q.* Did you talk at all on him keeping any—he says a mixed economy, which included continued collectivization of agriculture. Can you buy off on that?

*The President.* Well, I'm not sure that's what it concludes, because what I got was that they're moving more and more towards privatization. It was ironic that all of us looked at our own countries to see whether there were any highly regulated government industries or whether the governments of any state or central government owned any of the goods and services that lead to production, which is how you compute GNP, goods and services. And I think some found that there were highly regulated industries. Others found that the state still owned certain kinds of industries. So he who is the purest of all casteth the first rock. But I do think that he recognizes that they have a mix now, but that, frankly, what we made very clear is that the sooner that moves entirely to privatization and private ownership of agriculture, the better.

He gave me some figures that regrettably I didn't bring down, gave us some figures in terms of how much privatization has already taken place. And Mr. Mulroney, I think it was, very knowledgeable in agriculture, told him how productivity would soar if all of it was privatized. So, I didn't get the feeling that he wanted to leave this mixture. I got the feeling that he is crawling before he walks, that he's moving out towards privatization. I hope that's not a misconstruction.

#### *Middle East Peace Process*

*Q.* Does the letter from President Assad put pressure on Israel to come around on the peace process?

*The President.* Well, we're analyzing that, and I can answer your question better after I hear from Jim Baker on his trip. But it's not a question of pressure. It's a question of trying to bring people to understand that peace and talking to each other is in every-

body's interest. So, I'm not going to term it what action or lack of action is going to bring pressure on any party. But I do consider it, from what we've seen, to be positive. Now we've got to pin down the details and move forward.

#### *Multilateral Trade Negotiations*

*Q.* Why has there been so little progress in opening the markets of the G-7 countries to the exports of emerging democracies? This just keeps getting kicked down the road.

*The President.* Come again on it.

*Q.* Why has there been so little progress at this summit, as in Houston, at opening the markets of the G-7 economies to the exports of Eastern Europe?

*The President.* Well, I'm not sure how little progress there's been made. We are trying, on a broad scale, to cope with that through a successful completion of the GATT round. Again, he who has no protection should speak the loudest and clearest about the benefit of the kind of trade that we all want to see. We have protection in our agriculture system that offends and troubles some of our strongest friends around the world. I think of how Australia looks at our agricultural enhancement program, for example. And they say that's taking markets away from them. We say we're not aiming that program at you; we're trying to let our farmers compete until we can achieve a satisfactory conclusion of the GATT round.

What's needed to knock down barriers to whatever it is, is a world trading agreement. So, I think every country that I'm familiar with has certain kinds of protection barriers. We've got some on textiles and on other products, and other countries as well have many serious ones. So, that brought us around to saying, look, the best thing we can do for Eastern Europe is to solve this Uruguay round problem, and that will enhance the economies quicker and better than anything else. But I think it's because each has these protective devices in place, and they'll remain in place until a broad agreement is reached, in this case, on the Uruguay round. Hopefully, we can plod away and at the same time on the northern

American free trade zone.

But that's the problem. And we're always ready to look bilaterally with these Eastern European countries because out of this summit, we were determined that we not push them off into the background. They've already moved. Some of them have histories of privatization in market. So, their problems aren't quite as onerous as this massive problem facing the Soviet Union that hasn't had a history of privatization in market.

But it is essential that they succeed. And we will be alert to every possibility to help them. But some of the problem is what you've put your finger on, markets that aren't widely open. And the answer to that is the successful conclusion of the GATT round, it really is.

One more, and then I've got to run.

#### *Soviet Union*

*Q.* Do you think that he did not expect any money, and isn't it empty-handed?

*The President.* Helen, I answered that question about eight different ways.

*Q.* Well, but he—I mean, how can they really—

*The President.* Ask him. I just told you all I can tell you. You've been writing that, but there's been speculation, and it's based not—you report what you see, I'm sure, and what others say, that he's going to come here with a big demand for money. And now nobody can quite adjust to the fact that he didn't come here with a big demand for money. But he didn't. And I think we ought to give him—

*Q.* He didn't ask for any money at all?

*The President.* Did you hear him? Didn't he answer, or did he? Maybe it wasn't asked at the press conference. But the answer is no.

*Q.* Maybe he was told not to ask.

*The President.* You try telling Mr. Gorbachev what to do or what not to do. [*Laughter*] I mean, he's a pretty powerful guy, and

he's pretty strong-willed. And so, he did it the way he thought was best, and that's the way it is. And so, there isn't some hidden agenda that somebody gets him off to the side of the room and say, "Hey, please don't ask for money. You're going to get turned down." That's not the way it works, believe me.

*Q.* Well, you signaled a lot that he shouldn't ask for money, that it wasn't going to be there.

*The President.* He reads my signals, and I read his, but—

*Q.* He would have been turned down—

*The President.* Too hypothetical.

*Q.* Do you think he can sell this back home?

*The President.* I assume he wouldn't have agreed with it if he didn't think he could sell it, and enthusiastically agree. You heard the tone of it, which I'm told was pretty darned positive. So, let's rejoice.

#### *Trip to Greece and Turkey*

*Q.* Greece and Turkey.

*Q.* Why are we going?

*The President.* Pack up. Get packed. [*Laughter*] No, it will be good.

#### *Upcoming Soviet-U.S. Summit*

*Q.* Which city do you want to visit in the Soviet Union besides Moscow?

*The President.* I'm turning to my Soviet expert, a man that spent many years wrestling with these problems and will now take your technical questions—[*laughter*]—and will be glad to give you his preferences for itineraries. May I introduce General Brent Scowcroft, the head of the National Security—

*Note: President Bush's 93d news conference began at 7:45 p.m. in the garden of Winfield House. Following the news conference, Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, responded to reporters' questions.*

## Nomination of Delbert Leon Spurlock, Jr., To Be Deputy Secretary of Labor

*July 17, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Delbert Leon Spurlock, Jr., of California, to be Deputy Secretary of Labor. He would succeed Roderick Allen DeArment.

Since 1989 Mr. Spurlock has been with the law firm of Gregory D. Thatch in Washington, DC. Prior to this he was Assistant Secretary of the Army for Manpower and Reserve Affairs in Washington, DC, 1983–1989. From 1981 to 1983, Mr. Spurlock was General Counsel for the Department of the Army. He was an attorney with Spurlock &

Thatch, 1977–1981. From 1975 to 1977, he was chief of the conflicts of interest division for the California fair political practice commission in Sacramento, CA. Prior to this he was an acting professor of law at the University of California, Davis, CA, 1972–1975.

Mr. Spurlock graduated from Oberlin College (B.A., 1963); Howard University Law School (L.L.B., 1967), and George Washington Law Center (L.L.M., 1972). He is married, has two children, and resides in Reston, VA.

## Nomination of Marshall Jordan Breger To Be Solicitor for the Department of Labor

*July 17, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Marshall Jordan Breger, of the District of Columbia, to be Solicitor for the Department of Labor. He would succeed Robert P. Davis.

Since 1985 Mr. Breger has served as Chairman of the Administrative Conference of the United States in Washington, DC. Prior to this he was Special Assistant to the

President in the Office of Public Liaison at the White House in Washington, DC, 1983–1985.

Mr. Breger graduated from the University of Pennsylvania (B.A., M.A., 1967; J.D., 1973) and received a B.Phil. in 1970 from Oriel College, Oxford University. Mr. Breger is married, has two children, and resides in Silver Spring, MD.

## Remarks at the Arrival Ceremony in Athens, Greece

*July 18, 1991*

The President tells me it's my turn. President Karamanlis, and our Greek and American friends: I am greatly honored to receive this welcome and to see Prime Minister Mitsotakis and other distinguished members of the Greek Government.

More than 200 years ago, my Nation was forged in the fire of liberty. Today, Barbara and I are delighted to visit this nation that gave birth to democracy in this very city 2500 years ago and whose principles still

inspire all who love and cherish freedom.

Thirty-two years ago, the last American President to visit this historic land praised "those great Greek city-states that we learned to love and admire even from the days when, as little boys, we learned our ancient history." Dwight Eisenhower understood how Greece's glory had shaped and enriched the world and especially the United States of America. Eisenhower was



right to say, "the spirit of the West, the modern spirit, is a Greek discovery, and the place of the Greeks is in the modern world."

This glory did not die with the ancient city-states. It still lives, still summons our values and ideals. We stand for government by the people. We endorse the rights of self-determination, equal protection under the law, and freedom of thought and worship. We believe that these rights derive from the sanctity of the individual, the bond which binds our two nations.

Today, totalitarianism lies disdained and discredited, a victim of its own brutality and its own inadequacy. As a result of this, freedom's tide swells as the tide of communism recedes. Men like President Karamanlis and Prime Minister Mitsotakis have pressed passionately for freedom and offered new hope to the world.

I arrive today with the hope that we will continue to renew and strengthen our special relationship. I look forward in my discussions with the President and the Prime

Minister to confirming our common interest in a new world order, stability in the Balkans, peace on Cyprus, and reconciliation between Greece and Turkey. Most important, I'm anxious to discuss how we might strengthen our own security and economic ties.

Finally, I'm reminded of the words of Socrates, who said, "I'm not an Athenian or a Greek but a citizen of the world." In that spirit, Greece stood for what is right in the Persian Gulf by insisting that aggression must not stand. I applaud the Greek Government and the Greek people for having helped to defend liberty in its hour of danger.

In closing, let me say to President Karamanlis, I am truly honored that the man who extended the hand of friendship to President Eisenhower 32 years ago is here to do the same for me today. Thank you very much, sir, for the welcome.

*Note: The President spoke at 2 p.m. upon his arrival at Athinai Airport.*

## Remarks to the Greek Parliament in Athens *July 18, 1991*

Thank you, sir, for the welcome, and may I pay my respects to President Karamanlis; Prime Minister Mitsotakis; president of the Parliament, Mr. Tsaldaris; Mr. Papandreou, who I had the privilege of meeting not so long ago; and Members of the Vouli.

Let me first thank you for the extraordinary honor of speaking to you. It means a great deal to follow in the footsteps of such great men as Dwight Eisenhower and General Charles de Gaulle, who spoke here.

No American can come to Athens without feeling a kind of sacred awe. All that Americans are, all that Americans stand for, all that we hold most dear has roots right here, in the great city and the great country where democracy was born 2,500 years ago.

Every American student learns to appreciate the magnificence of the Parthenon and the Delphi, the cool Aegean Sea. And we learn that the great disciplines, philoso-

phy, theology, drama, literature, mathematics, biology, zoology, and of course, politics, were born on these shores. I expect all the rest of them are alive, but I'm sure politics is still alive on these shores. We see in your monuments and museums the seeds from which our Republic of freedom grew up.

After 2,500 years, mankind is only beginning to grasp the magnitude of what your forefathers achieved. Through dozens of generations, through the rise and fall of great empires, through wars and plagues, through depressions and economic revolutions, through the triumphs and travails of human affairs, one thing has endured: the dream of democracy.

And so today, as old despotisms melt away and a commonwealth of freedom arises around the globe, we can truly say that our future, the world's future, began right here.

Although I have not visited—well, I visited Greece in 1960, and then once again, I believe, in '79. I haven't been here that much lately, but I feel at home here. I have the honor to share this Chamber today with a man who symbolizes ancient Greek principles and modern Greek courage, President Constantine Karamanlis.

Then-Prime Minister Karamanlis hosted President Eisenhower back in 1959, and has done business with every American President since Harry Truman. He restored democracy to Greece in 1974, and made it possible for Greece to assume its present stature as a bulwark of stability. He built firm relations with the West and helped secure Greek membership in the European Community. He ensured that Greece would play an important role in the Atlantic alliance. And he enlarged Greece's international responsibilities, its international influence, its international importance.

To honor this great man and to stress the special quality of our renewed relations with Greece, I now would like to invite your President to join us in Washington next year for a state visit. And I hope you will accept, Mr. President. I hope you will accept so that the American people can express their heartfelt gratitude to you, their admiration for you, and their respect for Greece.

And today I also want to repeat my invitation to another great man, a man I admire and respect, your Prime Minister, Constantine Mitsotakis. And I have asked him to make an official visit to our Capital. And this trip would let the whole world know that our friendship, like the ideals that link us, will endure.

As I stand here today, I'm happy to say that our relations are stronger than ever. We have tightened our economic ties with agreements on customs and civil aviation and tourism. We've made great progress together in the international fight against terrorism. And with this visit, I hope that we can make this special relationship stronger still.

We can build a more vibrant economic relationship. While the United States is the largest external investor in Greece, we want to do more. We want to ensure that American capital and know-how will be

able to contribute to lasting Greek prosperity. And I, therefore, asked our Secretary of Commerce to lead a Presidential trade and investment mission to Greece this autumn.

We can strengthen our security relationship. We already have forged solid ties through NATO. This year, the United States will provide \$350 million in security assistance to Greece. We've just agreed to lease you two *Knox*-class frigates. And we will expedite the shipment of 10 F-4D aircraft to you, will deliver 18 more this fall. These agreements express our determination to stand by you now and in years to come.

You stood squarely with the international coalition that liberated Kuwait from Saddam Hussein. This kind of cooperation is not new. In the Persian Gulf, as in Korea and the two World Wars, Greece sided with the forces of freedom.

Now, we face a new world, a world in which military confrontation is being pushed aside by constructive economic competition, a world in which nations struggle to build and perfect democracy. Although we have no road map to guide us through this world, we have a sure compass in principles that both our nations hold dear: The peaceful settlement of disputes, free enterprise, an open world economic system, and underlying it all, democracy.

Here in Greece, you command an especially vivid view of the world. Here in your unique location at this historic time, we can see the challenge, and the promise, of what we refer to as the new world order.

To the north, Europe's first post-cold-war crisis has erupted. The peoples of Yugoslavia struggle to secure newfound freedoms and overcome the pull of ancient hatreds. The international community, rallied by the bold initiative of the EC, appeals to the Yugoslavs to chart a new future, a democratic future, through peaceful negotiations. We call upon the leaders there to spare their people from dreadful civil war.

As an EC country and a stable democracy, you can help nations such as Albania and Bulgaria who struggle along the road to freedom. Struggle they might, but look back at very recent history. And who would have predicted that these countries now want to go down freedom's road, democra-

cy's road? Your Balkan neighbors, including Yugoslavia, look to you for guidance and help and hope.

A kind of youthful optimism flourishes everywhere. The emerging democracies of Europe, peoples throughout the Soviet Union, men and women, young and old, throughout the world, aspire to achieve the ideals first sketched out here in Greece.

But ideals are important only if they can shape actions. You understand this. We are encouraged that your Government is advancing new ideas to foster stability in the Balkans and the Aegean. The opportunity for a new era of accommodation in this region beckons. With that in mind, I must report that my meeting with Mr. Gorbachev yesterday was in that spirit of cooperation as the Soviet Union seeks to do more according to democratic principles.

I'm hoping that the arms control agreement that we worked out yesterday with Mr. Gorbachev, the first to reduce the strategic arms in history, proves to be a benefit to all the countries around the world, particularly in this region.

You and Turkey face a great challenge: to resolve these old disputes that divide you. More than 60 years ago, Eleutherios—and I've got to watch my pronunciation—Venizelos signed treaties of friendship and commerce with the father of modern Turkey, Kemal Ataturk. I pray that your two nations might follow the example set by these giants.

Today, with new leaders of vision, your nations enjoy a unique opportunity to overcome the misunderstandings of the past. You can begin to heal the deep wounds that scar Cyprus, that divides families and friends on that island. In the new world that I have discussed, none of us should accept the status quo in Cyprus. And today I pledge that the United States will do whatever it can to help Greece, Turkey, and the Cypriots settle the Cyprus problem, and do so this year.

In the end, the ties that bind the United States and Greece go far deeper than economic or military necessity. You see, as many of you know, Greek-Americans have enriched our country enormously, in every profession, in every region, in every walk of life. Two distinguished businessmen and old

friends who have accompanied me on this trip, Alec Courtelis and Alex Spanos, both of whom have made a tremendous imprint in our country. And of course, our able Ambassador, Michael Sotirhos, serves our Nation well.

And we have subtler ties, too. Cities across America take their names from such places as Athens and Corinth and Delphi and Sparta. And near one of my favorite fishing spots lies the town of Marathon, Florida. And of course, my country would not exist if your forefathers had not developed the world's most revolutionary idea, democracy. Our Founding Fathers studied your history closely and revered deeply the works of the ancient Greeks. Thomas Jefferson, the author of our Declaration of Independence, once observed, "Greece was the first of civilized nations, presenting examples of what man should be."

Yet, we also must remember that the powers of ancient Greece fell because they could not set aside old hatreds, because they refused to acknowledge common ties, common principles, common acts, common aims. We must resolve not to repeat their mistakes.

Tomorrow, I have a wonderful opportunity. I shall visit the Acropolis and stand near the temples where our ancient forefathers charted ideals for the ages. And as we gather here today, let us agree to build a new Acropolis, a monument not of marble or steel but of something far less fragile, a monument of deeds and ideals, a new world order erected upon timeless ideas born right here.

That new world order can help us achieve our dreams of collective security and individual liberty. Every nation must assume some of the burden of building this order. And every nation must accept its responsibilities for building a sound international economy. And every nation must do its duty to preserve freedom and enterprise.

America and Greece have special responsibilities in this quest, the United States as the world's strongest democracy, Greece as the world's first. But if we engage fully in the changing world beyond our borders, we can build an order in which all nations

enjoy prosperity, democracy, and peace.

Eleutherios Venizelos once claimed that "America has realized the ideals of Ancient Greece. No two elements come closer to each other than do the Greek and the American." That tremendous compliment also outlines our common challenge: to work even more closely in securing a new world order dedicated to freedom and enterprise.

We live in exciting times. Who would have dreamed that the changes taking place in the Soviet Union would offer this promise of freedom and democracy? Who would have dreamed that the captive nations of Eastern Europe are free and are on the path that you set many thousands of years ago, the path to full and free and fair and open democracy? So, for those that are gloomy about the present, I say you shouldn't be. There's plenty of room to be optimistic. And I'm delighted; I feel more of a sense of optimism coming to democracy's birthplace.

I want to thank you for the extraordinary honor of inviting me to address this special session. And I stand here surrounded by the

grandeur and echoes of the ages, a proud son of the ideals that your land gave the world. And so, like all friends of liberty, I leave you now, and I must say, *zito i ellada* [long live Greece]. Thank you very, very much. Thank you all. Thank you, sir.

And let me just—please be seated. I'd like to present to your President and your Prime Minister and really to the Greek people a replica of our Declaration of Independence, a document that symbolizes our profound ties to you and our timeless debt to the people and the legacy of Greece.

Once again, thank you all very much.

*Note: President Bush spoke at 3:49 p.m. in the Greek Parliament building. In his remarks, he referred to Andreas Papandreou, president of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement; the Vouli, the Greek unicameral Parliament; Alec Courtelis, Florida Republican Party finance chairman; and Alexander G. Spanos, president and chairman of the board of directors of the San Diego Chargers football team. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

## The President's News Conference With Prime Minister Constantinos Mitsotakis of Greece in Athens July 18, 1991

*The Prime Minister.* First of all, I would like, on behalf of the Greek Government, and personally, to welcome the President of the United States and the American delegation to our country. This first visit of an American President to Greece after 32 years takes place at a very important period for our countries and at a critical period for our area. This is why it constitutes a political event of particular significance. It reinforces the efforts of our government to develop Greek-American relations and also to enhance stability and peace in the Balkans and throughout this area.

With President Bush, both privately as well as together with our delegations, we had substantial and fruitful talks. We discussed our great national issue, that of

Cyprus, which as you well know is going through presently a very important turning point. Issues of decisive importance were naturally the Greek-Turkish relations and the situation in the Balkans, as well as the first role our country is playing in the developments occurring in this region.

Finally, we discussed also the effort our country is making in the sector of primary importance, that of the economy. I outlined our positions fully and extensively, and I underlined our determination, the determination of Greece to contribute substantially, assuming also initiatives to contribute to the settlement of problems and to the consolidation of peace and cooperation among the countries of our region.

The visit of President Bush constitutes a

decisive landmark in the further enhancement and the development of Greek-American relations which is pursued by my government both with consistency and determination. Greece, a longstanding and loyal friend and ally of America in all the struggles for democracy and freedom, wishes to contribute substantially in the effort that is being led by the United States of America to see the world enter into a new era, securing for all the peoples prosperity, security, and freedom.

*The President.* Thank you, Mr. Prime Minister, a great friend of the United States. And let me just repeat, I have enormous respect for this Prime Minister. I found today's meeting to be most useful. I believe U.S.-Greek relations are in excellent shape; Greece, a trusted NATO ally, a country with whom we have extensive interaction between our peoples.

As the Prime Minister said, we did have a good exchange on Cyprus and Greek-Turkish relationships. And I told him that if we could be a catalyst that would help solve the problem of Cyprus, we'd willingly fulfill that role. In talk to the Defense Minister, it is our intention to do what we can to help strengthen the Greek armed forces.

We heard a good presentation on the economy, and I assured our Greek friends that we want to expand trade and investment. I think the Secretary of Commerce's mission here could prove to be very, very fruitful. I referred to four new economic agreements earlier, customs, civil aviation, tourism, and investment guarantees. We're getting those locked up.

And lastly, I would repeat how much I'm looking forward to having the Prime Minister come on an official working visit in the near future and then, of course, hopefully to welcome President Karamanlis at his convenience on a state visit in 1992.

But again, my thanks to you.

#### *Cyprus Situation and Greek-Turkish Relations*

*Q.* President Bush, you have said that the status quo in Cyprus is intolerable and unacceptable to all the parties involved. What gives you so much optimism that this can be solved this year? And how far are you willing to go to try to encourage the Turks

and so forth to be more conciliatory on the question?

*The President.* Well, I think the answer is to be helpful in trying for this conciliation you talk about. Both sides seem to be more optimistic in terms of the Secretary-General's initiative which we all know is the best hope. So, our role, as I said, is catalytic. And I will do whatever I can to facilitate this process.

And there are technical—I mean, some serious problems that exist. But it looks to me, when you have a person like the Prime Minister I'm standing next to and President Özal and a serious, respected leader in Cyprus and a Secretary-General that is personally engaged, that we have an historic opportunity. So, I'll simply try my best.

*Q.* —submitted a new proposal to withdraw, to move actually some aggressive weapons from the common borders. Three things on that. First of all, I should say that Bulgaria accepted the Greek proposal and Turkey refused it. Three things: Did you discuss this matter today? Second, what is your view on that? And third, does this cause some kind of disappointment that Turkey refused, especially coming from London where you had some positive developments in arms talks in Europe?

*The President.* Well, I just heard some details on this today. Again, if the United States can be useful, anything that can reduce tensions on borders is something we're extremely interested in. And I don't think that it flies in the face of anything that was accomplished in—if you're referring to the deal between the Soviet Union and the United States on the strategic arms.

*Q.* There is a new mood—

*The President.* Well, let's see if we can't get more understanding on both sides on it.

*Q.* Mr. President, does your visit to Greece and Turkey mean that you are personally engaged, involved, in solving the problems of the region and especially the Cyprus issue?

*The President.* Yes, it means that I hope that this visit will be more than a symbol. I learned a little more about these problems today; I expect I'll learn a little more when we're in Turkey. But I don't want to suggest that the United States can wave a

wand, a magic wand, and solve a problem that has plagued this part of the world for a long time. But we are going to try. And we're going to try to be—we are supportive of what this U.N. Secretary-General is trying to do. And it is felt, because we do have excellent relations with Greece and excellent relations with Turkey and, indeed, with Cyprus itself, that we, more than some other countries, can be helpful. So yes, I want to use whatever tools we have available to facilitate these discussions.

#### *Soviet-U.S. Relations*

*Q.* Mr. President, given the gap between what Mr. Gorbachev asked for in his letter to the London summit and what the London summit gave, will you be taking anything, any concrete offers to Moscow later this month, especially in the areas of technical assistance? And can you tell us what the hold-up is on the MFN, granting MFN to the Soviets?

*The President.* We may be able to flesh out the agreements achieved by the G-7 with the Soviet Union. In other words, we may be able to make some of those undertakings a little more specific. But at this juncture, I have no new proposal.

What was your other question, please, sir?

*Q.* MFN, why it's been hanging there for some time.

*The President.* Well, I think there's some technical problems in the law as passed by the Soviet Union. As you know, we needed an emigration law passed, and I believe it was, but I'm told that their lawyers have some difficulty. But I want to move on that as soon as I'm told that the decks are clear. I think it's something we should do.

*Q.* Could they get that in Moscow?

*The President.* I don't know; maybe. I just don't know.

#### *The Balkans*

*Q.* Mr. President, what role do you see Greece playing in the Balkans?

*The President.* In the Baltics?

*Q.* Balkans.

*The President.* Balkans. I see. Sorry, I was expanding your horizons here. [Laughter] Well, again, I sat and listened intently to the Prime Minister, who emphasized to us the importance of peace. He emphasized

Greece's commitment to unity. And I don't know that we have a unique role that we can play, but we would reiterate our call for negotiation. What worries us, and I know it worries the Prime Minister, is the propensity to move toward military action here. And we don't want to see that, and I know the Greek Government doesn't. But we have stated our position, learned more about it. What did you tell me, sir? The exports to Yugoslavia from Greece are tremendous.

*The Prime Minister.* Thirty percent.

*The President.* Thirty percent. I mean, a major figure. And this could not go along if there was turmoil there. So, we will again request our call for peaceful resolution to these questions. But that is about the role of the United States at this juncture.

#### *Greece*

*Q.* Mr. President, I know you have a difficult time in Greece, spending most of your time at meetings. Would you like to come back for a vacation in Greece?

*The President.* Yes, I'd love to do that sometime. I really would. That's what we call a slow ball in the trade. [Laughter] And I'd like to hit out over the fence by saying I'd love to spend some time someday cruising through the Greek islands. I did it for one day at one point. About 1961, I think it was, and it was heaven. And yes, I'd like to do that at some point.

#### *Regional Stability*

*Q.* Mr. President, given the amount of arms given to Turkey, are you worried about some sort of imbalance in this area in the future? What will the U.S. do in order to secure the balance in the area?

*The President.* Well, I think we have so much faith in both that we would be sure that the requirements of each were met to the best of our ability. But we're the ones that are now urging curtailment of arms in some ways, but I think we have a defense program worked out with Greece that I hope will satisfy their requirements.

#### *Visit to Turkey*

*Q.* Mr. President, the Patriarch of Constantinople came to the United States on an official visit, and you received him at the

White House. Will you see him or call him when you go to Istanbul after Greece?

*The President.* Well, I don't know whether I'll be doing that or not. If the schedule is like it was in London, I doubt it. We go from, as this gentleman so tactfully put it, meeting to meeting, meetings that are already set up. But we had a very cordial meeting with the Patriarch, and I just can't answer your question as to whether it's on the schedule or whether there will be time for something of that nature, important though it is. So, we'll have to wait and see how the schedule develops. But we had an excellent meeting with him.

*Q.* Mr. President—

*The President.* Here's the host.

### *Domestic Agenda*

*Q.* Mr. President, Cyprus is just the latest of a long list of complex, long-lived international problems that you've shown a personal interest in. There's a perception, fair or unfair, that you are not as engaged as you should be in some of the domestic problems that the United States faces. How do you account for that? And with an election coming up next year, what do you intend to do about it?

*The President.* I account for it by the fact there's an election coming up next year. And I don't plan to do anything about it because we have an outstanding domestic program. My problem is, we have too few Republicans and too many Democrats. Now, I don't know whether the Prime Minister understands that in his terms here, but that's my problem. And we've got excellent programs, some of which have been enacted. I cite the historic Clean Air Act as one; the aid for people with disabilities, the assistance there. I think that putting caps on reckless spending has been a useful thing.

But we've got a ways to go. I want, as you know, a crime bill. I want a civil rights bill. But it's pretty difficult when you have a majority that sees politics around the corner and are making it a little tougher.

But I don't hear that too much anymore. Maybe that's still—some making—you have to look at who makes the charge. And nobody will convince me that there's not a lot of politics in all of that. But that isn't to

say because there's an unfulfilled agenda that I ought not to perform my duties as President in terms of foreign affairs. I will continue to do that.

And I think this visit is very important. I had a good visit this morning with the respected President, President Karamanlis, outstanding visit with a man that is so respected in the States. Same thing for the Prime Minister today. And I think that's in the interests of the United States of America.

But we've got plenty going on back there, able people in these departments trying to get their agendas through.

So, I discount some of the criticism, if it's still going on. Maybe it will increase. But put a little political factor on it, because things are going pretty well. And I see this recession of ours turning around, and that's going to narrow the areas of criticism in the political arena. So, we're used to it. But I think that any President is responsible to do both to the best of his ability, and that is what I am trying to do, domestic, foreign affairs.

### *Cyprus Situation*

*Q.* Mr. President, going back to the region, would you suggest a step-by-step procedure in order to solve the Cyprus problem? And if so, could you please name one step-by-step procedure that you would suggest on that?

*The President.* It is not my role to spell out the steps, nor is it my role to spell out the procedures. It is my role to use whatever authority the United States may have, and the Prime Minister is very generous in his assessment of that, to further support for the United Nations Secretary-General's proposals in any way I can. There's where the step-by-step procedures are. And then they, of course, have to be solved between two very strong and very able leaders. And then the people of both countries, both Greece and Turkey, to the degree that this is where it stands, have to agree.

So, I give you a little more general answer than you want.

*Q.* Here in Greece, Mr. President, several asked themselves why didn't the United States do the same they did for Kuwait; that

is, why didn't America try to liberate Cyprus?

*The President.* Let me be sure I understand the question. Liberate it in what way? Sending in the 82d Airborne? That was never an option.

*Q.* You freed Kuwait. Well, in Cyprus, too, human rights have been violated, and a military invasion has taken place. So, why don't you help free this country as well?

*The President.* Acting under the United Nations resolutions, 12 of them, we forged enormous coalition to go in and kick the aggressor out of Kuwait. It was almost unanimously supported in the United Nations, a handful of holdouts. And it's a very different situation as it relates to Kuwait and to Cyprus.

So, I would say that the best answer to Cyprus is peaceful resolution of this question and to have it resolved as much as possible between two very able heads of government.

#### *Greek-Turkish Relations*

*Q.* Mr. President, concerning Greek-Turkish relations, did you discuss the possibility of signing a nonaggression pact? And what is your position on that matter?

*The President.* With which? Nonaggression between who?

*Q.* Between Greece and Turkey, a nonaggression pact.

*The President.* I don't remember being asked anything about that. And it may have

been touched on by the Prime Minister, but that I will leave between the parties.

#### *Iraq*

*Q.* Mr. President, the United Nations inspection team appears to have concluded that Iraq's nuclear capability was destroyed in the war. I'm wondering if they missed the incontrovertible evidence you said existed, sir.

*The President.* Well, I'm sure they must have if we're still turning up evidence that the Iraqi dictator is still trying to perfect some nuclear capability. And clearly, there's no question that the nuclear capability was set back in the war, but that's not the point. The point is he must fully comply with the United Nations resolutions. And he's been lying and cheating and hiding material, and that simply is not good enough. And the whole world is very much concerned about it. They do not want to have nuclear weapons in the hands of this kind of aggressor.

*Q.* But, sir, the team appears to have concluded that the capability is destroyed. How can you react to that?

*The Prime Minister.* Thank you, gentlemen, ladies and gentlemen.

*Note: The President's 94th news conference began at 6:25 p.m. on the patio of the Prime Minister's office. The Prime Minister spoke in Greek, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. In the news conference, the President referred to Greek Defense Minister Ioannis Varvitsiotis.*

## Remarks at a State Dinner in Athens, Greece July 18, 1991

Well, thank you, Mr. President, not only for that warm welcome today but for those very kind words. And I simply cannot tell you how happy I am to return to Greece, the cradle of democracy, at a time in which ancient principles and modern aspirations meet, come together.

Some 25 centuries ago, the democratic idea was born right here in Athens. And you kept that idea alive and inspired our Founding Fathers to begin the American

experiment. And while this year we celebrate the 200th anniversary of our Bill of Rights, you celebrate the 2500th anniversary of democratic government.

Mr. President, we speak often of democratic principles and individual liberties and the rule of law. And together, we've stood strong so that democracy would survive in Europe. Greece was among the first countries to resist fascism when you fought Mussolini's army in 1940. And you were also the



first to stop Soviet expansionism in Europe after World War II.

And now our North Atlantic alliance supports those same guiding principles, principles that inspire nations all around the world. And today, the human spirit vanquishes the evils of totalitarianism, and the spark of freedom glows brightly in virtually every corner of Europe.

Mr. President, you have played a tremendously important role in preserving the flame of democracy for half a century. And many have stood for democracy, but only a gallant few have risen to the call of reversing autocracy and restoring democratic principles to government and society. And you, sir, are one of those few. As a matter of fact, you're unsurpassed in that small, very distinguished group. You fought the forces of evil in the Second World War. You fought communism afterward. And you restored democracy to Greece in 1974. Your success in this profound endeavor was a victory for Greece and for the world.

Mr. President, these are brilliant accomplishments. And we pay tribute this evening to your magnificent record as one of the West's great statesmen. Thucydides wrote that "the bravest are surely those who have the clearest vision of what is before them, glory and danger alike, and yet, notwithstanding, go out and meet it." Twice Prime Minister of Greece and now twice President, you inspire the people of Greece, the people of the United States, and free men and women everywhere.

So, ladies and gentlemen, will you please join me in a toast: To the good fortune of President Karamanlis, to the many times throughout history our two countries have inspired and supported each other, and to the deep friendship, the real and lasting friendship, between our peoples. And may God bless Greeks and the American people as well.

*Note: The President spoke at 8:50 p.m. in the dining room at the Presidential Palace.*

## Exchange With Reporters in Athens, Greece July 19, 1991

### *Acropolis Tour*

Q. Mr. President, President Assad said that he's pushing your deal—

*The President.* No, Jim [Jim Miklaszewski, NBC News], hey, this is a history tour.

Q. —your offer on Mideast peace talks. Do you have any reaction to that this morning?

*The President.* At an appropriate time, yes. But this is not the place.

Q. How do you like this place? [Laughter]

Q. Have you talked to Secretary Baker?

*The President.* It's marvelous, and I think we're getting to do what a lot of Americans, most Americans, would like to do, just get a taste of this history. I'll tell you, it's fantastic, marvelous.

Q. Is that what you mean when you say "the American dream"? Is this not it?

*The President.* Democracy is the American dream, and it started right here. So, we see these marvelous symbols of Greece's

past. But all of this is just so impressive.

Q. How important is culture in your life?

Q. No reaction this morning—

*The President.* Third trip for me. But you just feel a great sense of wonder every time you come here.

### *Middle East Peace Process*

Q. Any reaction at all, sir, to the news from—

*The President.* I'd rather not now, but it looks—I mean, I must say it's very encouraging. I don't want to divert this into a press conference, but as we said earlier, there were positive aspects. And what I've heard from the Secretary is all positive so far. So, we'll see where we go.

We're talking about this Middle East initiative now and the Syrian response, which is quite encouraging. Secretary Baker is really working hard on this. He's over there plowing away.

*Visit to Greece*

*Q.* Mr. President, if you had some time, what else would you like to visit in Greece?

*The President.* Well, I'd like to visit every Greek isle. [Laughter] I might have to wait until I get out of this job to do it.

*Q.* Did you see any of the protests last night, Mr. President?

*The President.* No, didn't see a thing. It was a tranquil and very, very pleasant evening. And I guess this is another time to express my appreciation to the Prime Minister for his hospitality, and it's wonderful. And I meant yesterday what I said about U.S.-Greek relations. So, this is kind of the icing on the cake. But yesterday was, as far as we were concerned, fantastic.

Let me say this: Anyplace an American President goes, whether it's in Chicago, Dallas, San Francisco, New York, or Athens, we're bound to stir up a little interest. But that's some of what democracy is about. We don't worry about all that. And let the people that are in charge of it handle it. It's all going very well indeed, thank you.

It doesn't concern me one bit. I mean, what we say, "goes with the territory." And so, if there was some disturbance yesterday, no, that's part of people's right to get out and say what they think, but as long as they do it peacefully. It's the same way in our country, so we have no problems.

*Cyprus*

*Q.* Mr. President, when you say you have some ideas about Cyprus, are you advancing a proposal of your own?

*The President.* No, I answered that one yesterday, Charles [Charles Bierbauer,

Cable News Network]. I'm not sure you were there yesterday at the press conference. And I would use the word "catalyst." The United States cannot dictate terms, but we can express a keen interest in being helpful. And I will be discussing that a little further today, and then we'll see what happens when I go and talk to my friend Mr. Özal. We've got two strong leaders in Greece and in Turkey. And I expect that—you know, they feel and I feel there's an opportunity. So, that's about all I was talking about yesterday. Yet, it's important.

*Q.* Are you taking anything specific, new from here to Mr. Özal?

*The President.* Hey, listen, I want to talk about this, a little history. I'd like to give you guys a history lecture, but you all want to talk about something else.

*Acropolis Tour*

*Q.* What impresses you the most about it?

*The President.* I refer all questions to my man Sig.

*Q.* Had you seen it before, Mr. President?

*Q.* How important is culture in your life?

*The President.* In my life? Look at my wife, and you can tell it's—we talk about this all the time.

*Q.* Had you visited here before?

*The President.* Yes, twice.

*Note: The exchange began at 8:15 a.m. during a tour of the Acropolis. In the exchange, the following persons were referred to: President Hafiz al-Assad of Syria; President Turgut Özal of Turkey; and Sigmund A. Rogich, Assistant to the President for Public Events and Initiatives.*

## Remarks at the Greek-American Chamber of Commerce Breakfast in Athens, Greece

*July 19, 1991*

Thank you all very much. And thank you for that warm welcome and the welcome from various members of this association that I see all around the hall here. And let me salute Ambassador Sotirhos, proud of his Greek heritage, doing a fantastic job for the

United States of America here in Athens and in this great country. And I'm proud of him, I'm proud of his wife, and I am delighted with the job he is doing for all of us.

And may I salute Mr. Petsiavas and Mr. Ioannou and Mr. Tsomokos and the mem-

bers of the Greek and foreign diplomatic corps who are with us today. I see the dean over here. But others are here, I am sure. And I just want to say again how pleased Barbara and I are to be here.

If we look a little bit that we've been outside, the answer is, we have. We had a fantastic visit up at the Parthenon, and there we had a chance to salute 2500 years of democracy and commitment to individual rights.

And this is quite a scene, if you think about it. I notice that Mike very generously said I was a businessman, but when he said profit and loss, I thought he put a little too much emphasis on the last one. *[Laughter]* But far be it from me to be critical. And he was right about the risk-taking and trying—which I think has given me a little more understanding about what your lives are all about as you try to build the productivity of this country and the productivity of our great country.

So, it is quite a scene. Here we have a number of citizens, accomplished citizens from many countries, gathered in the capital of Greece, Athens, in a hotel run by an American company. And that certainly symbolizes the kinds of ties that our nations enjoy, and ties that I want to talk to you about today. I am sorry I wasn't here for the breakfast. They told me that inside the eggs there was going to be broccoli. And I decided I'd come in later—*[laughter]*—just for the very end of all of this.

But, you know, we brought with us from England two gentlemen that are known to many here. For those that don't know them, I just want to single them out. Sons of Greece, great friends of Greece, but people who have joined us here and who have done great things for the United States, and I'm talking about my dear friends Alex Spanos and Alex Courtelis. I'd like them to stand if they're here. There they are.

I single them out because really there are others, many others right in this room like them. There are many others in the United States like them. But they show that opportunity can translate into prosperity. And in many ways their example ought to serve as a beacon for Greek businessmen in Greece. They show that a new world order applies old world genius to new world realities. So,

Alec and Alex, our businessmen, they remind me from time to time that time is money. So, in the interest of keeping profits high, I promise to keep this morning's talk short. I know that will come as a great relief to all of you.

Let me just talk a little bit about improving economic relations between the United States and Greece, and to express my support, strong support, for the economic path that Prime Minister Mitsotakis has charted for this great country. The Prime Minister has taken a giant first step towards strengthening the Greek economy by outlining some goals that sound very familiar to this American President. He wants to cut the redtape, privatize the economy, reduce the cost and size of the public sector, of the government sector, and get his economy on a growth path.

Prime Minister Mitsotakis deserves enormous credit for working to lift the veil that for too long kept Greece out of the international economic mainstream. He understands that free markets, not state management, can help Greece invigorate its economy, reduce its deficit, pay off its external debt, and remain a member in good standing of the European Community.

We shouldn't underestimate, given the state of the world economy, the difficulty of the Prime Minister's task. We shouldn't underestimate its importance either. So, let me just tell you what he and I talked about, what I told him.

First, we believe in the reform efforts. And I might ask you to take a rather global look at this point. It isn't simply Greece that's moving on this important path that I have outlined above. Take a look at what's happening in Eastern Europe. Take a look at the aspirations inside the Soviet Union towards privatization and market reform and convertibility and all of the things necessary to improve the lives of the people through trade. Far better to do it that way than through some aid program that screeches to a halt because it has no underpinnings.

So, we're embarked here on a program that really make a difference, this reform program. I think his reforms will work. I think they can make a big difference in

Greece. You see, we also believe strongly in the benefits of trade. I left that economic summit there in London more determined than ever to press for open markets, free and fair trade around the world, and open investment opportunities everywhere. This isn't to benefit solely the United States, and yes, we would benefit, but it's to benefit every single country that participates in achieving these goals.

You see, the litter of communism provides eloquent testimony to what happens when people forget about the virtues of free enterprise and avoid the tough discipline that competition provides. If we want to make the most of the talent of our people in America, in Greece, in Europe, and all around the world, we must advance the cause of free and fair trade.

Our administration remains totally determined to reach a successful conclusion of the GATT, of this Uruguay round, and I remain optimistic that we can do so.

As I look at the various economies around the world, I am absolutely convinced that Greece would benefit enormously from a successful conclusion of the GATT round. The more Greece opens its markets to foreign investment and the more it works to develop its export industries, the more secure its future will be. And I am happy to say that our trade relationship with Greece is growing stronger every single day. The United States enjoys what I think is a special and strong relationship with Greece. And again, I salute the Prime Minister for his key role in all of this.

That relationship should make a lot of people happy. Consider the bottom line. U.S. exports to Greece increased 10 percent last year, and Greek imports to the U.S. increased by \$30 million. But you see, if you look at the big picture—and you all understand this—that was only a beginning. Our Governments recently have signed a bilateral customs agreement, a new civil aviation agreement, a joint declaration on tourism. And I believe that these initiatives will increase the number of commercial flights between the nations, speed the flow of goods through customs, and generate more tourist business. I couldn't help but stand there—Barbara and I talked about this standing there, just in the wish that

many and all Americans could someday share the joys that we felt standing in the midst of that history just a few minutes ago.

The Greek and the U.S. Governments are cooperating effectively in this worldwide fight against terrorism, and this effort's obviously going to remain a priority for both countries. We're trying to expand trade and investment opportunities for American companies that want to do business in Greece. And we have worked to protect intellectual property rights, patents, copyrights, trademarks, and the like for American firms doing business in Greece. We have worked with the Government of Greece to ensure the swift and fair repatriation of profits. It has to happen. And we hope to improve the prospects for American firms interested in bidding on Greek Government contracts.

This progress—and I'm not saying there is not more that needs to be done. There is. But this progress demonstrates that the Greek Government is ready to do business with American companies and that it welcomes American investment. And this is a refreshing change. And it explains why, for the first time in more than a decade, OPIC, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, can offer insurance and financing for private-sector investment projects. The investment climate here seems more hospitable than ever for Americans.

And now the United States needs to take advantage of the welcome that the Prime Minister has given us. So, as I announced yesterday in my speech to the legislature, I have asked Commerce Secretary Bob Mosbacher, known to many in this room, to lead a Presidential trade and investment mission to Greece this autumn. That mission can persuade even more American businesses to take advantage of the opportunities that are already here and the opportunities that will be here in the future.

In the days and months ahead, our Governments will continue working to improve economic relations and eliminate these obstacles to growth. But in the end, good business is common sense, and common sense ought to guide us as we work to build a more prosperous future.

I am happy to say that I think, as you

look at this country and our country, things look good. In the United States, as everyone here knows, we've been facing substantial, tremendous economic problems. Our country has been in recession, albeit by historical standards statistically rather mild. But some of our people have been hurting because of this recession. Most of the indicators now are that the recession is over and that growth is beginning. And it's my own view that if that growth pattern continues, and I think it will, this will benefit businesses all around the world. The dynamism and the size of the American economy relates to economies of small countries and medium-sized countries all around the globe.

So, we are more optimistic today about the economies at home. I must tell you, as President, I think it's tremendously important that we keep a vigil out. Last year, about this time, I lost about 4 quarts of blood fighting with Congress on a budget agreement. But I can tell you that the results of that budget agreement, controversial though it may have been, painful though it may have been, we now have caps, real caps, on Government spending. It is fine for me to come to Greece and lecture the Greeks about how they ought to control the Government sector. But we'd better do something about it ourselves in the United States. And so, we have put caps, real caps that are holding, on our own spending. And I think that will result in the Government sector getting more under control and freeing up the private sector, as our economy recovers, to do the dynamic things that only private enterprise can take care of.

So, I am going to fight for those caps. I am going to keep them on. And I don't care how much blood it takes in the future, I am not going to let the Congress take them and let us go back to reckless Government spending that hurts the enterprise and hurts the American people.

And so, as one firm says, I am bullish on America—and I'm not advertising for one firm against some of the others I see around here—but I have reason to be. And let me just tell you something very personally. This is a fantastic and challenging time, rewarding time to be President of the greatest and freest country on the face of the Earth. As

you look around the world and you see what's happened in Eastern Europe; as you see the changes that are already beginning to take hold in the gigantic Soviet Union; as you see our own hemisphere, the Western Hemisphere, with all but one country moving down democracy's path; as you take a look at Asia and the dynamic trade relationships that we have with Asia and that they are continuing to grow—we remain, in spite of our affinity and affection for the people of Greece and Europe, we are also a Pacific power, and you see those trade relationships strengthening—I can tell you, it is an enormously rewarding time, in spite of the problems we face, to be President of the United States.

I happen to believe that the action that we took collectively with allies—and I will always be grateful to Greece for their participation—the action we took against Saddam Hussein gave the United States a new respect and credibility around the world. And I am very grateful, obviously, to the men and women who served under our banner. But the other day I had a chance to reward the French general, the British general with high honors, expressing our appreciation that this was not a United States unilateral move. It was a revitalized United Nations, and it brought together Greece and the United States and Turkey and many other countries who stood up against—for a common purpose, and that purpose is aggression, bullying, one neighbor against another, will not stand. It did not stand. And we've set a principle out there for the world. It will not stand in the future. And I am very grateful to everybody that participated.

And so, that achievement of that common purpose of turning back aggression from a bullying and brutal dictator now leads us to what I call a possibility of a new world order. And let me just assure you—this isn't on the subject of commerce, it's on the subject of political rivalries, it's on the subject of world peace—that we will use every bit of this newfound political power or this worldwide credibility to do our best to bring peace to the historically troubled corners of the world.

As you see the changes that are taking

place in your sphere, and then you couple those with the changes that are taking place in the political sphere, I think we all conclude that we have an historic opportunity. I must tell you, I felt very strongly about that when I sat down with Mikhail Gorbachev the other day in London. They are trying. They've got enormous economic problems. But we sat there, and we finalized a strategic arms reduction treaty, the first time that we have been able to significantly reduce the destabilization of the world through intercontinental ballistic missiles. It is a wonderful achievement, not just for the American people, not just for the people in the Soviet Union, for I think it reflects on everybody in Greece, the feeling that we can curtail the unprofitability that goes into these massive arms and then bring the power of private enterprise to bear, helping the people of the country around the world. These are exciting times. These are not times to be pessimistic about the world in which we live.

And so, things do look good. The President of this great country and the Prime Minister have felt, as we're back to bilateral relations now, have helped forge what is a new beginning here, a new beginning to an old friendship. And so, my challenge to you all is let's make things even better.

I want to thank you for inviting me this morning. I had a good shot of your strong coffee next door, which added to the warm welcome here, I might add. And now Barbara and I have the thrill of doing what I

am sure everyone here has done, go to Crete. This for us will be a first time, though this visit to Athens was not the first for either of us. It's been fantastic.

But I think we will take away a lot of things with us when we leave after this very short visit to Greece. But we won't ever forget the warm reception. We won't forget this meeting, because as you look around the room and see the numbers, you keep in mind the world opportunity that private business brings.

And so, thank you all. And may God bless Greece, but may God bless the United States of America. Thank you very much. Thank you all. Thank you all very much. It's a pleasure to be with you.

*Note: The President spoke at 8:55 a.m. in the ballroom of the Intercontinental Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to U.S. Ambassador to Greece Michael G. Sotirhos and his wife, Estelle; Greek American Chamber of Commerce officials Dimitrios Petsiavas and Costas Ioannou, presidents, and Symeon Tsomokos, director general; Sheikh Abdullah Al-Malhooq, Saudi Arabian Ambassador to Greece and dean of the diplomatic corps in Greece; Alexander G. Spanos, president and chairman of the board of directors of the San Diego Chargers football team; Alec Courtelis, Florida Republican Party finance chairman; and Gen. Michel Roquejeoffre of France and Sir Peter de la Billiere of the United Kingdom, who were awarded the Legion of Merit for their roles in the Persian Gulf crisis.*

## Nomination of Parker W. Borg To Be United States Ambassador to Burma

*July 19, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Parker W. Borg, of Minnesota, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Union of Burma (Myanmar). He would succeed Burton Levin.

Since 1989 Mr. Borg has served as Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for the Bureau of International Narcotics Matters at the Department of State. Prior to this Mr. Borg served as Deputy and Acting Coordinator at the Bureau of International Communications and Information Policy at the Department of State, 1987-1989; as a senior

fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1986–1987; and Deputy to the Director of the Office for Counterterrorism, 1984–1986. From 1981 to 1984 he served as the U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Mali. He served in various positions at the State Department and in the

Foreign Service, 1965–1981.

Mr. Borg graduated from Dartmouth College (A.B., 1961) and Cornell University (M.P.A., 1965). He was born May 25, 1939, in Minneapolis, MN. Mr. Borg is married, has three children, and resides in Washington, DC.

## Nomination of James F. Dobbins To Be United States Representative to the European Community With the Rank of Ambassador

July 19, 1991

The President today announced his intention to nominate James F. Dobbins, of New York, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, as Representative of the United States of America to the European Communities, with the rank and status of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary. He would succeed Thomas Michael Tolliver Niles.

Currently Mr. Dobbins serves as Acting Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs at the Department of State in Washington, DC. Prior to this he served as Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs, 1989–1991; Minister and Deputy

Chief of Mission in the U.S. Embassy in Bonn, Germany, 1985–1989; Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, 1982–1985; and Director of the Office of Theater Military Policy in the Politico-Military Bureau at the Department of State, 1981–1982. Mr. Dobbins served in various capacities at the State Department and in the Foreign Service, 1967–1981.

Mr. Dobbins graduated from the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service (BSFS, 1963). He was born May 31, 1942, in New York, NY. Mr. Dobbins served in the U.S. Navy, 1963–1967. He is married, has two children, and resides in Washington, DC.

## Remarks to United States and Greek Armed Forces in Souda Bay, Crete

July 19, 1991

Warm up here. Take this off—I will now take off my Air Force jacket, my Navy necktie, and go to work.

Mr. Prime Minister, thank you, sir, for your wonderful words. And may I first salute the visiting dignitaries, members of our Armed Forces, members of the Greek Government, our hosts and hostesses, and especially those who serve in the Armed Forces of Greece and the United States. I'm just delighted to visit this historic island, this land of memory and myth. And I'm

deeply honored to meet today the officers and crew of these two proud ships, the *Limnos* and the U.S.S. *De Wert*.

Before I go any further, let me also salute the support team right here at Souda Bay. There's at least seven of them here in the front row. [Laughter] Let me put it in perspective. In the months since last August 2d, Souda serviced 97 ships, loaded and unloaded 13,000 tons of cargo, handled 31,000 flights, pumped 4½ million pounds of jet fuel. Souda has run round-the-clock at

break-neck pace. Operating at 3, 4, and 500 percent above normal, day after day Souda Bay was called on to keep the supply lines moving, and day after day Souda Bay did its duty with distinction.

I had the pleasure of touring *Limnos* a few minutes ago, speaking to some of her sailors. And let me say to all, and to you especially, Mr. Prime Minister: My visit to your great country would not be complete without an opportunity to thank the members of the Greek Armed Forces, a key member of our coalition. Greece stood with us from the very first moments of Desert Shield to the final victory in Desert Storm. And we are very grateful to each and every one of you.

Flying in today, looking down as we came in over Souda Bay put me in mind of my own Navy days many, many years ago. But how things have changed dramatically and, I might add, for the better. I mentioned a moment ago my visit to *Limnos*. Let me speak to the officers and crew of the U.S.S. *De Wert*. "Daring, dauntless, defiant," that is your motto. The proud legacy of *De Wert* carries with it wherever she sails. And it's a special pleasure to meet you all here, so far from home and hearth, to bring you on behalf of friends and family, on behalf of all Americans a Nation's heartfelt thanks.

A larger task unites the *De Wert* and the *Limnos* and the two nations they represent. And 2,000 years ago, Thucydides wrote: "Freedom, if we hold fast to it, will ultimately restore our losses. But submission will mean the permanent loss of all that we value. To you who call yourselves men of peace, I say you are not safe unless you have men of action at your side." And today, just as these two ships are moored stern to stern, so, too, the key to keeping our nations secure remains the Atlantic alliance.

I am pleased to announce today, during this visit, a series of initiatives designed to strengthen U.S.-Greek security and to help modernize the Greek Armed Forces. First, I have expressed to Prime Minister Mitsotakis our readiness to lease your country two *Knox*-class frigates for the Hellenic Navy. Secondly, we will accelerate the delivery of 10 F-4E aircraft to Greece this summer, with an additional 18 to follow in the autumn. And finally, we plan to transfer to Greece, from existing NATO stocks, a large number of tanks and artillery that will measurably increase Greece's defensive capabilities.

Each of these steps reaffirms our close and critical defense relationship with our valued NATO ally, Greece. Our support for Greece's security will not waver. Greece remains a valued ally, and our friendship with Greece remains part of our destiny. The United States remains committed to helping Greece maintain its ability to perform its vital NATO missions. Greece can be certain that U.S. support will remain steadfast and strong.

So once again, may I thank you for your warm welcome and for your service to the cause of peace. And may I say, may God bless the U.S. Navy, the Greek Navy, those who serve aboard *Limnos* and *De Wert*. And now I would like to hand the Commanding Officer Nikitiadis of the *Limnos* a small token: It's the flag of the Commander in Chief of the United States Armed Forces. And I'm delighted to hand it to you, sir, in commemoration of this visit.

Thank you all very much. Thank you.

*Note: The President spoke at 12:25 p.m. at the Souda Bay naval facility. In his remarks, he referred to Constantinos Nikitiadis, commanding officer of the Greek naval ship "Limnos."*

## Remarks at the Arrival Ceremony in Ankara, Turkey July 20, 1991

President Özal and Prime Minister Yilmaz, Your Excellencies, my friends, Bar-

bara and I are very grateful for this generous reception and for the chance to be here



in Turkey. Having heard all our lives about Turkish hospitality, I can say just from this initial impression that reports of its warmth have not been exaggerated.

Thirty-two years ago when President Eisenhower visited Turkey, he was greeted by a roaring crowd and thousands hailed him in the streets, cheering not merely America but also our shared values and ideals. One sign in particular touched him. It read: "Welcome to your second home." And today I already feel as President Eisenhower did, that Turkey is a second home. And I say that not merely because of your famed hospitality but because of these common ideals and interests. Turkish-American friendship reaches back as far as the late 18th century. And we've forged close ties through trade and commerce, military cooperation, and above all, a vision expressed by your great leader Ataturk that the voice of the government must speak the words of its people.

And recently, Mr. President, your people proved that friendship anew. Or as the Turkish proverb says: Good friends become apparent on black days. When Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait, Turkey acted courageously to ensure that aggression would not stand. And as the whole world knows, the international coalition could not have achieved the liberation of Kuwait without Turkey's pivotal contributions. Because we were resolute against naked aggression, our nations stand together now at the dawning of a new world order.

Over the next 2 days in Ankara and historic Istanbul, Mr. President, I would like to discuss our future with you, with your Prime Minister, and with the Turkish people. We'll talk of regional disputes, environmental challenges, and Turkey's economic reforms, reforms that have helped you build a foundation for lasting prosperity. And here let us strengthen our developing strategic relationship by agreeing to closer consultations on the vital political issues we face, building expanded security

ties, and establishing a much more vigorous economic dialog.

But let us not stop there. Let us broaden contacts between the Turkish and American people so that, in science and medicine, the environment and education, technology and trade, culture and human rights, we might understand each other better and strengthen the bonds that connect us.

And as I've just come from Greece, let's talk about ways of building a path to peace on Cyprus and making possible the reconciliation between Turkey and Greece.

For 40 years, Turkey's been an integral part of the West. And recently you've helped the Iron Curtain fall from Eastern Europe, spurring democracy abroad just as you've worked hard to build it at home. I firmly believe the years ahead will lead to even stronger and broader U.S.-Turkish ties, and we look forward to laying the foundations for the future by maintaining the alliance that has served us so well.

A Turkish proverb reads: A shared cup of coffee results in 40 years of memories. Well, Mr. President, our conversations can result in deeds and dreams that literally will inspire future generations. So, over the next 2 days in your great country, let's have no fear, as Ataturk said, of speaking the truth. Indeed, let's use the truth to attain the stable peace and greater prosperity that this nation, this region, and our world deserve.

And again, sir, to my friend the President, let me thank you for this magnificent reception. To all the officials of the Turkish Government and the court and all the leaders here today, thank you, too. And may God bless your great country, and ours, the United States of America, as well. Thank you.

*Note: President Bush spoke at 11:02 a.m. upon his arrival at Esenboga Airport. In his remarks, he referred to President Turgut Özal and Prime Minister Mesut Yilmaz of Turkey, and Kemal Ataturk, founder of the modern Turkish Republic.*

## The President's News Conference With President Turgut Özal of Turkey in Ankara *July 20, 1991*

*President Özal.* Ladies and gentlemen, having just completed the main part of our talks which covered a wide range of issues, President Bush and I are now ready to face what might turn out to be the most delicate part of our program, taking on the press. [Laughter] I will now make a short introductory statement, which I believe will be followed by one of President Bush later. We will be glad to take your questions.

As your background briefs probably note, this is the second visit to Turkey by an American President, and the first one since 1959. This alone makes President Bush's presence an honor and historic occasion. On a personal basis, my wife and I are particularly happy to be able to reciprocate the warm hospitality that was accorded to us by President and Mrs. Bush during our visit to United States.

You all know that during the recent months President Bush and myself consulted each other frequently, and on occasions, almost daily. Although these consultations dealt with the immediate concern of those days, they nevertheless underline the unity of course and parallelism of approach between our two countries. During my last visit to the United States, we had intense discussions in the relaxed atmosphere and seclusion of Camp David. There we came to recognize that our longstanding relations and cooperation have reached strategic dimensions which offered our nations real possibilities. We decided that we should work together and turn these possibilities into lasting benefits.

Today we went further on these issues. We noted that the friendship and cooperation that exist between our two countries not only serve our interests on the bilateral level but also constitute an essential element of the broader partnership between the United States and Europe as a whole. It's clear that Turkey's taking its rightful place in European integration will have important implications on the stability of regions neighboring Turkey and ultimately on

the peace and stability of Europe and the world.

These call for a deepening of our political dialog. We agreed that while the recent developments in the European security environment allow for a more effective pursuit of dialog and cooperation as a means for enhancing security, an adequate defense posture is still an essential element in facing prevailing uncertainties and instabilities. Accordingly, the United States has a keen interest in the modernization of the Turkish Armed Forces.

On the economic front, we both believe that free trade should be the driving force in our commercial ties and that there is a need for enhancing and diversifying our economic relations through increased and balanced trade and greater United States investments and joint ventures in Turkey. Furthermore, we are convinced that the scope of our relations would be incomplete if cooperation areas such as education, science, health, technology, and culture are neglected.

The strategic dimension that our relations have already reached and the agenda we have set for the future necessitate arrangements for an institutional framework which will enable us to monitor the progress that we hope to achieve. This is why we have decided to set up a permanent mechanism for consultations which will bring together our high level officials on a regular basis. Different groups, each asked to deal with a different field of cooperation, will meet as needed, but at least once a year, and work to further our ties. A steering group cochaired by the under secretaries of the Turkish Foreign Ministry and the U.S. State Department will be created to monitor and report the progress achieved. This group will meet twice a year.

As you might expect, we also discussed the question of Cyprus. I confirmed that Turkey is fully committed to a negotiated settlement mutually acceptable to the Turkish Cypriot and the Greek Cypriot peoples

of the island; and that political equality, bicommunality, bizonality, and the maintenance of Turkey's effective guarantee are essential to a just and viable peace there.

I emphasized that U.N. Security Council Resolution 649 provided the necessary framework for such a settlement and that the quadripartite meeting I suggested recently, to be held in accordance with the political equality of the two Cypriot parties, could provide the much-needed turning point.

In summary, ladies and gentlemen of the press, this has been a most fruitful visit. I hope and pray that what we, as the heads of state of our countries, have set out to accomplish today will be for the good of our nations and constitute a milestone in our longstanding ties.

Thank you.

*President Bush.* Thank you, Mr. President. And I'm in Turkey to pay my respects to this great nation with which my country has been so close for so many years.

President Özal and I have had excellent talks today. He is a courageous leader who has gained great credit and stature for Turkey in the world. And I was also pleased, if I might say so, to meet at his house, his residence, with Turkey's very impressive new young Prime Minister, Mesut Yilmaz, and I want to thank him over here for the time he gave me for fruitful talks as well.

We value Turkey's NATO partnership, its commitment to democracy, and its integral position in the Western community. And Turkey played a critical role, as we all know, in the international coalition that liberated Kuwait, valiantly serving our common interests in a lawful international order and a stable region.

President Özal and Mr. Prime Minister, thank you for today's work. All three of us agreed today to build a new strategic relationship based on closer political, security, and yes, economic links. In this spirit, the United States supports Turkey's military modernization, including its 160-plane F-16 development program. And we have pledged to expand our trade and investment, a point very important to both countries, and to develop new avenues of cooperation in a lot of fields: education, environ-

ment, science and technology, medicine, and others.

And finally, I believe that an opportunity may exist for progress on the Cyprus problem. And the United States is committed to support the efforts of the U.N. Secretary-General in whatever way we can. And I'm also convinced that the Turkish leadership is serious about building new and better ties with the Greek government of my friend Prime Minister Mitsotakis.

And let me close, Mr. President, with saying how deeply moved I was and Barbara was, and I expect all of us were, by the warmth of the reception from the Turkish people when we came in from the airport. No one is so sophisticated that those outpourings of interest in and, I think, affection for one's country, and in this instance the United States, make a difference. I mean, it makes a tremendous difference. And I can't tell you how moved and touched I was—the little children all the way up to the old men and women who greeted us along the side of the road. And I think that started this visit off on a very high plane.

Thank you, sir.

### *Turkey*

*Q.* Mr. President, as you well know, the strict adherence of Turkey to the United Nations sanctions during the Gulf crisis and Gulf war has had adverse effects on Turkish economy and finances. We realize that there are some long-term technical and economic cooperation in the future. But could you tell us whether this visit will give short-term, concrete benefits to Turkey?

*President Bush.* Well, I'm not sure of what one means by short-term, concrete. I'm very pleased at the commitments made by those in the area. Substantial financial commitments will continue or are in the process of being fulfilled. I'm thinking particularly of the Gulf States and what they've done. I hope that is short-term.

But in terms of the United States, I think we have an understanding with the Turks along the lines of my statement here as to what we can do to better enhance each other and to help the Turkish economy. So, I'd leave it right there except to say Turkey

did suffer. Many countries did, that supported the Gulf war. It was costly to everybody. But I think the price was worth it when you consider that aggression did not stand, and we've set a precedent now for future aggressors so that they will travel very, very carefully.

#### *Iraq*

*Q.* Mr. President, I'd like to ask you about Iraq. There was renewed fighting this week in northern Iraq between Kurdish rebels and Saddam Hussein's forces. Can you tell us, is that a matter of concern for you and does that risk renewed U.S. involvement in Iraq?

*President Bush.* Are you speaking to me or to President Özal? Yes, it's a matter of concern to us. Anytime there's a conflagration of that nature, it's a matter of concern to us. I understand that the matter is, hopefully, getting resolved. But we moved in when the Kurds were brutalized; great cooperation from Turkey and other countries. It was not a unilateral move. We have subsequently removed our forces from the area. But I think that the parties there realize that our role is for peace. And anytime there's an outbreak of hostilities, it concerns us.

I don't think, if the question implies that we're going back to what we were when the war ended and major, massive attacks were launched against the Kurds, that we're seeing something like that taking place here.

#### *Cyprus*

*Q.* Mr. President, in your recent statements you have made reference to only one of the parties in the Cyprus dispute, one of the local parties in Cyprus, i.e., the Greek Cypriot community's leader. And you haven't made any reference to the Turkish leader. Is there a reason for not making such a reference, and is this not contrary to the Security Council decision 649 on equality? Thank you.

*President Bush.* No, I think you raise a point; perhaps oversight. But I do believe that the question is a question of community, not personality. The President of Turkey has proposed quadripartite talks, and we support that. So, I appreciate your pointing

that out to me. And I think the question is community. And I mentioned Vassiliou as the President of Cyprus, but I think you raise a good point: this problem will not be solved unless the communities get together.

I'm not looking—I'm just sitting here answering. I'm not in charge of who's vectoring these questions.

#### *Iraq*

*Q.* If I may follow up on Terry Hunt's [Terence Hunt, Associated Press] question. This is a question really for both of you, the question really being, what is the tripwire whereby allied forces would come into play, particularly this rapid deployment force that you're forming here in Turkey? Is it only actions against the Kurds north of the 36th parallel or, in fact, would it be actions against the Kurds to the south? And this is also important for the Shiites. There are reports, unconfirmed reports, that Saddam is trying to starve out the Shiites, keep them in the marshlands in the south.

*President Bush.* Do you want to go first?

*President Özal.* You go first, sir.

*President Bush.* Well, thank you. [Laughter]

Let me say that the rapid deployment force is to guard against a repeat of horribly brutal events in the north. And we are not anticipating that that force will be used. We are thinking that Saddam Hussein, having learned his lesson once, will hopefully not embark on the kind of carnage that resulted in our having to do what we did in the past with Turkish cooperation.

So, I would not anticipate, John [John Cochran, NBC News], seeing those forces have to come into action. But should there be a need in the south, different assets would be used.

*President Özal.* I think I will say, just in addition to President Bush, what he said, the force is going to be a kind of force—will be used to protect the Turkish borders to come to such a big inflow of refugees, which has been in the month of April. And such occurrence should never happen again.

*President Bush.* The President raised a good point, because, in addition to what happened in saving Kurdish lives, there was

this question of respect for borders. And when the people came down out of the mountains, fearing no longer for their lives, we did, usefully, make a statement about the sanctity of borders. And so, I'm sorry I omitted that from my comments.

#### *Cyprus*

*Q.* Mr. President, you said there are new opportunities to solve the Cyprus question. Did these emerge after you visited Greece and you're here now?

*President Bush.* Well, I think when you have reasonable people coping with a long-enduring problem you have a very good opportunity to work it out. The Secretary-General is personally engaged. This President, President Özal, has stated his position, and he stated it very, very clearly. Prime Minister Mitsotakis stated his position, and I thought it was quite clear. They've already got the framework in this proposed quadripartite meeting.

And thus, yes, we discussed some more of the detail behind it, but I remain optimistic that this problem can be solved. It is not, as I've mentioned, one where the United States can dictate nor would attempt to dictate terms. This is in the United Nations framework where it should be. But I told my friend President Özal, I told the Prime Minister that we are prepared to be catalytic, prepared to help if we possibly can. But I heard nothing today that makes me more pessimistic about the solution to this problem.

#### *Turkey*

*Q.* A question for President Özal. Concerning the sacrifice that the nation of Turkey underwent for its participation in the Gulf war, have you been disappointed with the amount of compensation that you've received from those who have pledged to assist you? What do you want President Bush to do, if anything, to repay Turkey?

*President Özal.* I think, in front of the international press here, I would like to thank especially to President Bush the support given on that aspect to Turkey.

Let me tell you, a crisis such as occurred in the world, and everybody loses. I mean, not only Turkey but also Yugoslavia, which

has relation with Iraq and Kuwait, and also take Romania or Bulgaria or many other countries, India. But we have borders. Yes, we have been involved militarily or base-wise in order to counter this aggression. And up to now, what we get maybe doesn't meet our requirements, I mean, our losses. But if I compare it to other countries, those countries get nothing, and Turkey at least gets, up to now, more than \$3 billion, mostly free of charge, not credits.

And therefore, I say I would like to thank to President Bush with the supports he has shown, and still this support is coming from the United States and through the Gulf countries also involved. Thank you.

*President Bush.* Another Turkish journalist? I want to get in—

#### *Cyprus*

*Q.* Mr. President, you are admired internationally for being a champion of the rule of law. Unfortunately, in Cyprus this very principle is being violated by the imposition of one community as the government of the whole of the island. How can this be reconciled with 649? And what can you do to help, Mr. President, remedy the situation?

*President Bush.* It can't be reconciled, and the only answer is negotiation and discussions. So I will repeat: We have reasonable leaders now in both Turkey and Greece. You have a determined Secretary-General. You have a United States President and Government willing to use whatever it can to have international law supported and to have this heretofore intractable problem solved. And so, the Turkish Government has proposed a get-together, quadripartite, and that is the best hope for peace and the best hope for the solution to the Cyprus question.

#### *President's Health and Travel*

*Q.* You've been keeping to a whirlwind pace, sir, on this trip. You have another one coming up which is scheduled in much the same way. And I wanted to ask first, sir, how are you feeling? And second, I wonder how your staff is doing and how you expect it will be doing by this time next week? [Laughter]

*President Bush.* I'm feeling great. I plan

to exercise when I leave here. I'll confess to being a little bit tired—a lot of evening action out there coupled with getting up pretty early. I'm 67 still, and I have to confess that from time to time I get tired. But I've been spared a lot of the work by my staff, a lot of the behind-the-scenes work. Some of the staff are fatigued. Others are ready to charge. But I think when we get home we'll have an opportunity to relax. The doctor, you know, because of this recent—I don't want to bore the Turkish press with it, but I had a little flare-up a while back. And because of that, well, the doctors check it every day and give me the pulse treatment, and I'm on some kind of medication to get the thyroid in balance and all of this.

But, Brit [Brit Hume, ABC News], generally speaking, I feel good. I feel up for all of this. I can't say that at some points along the line in the last few days I haven't gotten tired. But I know that we'll have enough time to do two things when we get home. Monday I have a speech, as you know, Monday afternoon, but—which might not be one of the heroic successes. It may rank with my empowerment speech, which fell a little flat. But that being over, I will be prepared to do two things: one, get some rest in our own bed and be ready to go; and secondly, brief for the important meetings with President Gorbachev.

But no, I'm very blessed with, you know, the ability to keep charging.

*Q.* What about your staff, sir?

*President Bush.* The staff? I haven't taken inventory. One or two were feeling a little under the weather from time to time, but for the most part they seem cheerful. And I'd let Marlin, when this is over, speak for all—he himself having awoken from a good night's nap on Air Force One coming over here. So, he'll be in a position to address himself to that.

*Q.* What is the speech? Is it a speech to the American people?

*President Bush.* No, it's a speech in the Rose Garden to some special group. Don't ask me any more.

*Iraq*

*Q.* Mr. President, I have a very simple and short question for you.

*President Bush.* Me? Yes, sir.

*Q.* Are you dedicated and determined to remove Saddam with whatever means that can be used for this end?

*President Bush.* One, I'd like to see him out of there, Saddam Hussein. Two, we will not have normal relations with the United States as long as he's in there. Three, it was never an objective of the United Nations under these many resolutions, 12 resolutions, to get him out of office. The resolution was to get him out of Kuwait. And with the help of Turkey and other countries, we were fantastically successful there.

But what he's doing now to his own people by diverting food away from his own populace into the hands of some special interests there, and what he's doing now in his ongoing quest to start forward on some nuclear program—although he now says he's not doing that—but what he has done is very bad and counterproductive, as he tries to hide the remnants of his tattered defense forces.

And so, I see nothing redeeming in his attitude or in the way he has conducted himself. I see it as a clear case of evil versus good, and he's the evil in this one. And yet, it wasn't an objective, and I would say this to some who think it should have been, to remove him from power. We would not have gotten the international sanction from all these resolutions and all these countries if that had been an objective. And so, I am hopeful that he will leave.

And let me just repeat this right here in this country. I said long before the first shot was fired that our argument was not with the people of Iraq, nor was it with the Iraq military, the establishment. It is with Saddam Hussein, who runs that country with an iron fist, without regard to the feelings of his own people. And it's still that way. And if some way they could get him to step aside and get out of there, we, for the United States' part, would be willing to start right in from scratch. No matter who the person is, what the establishment is, we'd want pledges that they would honor these United Nations resolutions. But that's the way we feel about it.

### *Cyprus*

*Q.* Mr. President, if I could bring you both back to the Cyprus question. You both have professed interest in negotiating this and working it through. But I understood that you were bringing some ideas from Mr. Mitsotakis to President Özal, and I wondered if you could give us some sense of whether you, President Özal, heard anything different that would seem to be more favorable—just how that discussion went. We haven't really had much of substance, just good will.

*President Bush.* Well, that's important. Good will's an important part of this. And I think any matter that I passed along to President Özal from Prime Minister Mitsotakis, to the degree he asked me to pass it along in confidence, should remain confidential. But the major part of our discussion related to the problems of security and the geography of the question and how to get these talks started that were proposed, in this instance, by Turkey. So, that was about it, but I'd certainly defer to President Özal on this.

*President Özal.* Yes, let me answer. I think the Cyprus question is not an easy question to be solved. It is a difficult problem, because if it was not a difficult problem it should not stay 27, 28 years. But I have a feeling time has changed and there has been some progress. Even in the United Nations there was a new Security Council decision, 649, which has given some additional element for settlement of this dispute. And I think there are reasonable people around it, and if everybody becomes with a good intention, why this problem cannot be solved.

That is my belief. And that is the reason I proposed to have a quadripartite meeting among Greece, Turkey, and Turkish and Greek communities in the island.

*President Bush.* Mr. President, could I ask your indulgence because I recognized two American journalists at the same time—could we take one more from each? Only because Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International] was on her feet. And we'll go first to the Turkish—I'd hate to prolong this when we're having so much fun, but I need to get back and get back on

schedule. We have a Turkish one here.

### *New World Order*

*Q.* Mr. President, with the Gulf crisis you have started using the term "the new world order." And you also repeated it at the airport today. What do you mean by this, and how does it affect Turkey and the region?

*President Bush.* It affects it by peaceful negotiation. It affects it because in the defeat of Iraq's aggression, we set a new moral tone: Aggression is not going to stand. And so, now we want to build on that. We set it by using the United Nations in an unprecedented way. I say we, not the United States, Turkey and every other country coming together under international law, acting under the rubric of the United Nations Security Council resolutions.

So, it's that, and it is peaceful negotiation. And it is also coupled, a new world order, with this inexorable move toward democracy and freedom that's taking place. A lot of countries haven't had the benefits of democracy like the United States and Turkey. A lot of them are just beginning to go down that path. So, it would be all of those components coming together.

This is the last one. Normally, the last one gets you in trouble.

### *Middle East Peace Process*

*Q.* Mr. President—President Bush—what do you think are the possibilities that there will be a Middle East peace conference? You say you're getting very positive reports from Damascus and Cairo, but there seem to be signals otherwise from Israel. What do you think is going to happen? Do you have any fallback position or options?

*President Bush.* Well, we're not trying to fall back at this juncture, because Jim Baker has encountered positive responses in Syria. I've seen his report—I talked to him yesterday, as a matter of fact—I've seen his reports from Egypt which I would interpret as positive. He's on to Saudi Arabia now. And I believe in my heart of hearts that when this is explained on his last stop, when this is explained in Israel, that all countries will see that it is in their interest to come forward and talk peace. And that's what this is all about.

And so, we don't have any fallback position. We think we've put forward some good ideas. And I'm very happy that certain countries now see the merit in these ideas, and I hope that all of them will. There's still some important stops on this mission: Saudi Arabia is one, Jordan another, and of course, Israel terribly important in the equation too. I've heard mixed statements in the press from different countries, but that's not the way these things happen. You don't get deterred when one minister or another responds in any country. You just go forward with what you think is right.

And I again salute our Secretary of State. I go back to Brit's question. I don't know how—Jim Baker used to get tired when he drove across town in Washington, DC—literally. He'd call me up and tell me how tired he was, campaigning and all of that. Now he's going all around the world all the time, dedicated to trying to help solve this problem.

And so, I see no reason to have any fallback position. What I see is to be as sup-

portive as we can not only of what Baker is trying to do but my involvement to get these other countries along the way to be supportive. And we're going to do just exactly that. I think the world is crying out for a peaceful solution in the Middle East. And as long as I've known Turgut Özal, he's told me, "You must help solve this problem." And that's exactly what we're trying to do.

And so, every time you hear some negative comment or comment of reserve, you can't get discouraged. You go forward on a question of principle. And that's what the United States is doing. And I'm very proud of our Secretary of State.

Thank you all very much.

*Note: President Bush's 95th news conference began at 4:28 p.m. on the front landing of the Presidential Palace. In the news conference, the following persons were referred to: President Özal's wife, Semra; President George Vassiliou of Cyprus; and Rauf Denktash, leader of the Turkish Cypriot community.*

## Remarks at a State Dinner in Ankara, Turkey July 20, 1991

Mr. President and Mrs. Özal and ladies and gentlemen, let me begin by thanking President Özal for inviting us over here to see this wonderful country. We were standing outside of Ataturk's tomb this morning, and I couldn't help but think of the parallels between the founder of the modern Turkish Republic, whose name means "Father of the Turks," and the man we Americans call the Father of our Country, George Washington.

Both were great generals; both were great leaders. And both used their words, their times, and their opportunities to build great nations. Each knew that to win a war one must secure the peace. And each had a vision for his country's future that, through courage, labor, and selfless determination, became the nation's destiny.

And then, as now, we believe in what

Ataturk called "peace at home and peace abroad." We know that protecting peace sometimes means being willing to defend it. That's why we've worked together in NATO for close to 40 years. That's why we fought together in the Korean war. And that's why we stood together to reverse the occupation of Kuwait.

There were many people, many men and women, responsible for the success of the international coalition and the liberation of Kuwait. But I firmly believe that no one provided greater leadership or clarity of purpose than President Turgut Özal. I know because we talked together by phone countless times. And he never flinched, and he was always courageous and farsighted.

Let me add, sir, that our respect and gratitude certainly extends also to Turkey's military leaders, the Turkish General Staff,



who displayed uncommon dedication to the coalition's objectives. It was a comfort for all of us in Washington to know that when the United Nations decided to take that step and impose sanctions against Iraq, Turkey would not hesitate to do what was right. I want you to know—and on this one I speak confidently on behalf of the American people—that Turkey's role in the Gulf crisis has not and will not be forgotten.

Let me also say that we know the cost of your courage. Your Turkey's incurred enormous damage, especially in the southeast, from its compliance with UN sanctions, its decision to deploy troops, and its generous relief assistance to hundreds of thousands of displaced people camped along its borders.

As we look ahead, let's use the last year as a model of cooperation. As allies, Mr. President, we must expand and deepen our relationship. We must create a new strategic relationship. It's been said that great tasks and important missions are accomplished only through cooperative efforts. And that's why I talked today with President Özal and Prime Minister Yilmaz of strengthening the

bonds that link our countries.

Turkey's genius can advance not only prosperity at home but also peace abroad. So, let us build a new future together: a future of peace in the Middle East, a future of peace on Cyprus, and peace between two great countries—Turkey and Greece—led by wise and responsible men. And let us work together to build a U.S.-Turkish relationship with the knowledge that our paths are common, our interests and values are intertwined, and our fate as free and democratic peoples will be always linked.

Mr. President, let our path be straight and true. Let us achieve the real peace that Atatürk and General Washington dreamt of. And let us enrich this generation and all generations to come.

And may I ask all the guests here to join me now in a toast to the health of the President and Mrs. Özal and to the great and strong relationship between the United States and Turkey. And thank you, sir, for your hospitality.

*Note: President Bush spoke at 8:35 p.m. in the garden of the Presidential Palace.*

## Exchange With Reporters Aboard Air Force One July 21, 1991

*Q.* We like your suit. It's great!

*President Özal.* Thank you.

*President Bush.* How about my shirt? It's sort of elitist, a little elitist—remember when we played golf down in Jupiter?

*Q.* Are you looking forward to the sight-seeing trip?

*President Bush.* Oh, yes. This is going to be wonderful.

### *Middle East Peace Process*

*Q.* Have you heard from Baker?

*President Bush.* Never been here before. Never.

Haven't talked to him, but the report we got was pretty favorable out of the Saudis, so we'll see where we're going. I think he's making step-by-step progress here. Talking to the President about it, we both see reason to be optimistic. We'll just have to

see.

*Q.* Does that mean you have a solution to the settlements there and the boycott?

*President Bush.* Oh, not the whole solution, but it's an important step.

*Q.* Do you have to pay tribute to the Arab world when you're dealing with Israel—[inaudible]

*President Bush.* I think, whatever, people want peace in the Middle East. I know that's true for all Americans, including what you refer to as political considerations in the country. So, I hope we have something going here that all the American people can enthusiastically support. I really believe they will. We've got to make clear what it is we're doing. But I think we're beginning to see the kinds of cooperation that is necessary for peace. We've been talking a little

about that here.

*Q.* —as being seen as pressuring the Israelis?

*President Bush.* It's not a question of pressuring, or pressuring any other country. It's a question of reasoning and taking this, what I keep calling a new credibility for the United States in the Middle East itself, and using that to encourage what is a very reasonable and important step to peace. It's more that—you start using those volatile words and it simply just hardens positions, so I'm avoiding all that.

*Q.* Are you worried about—

*President Bush.* I'm just avoiding all those words.

#### *Turkey*

*Q.* —in Istanbul there have been some demonstrations. Are you worried about it, terrorism?

*President Özal.* No.

*President Bush.* The answer—no. And I agree with him.

#### *Public Opinion Polls*

*Q.* President Özal, are you taking a chance by being so friendly with the United States—in the newspaper today that a recent poll indicates that most Turks feel that the United States is interfering in Turkey's internal affairs—are you spending some political capital by being so friendly with the United States?

*President Özal.* I couldn't get it.

*President Bush.* Are you using political capital by being friendly to the United States because there's a poll—

*Q.* It means you won't win next year. [Laughter]

*President Özal.* I think you talk about the poll in the British newspapers, about the European Community—

*Q.* The line says: "Most Turks say their future lies with the EC, not America." They feel the United States is interfering in the internal affairs in terms of—

*President Özal.* We didn't see it—

*President Bush.* He's like me; he doesn't live by these polls. I've told you that over and over again. We do not live by polls. Remember all the accusations made against me last year? Do you remember all of them? Tom [Tom DeFrank, Newsweek], I

know you would never have written anything like that—

*Q.* [Inaudible]

*President Bush.* That's right. If you believe that, you'll believe anything. [Laughter]

*Q.* Well, you read your polls, don't you?

*President Bush.* Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International], my wings would drop off if I told an untruth, so put it this way: From time to time I look at them, but I don't live by them or make decisions by them. And I hope our record has proved that by now. So, we'll see.

If he lived by them, I suppose if he lived by every little tick in Turkish pulse, there would have been a lot of reasons for Turkey not to do what they did. And they stood firm, and it was a wonderful example of how you ought to do what is right. So, with those words of wisdom, see you.

*President Özal.* Sometimes you have to lead the way.

*Q.* Thank you for not wearing a tie.

*President Bush.* That's right, no ties, he said.

#### *Secretary of State's Travel*

*Q.* What's this secret trip that Baker is going on?

*President Bush.* Secret trip? It's so secret he hasn't told me about it.

#### *President Bush's Schedule*

*Q.* After the trip to the Soviet Union will you go straight to Kennebunkport or back to DC?

*President Bush.* Oh, gosh, I haven't looked at the exact dates. I may have to go back for a while. We've got a couple of grandchildren appearing that will change Barbara's schedule. But I think I'll have to be back in DC. You mean, rather than just land at Pease, or something?

*Q.* Right.

*President Bush.* No, I think—I haven't talked to them, but I better ask before I say. I haven't gotten that far down the road.

Relax. See you in Istanbul.

*Note: The exchange took place in the morning while the two Presidents were en route from Ankara to Istanbul, Turkey.*

## Exchange With Reporters in Istanbul, Turkey July 21, 1991

*The President.* You asked a question earlier, John [John Cochran, NBC News], and I've altered our policy because we may not have a chance to say anything else. And with Mr. Demirel's permission, maybe you should ask him something.

### *Middle East Peace Process*

*Q.* Well, I actually wanted to ask, sir, you talked earlier about not wanting to use the word pressure in relation to Israel. But haven't the circumstances of the last few days, given what the Saudis have done, given what the Syrians have done, hasn't this created a new situation which requires possibly a new response from the Israelis?

*The President.* Well, we're asking that there be positive responses from all the parties. And our policy is well-known with Israel on settlements; we haven't changed one bit. So, there's some sticking points there. But I think most people around the world view what has happened as positive. The Syrian letter, the responses out of Lebanon, the responses out of Egypt are positive. And I'm confident, I hope it's not misplaced confidence, that when the Secretary gets to Israel he will find that they, like all these other countries, realize that time for peace is at hand.

We've been talking, for example, on Cyprus here. And I haven't yet had the chance to hear from Mr. Demirel's position, but our position has been there ought to be a quadripartite meeting. And the Greeks have not agreed to that yet, and this proposal was made by the Turks, but there's, you know, there's still details to be worked out. But that's our position. We've got it out there on Cyprus and we're discussing it with the Greek Government and the Turkish Government.

Similarly, in the Middle East, we've put out a proposal that now is getting the kinds of support from various parties that I think the world has long awaited. So, we'll just keep trying. We can't dictate on either of these two questions, but we sure can be helpful.

*Q.* Mr. President, if you did succeed in

arranging a Middle East peace conference, would you travel to the region to host the—

*The President.* I think it's premature. I'd go anywhere if it would really, truly be productive, to help there or help on any other question. But I think it's way premature to suggest that the presence of the President of the United States at this juncture at some meeting or other could be helpful. But the process is moving; I think that's the key point. I just haven't really even thought about that particular question.

*Q.* Would the suspension of the settlements, would that help? Stopping where they are right now, just marking time, would that be a key thing that the Israelis could do now?

*The President.* Well, I would think so. And that's been our position. I had a one-on-one discussion with Mr. Shamir about this months ago and made clear to him that the United States policy was that there should be no more settlements. Our position hasn't changed on that. And so, we just leave it right there.

*Q.* Mr., President, surely Mr. Shamir has made clear to you that Israel—

*The President.* Now, wait a minute. You don't ask in that tone; just ask the question.

*Q.* It would seem that Mr. Shamir has made clear that he does not accept the U.S. proposal and yet—

*The President.* I'm not so sure of that. You don't know what he's made clear to me and what he hasn't. What I'm saying is I'm hopeful he'll accept it.

*Q.* But, sir, is a settlement freeze the most important thing the Israelis could do now?

*The President.* Well, I'm not sure. We're talking about a conference that will lead to one-on-one talks. All of these questions are important. But John, the question of settlements has been important. I think anybody in the Middle East will tell you, and I hesitate to speak for my guest that I just met, but I haven't encountered anybody in this part of the world that thinks increasing set-

lements is a helpful thing. And the U.S. policy has been opposed to it for years. So, this isn't anything new with us. This isn't new at all.

*Q.* What about the Saudis?

*The President.* Well, we're hearing positive things out of the Saudis. And all that is good.

*Q.* Did you talk to Secretary Baker yet?

*The President.* Not today.

*Q.* The fact that the Syrians no longer require any PLO presence, is that very important?

*The President.* I think that the Syrian letter and Baker's follow-on talks with Syria is very, very important. And I just don't want to go into the details of what the Secretary talked about.

And now, having violated my non-Sunday answering-questions-at-photo-op policy, thank you all very much. But note, inasmuch as we're here, our interest in matters

relating to, of interest to the Turkish Government. I mentioned Cyprus because I know it's of concern to everybody. And again, we do want to help. And though there has been no agreement on these meetings, this is the key point: We'd like to think that there will be.

*Q.* Do you want to talk about the 7-10 formula?

*The President.* Not right now. Won't talk about it but—

*Q.* The rapid deployment force, did you all get into that?

*The President.* No, I haven't gotten to that yet, but they know our position on it.

Thank you all very much for your time and attention.

*Note: The exchange began at 3:45 p.m. at the Ciragan Palace Hotel, prior to a meeting with Suleyman Demirel, leader of the True Path Party. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

## Nomination of Richard Clark Barkley To Be United States Ambassador to Turkey

*July 21, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Richard Clark Barkley, of Michigan, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Turkey. He would succeed Morton I. Abramowitz.

Currently, Mr. Barkley is a visiting fellow at the National Defense University in Washington, DC. Prior to this he served as Ambassador to the German Democratic Republic, 1988-1990; Deputy Chief of Mission, Pretoria, Republic of South Africa, 1985-1988; political counselor, American Embas-

sy, Bonn, Federal Republic of Germany, 1982-1985; and Deputy Chief of Mission, Oslo, Norway, 1979-1982. Mr. Barkley served in various capacities at the State Department and in the Foreign Service, 1962-1979.

Mr. Barkley graduated from Michigan State University (B.A., 1954) and Wayne State University (M.A., 1955), and he served in the U.S. Army, 1955-1957. Mr. Barkley was born December 23, 1932, in Chicago, IL. He is married, has one child, and resides in Springfield, VA.

## Remarks at a Dinner Hosted By President Turgut Özal in Istanbul, Turkey

*July 21, 1991*

Mr. President and Speaker of the Parliament, Mr. Prime Minister, members of the Turkish Government: Barbara and I want to thank you for this warm welcome. And I am deeply honored to be the first American President to come to this historic city.

Among the nations of the world, few claim a past as storied as yours. Turkey stands at a crossroads of cultures and civilizations. Here in Istanbul, one city spans two continents. This city's ancient history is written for all to see in marble, stone, and gold—and in the monumental grandeur of the Hagia Sophia, the serenity of the Blue Mosque, the courts of Topkapı, and here in this beautiful palace, a treasure house of Turkish art and architecture. Like Istanbul, Turkey is East and West, ancient and modern. For in Turkey, what might elsewhere appear as contradictions are dazzling facets of culture and character.

In this magnificent palace, testament to Turkey's past, in the presence of the men and women entrusted with the future of this nation, it is fitting to speak about new and old, about our new world of change, about the enduring partnership that binds our two nations.

This partnership grows out of a shared devotion to the international ideal, the understanding that responsible nations must work together to repel aggression to preserve the peace. From the days of the Korean war and the legendary bravery of the Turkish Brigade, through the long years of cold war as partners in the NATO alliance, and today in our effort to forge a new world order, Turkey has stood for this international ideal.

For 40 years, Turkey played a strategic role as a bulwark of NATO's southern flank. The alliance's and Turkey's steadfast adherence to common values and interests produced a stunning triumph. Democracy triumphed over totalitarianism in Eastern Europe, and the cold war yielded to prospects for a different kind of world.

Then came Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, an

act that defied all that the United States and Turkey stand for, an act that exposed your entire region, this entire region, to brutal aggression. Turkey's response as a key member of the international coalition stands as a tribute to the leadership of President Özal, to the professionalism of the Turkish military, and to the great heart of the Turkish people.

Turkey's actions as a pivotal coalition member demonstrated again our readiness to defend our common values and interests. It proved that our alliance was built not upon the fear of communism but out of a profound, shared commitment to freedom and democracy.

All during the world's effort to use diplomacy to get Iraq's brutal dictator to remove his forces from Kuwait and then all during Desert Shield and Desert Storm, President Özal and I were in constant touch. There was no individual in any country that was more resolute, more determined to see international law prevail. And once the decision was made to use force—difficult decision that it was—no ally was more solid than Turkey, no leader more staunch than your President, President Özal.

Our work as friends, allies, and coalition partners continues today. Our two nations are part of a newly formed residual force stationed near Turkey's border with Iraq. And all of us understand this force will not stay permanently. But we also understand the importance of sending a strong, unmistakable signal to Saddam Hussein: He must not resume war against his own people.

Mr. President, Mr. Prime Minister, our nations for years have fostered a strong relationship. Turkey's stand in the Gulf demonstrated that relationship's strength. Tonight, let us pledge to build further upon our common ties and aims, to strengthen the links our governments have forged.

In years to come, we will continue to back our warm words with firm deeds. Our administration hopes to deliver a \$625 million military assistance program in 1992, a

substantial increase. We support Turkey's production of 160 F-16s. But this new strategic relationship between our nations points beyond simply the military dimension to expanded trade and increased investment in one of Europe's most dynamic economies.

Well before the fall of the Berlin Wall and the advent of free market forces in Eastern Europe, Turkey launched an ambitious reform program. In the 1980's, Turkey outpaced every nation in the OECD in economic growth. In the nineties, as the new nations discover the power of free enterprise, as democracy dispels a long dark era of division and distrust, Turkey can regain its historic place as a trade hub uniting Europe, East and West, Asia, and the Middle East.

Finally, our new relationship means building new bridges, bringing together the best minds in both our nations in the fields of science and technology, medicine and the environment; opening the doors to our universities; opening our minds to each other's ideas, cultures, and traditions. The people of our two nations have known and admired each other as allies. And it's time now for our people to get to know each other better as friends.

A key to this new relationship lies in the opportunities now opening as a direct result of a decade of democracy. Turkey today is a nation confident of its place in the world, a confidence made clear in your nation's opening to the new democracies of Eastern Europe and your growing relationship with the Soviet Union. Your Black Sea initiative, aimed at expanding trade with the Soviets and other nations that border that great body of water, illustrates the promise of what I have called the new world order. East-West confrontation has made way for trade and cooperation, the cornerstones of lasting peace.

These initiatives promise increased prosperity for the Turkish people and increased security for the Turkish Republic. In the famous words of Ataturk, "peace at home, peace abroad" remains a worthy goal for all nations.

And that means we must begin building a lasting peace right here in the Eastern Med. In the past 2 days, in Ankara and on the

island of Crete, I have honored the memories of Kemal Ataturk, Eleutherios Venizelos—two statesmen whose every thought was for the good of their nations, two statesmen who earlier this century made possible a generation of peace between Turkey and Greece.

Once again, Turkey and Greece have produced leaders of vision, both trusted friends of mine. And as a friend of Turkey, let me say the time has come for a new opening to a neighbor and fellow NATO ally. The time has come for lasting peace between Turkey and Greece. After all, Greece and Turkey have been allies in NATO, partners in the coalition that liberated Kuwait, free European nations devoted to a common ideal. So, this sad chapter of ill will must end. No two nations who cherish democracy should regard each other as enemies.

This opening must include movement on the Cyprus question. In less than 2 years' time, we've witnessed a chain reaction, a chain reaction of change that has swept away the Berlin Wall, and with it, four decades of totalitarian rule and the ever-present risk of global war. And so, the message I bring to Turkey and to Greece is simply this: We've seen too much change in the world to settle for the status quo between your two great countries, both, I'm proud to say, friends of the United States of America, both of whom stand to gain much through friendship.

We have seen too much change in this region and throughout the world to stand for the status quo in Cyprus. We support the efforts of Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar to open the door to a solution for the problem. But I would like to tell the people of Turkey what I have told the people of Greece: The solution lies in your hands. Your friends can and will offer encouragement and support, but only Greeks, Turks, and Cypriots can reach an effective, lasting resolution.

I believe the time is right to break through the barrier, tear down the old taboos, and build a lasting peace. When I see the wealth of leadership—President Özal, Prime Minister Yilmaz, Mr. Denktash, President Karamanlis, Prime Minister Mit-

sotakis, President Vassiliou—I know the leadership exists in Turkey, Greece, and Cyprus to set aside old animosities and seize an opportunity for real peace.

Mr. President and Mr. Prime Minister, members of the Turkish Government, leaders here with us tonight, I am confident that Turkey can rise to this challenge.

A decade of free government and free enterprise have made Turkey a rising star of Europe. Politically and economically, Turkey is today a nation transformed. There should be no question that Turkey deserves entry into the European Community and the Western European Union, and Turkey can count on America's strong support.

Turkey stands as a model to those who strive for free elections and free markets. Regimes that force a false choice between progress and piety, between technology and tradition, stand refuted by your experience. Turkey proves that a nation can build a flourishing democracy and a modern economy, can embrace freedom and tolerance, and still sustain its ancient faiths. Turkey aims at the vision of Atatürk, a vision all around us evident in this city with its minarets and modern skyscrapers, a vision that marks out Turkey's destiny in the region, in

Europe, and in the world beyond.

More than 30 years ago, President Eisenhower came to your country on a pilgrimage of freedom, a visit that I know some may remember. And in the generations since then, Turkey turned promise into prosperity, creating a future few would have thought possible. But for all that has changed, one fundamental fact remains the same: In the words of Eisenhower: "No power on Earth, no evil, no threat, can frustrate a people of your spirit."

Once again, I thank all of you for the warm welcome that Barbara and I have received in Ankara and here in this fantastic city of Istanbul. May our two nations always work to preserve peace, freedom, and prosperity. And may God bless the people of Turkey. Thank you all very, very much.

*Note: President Bush spoke at 8:21 p.m. in the dining room of Dolmabahçe Palace. In his remarks, he referred to Kaya Erdem, Speaker of the Turkish Parliament; Rauf Denktash, leader of the Turkish Cypriot community; President Constantinos Karamanlis and Prime Minister Constantinos Mitsotakis of Greece; and President George Vassiliou of Cyprus. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

## Remarks at the Departure Ceremony in Istanbul, Turkey July 22, 1991

*President Bush.* Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Prime Minister, and ladies and gentlemen, Barbara and I just want to simply thank you for our visit and for the warmth of this Turkish hospitality. We are very grateful.

A Turkish proverb reminds us, "A long journey is shortened by good companions." Well, our stay here has been brief, but our companions have been splendid. And the proverb applies equally to the quest for peace and prosperity. Its road is arduous, but good companions shorten it, as President Özal and Prime Minister Yılmaz have proved over these past 2 days.

Mr. President, real peace means the triumph of a better life, not merely the absence of war. This goal requires stout hearts and open minds and will provide a fitting object for our new strategic relationship.

Turkish-American ties date back more than 200 years. But our goal must be more extensive political ties, deeper security ties, broader economic ties, and more enduring commercial ties. And I leave Turkey knowing that our ties are as strong as they have ever been and that they can and will grow even closer. Toward that end, President Özal and I talked of how to broaden cooperation between our people in fields such as

education, the environment, science, technology. And we discussed Turkey's commitment to democracy and the free market and how increased trade and investment can enhance our relationship as allies and friends.

We pledged to expand the military cooperation that helped liberate Kuwait. And our administration supports Turkey's priority objective of military force modernization, including its 160-plane F-16 development program. We stand side by side in maintaining an international force to preserve stability on your southeastern frontier. And in that spirit, I'm pleased to announce that the United States will provide \$1 million to Turkish villages along the Iraqi border that suffered economic losses during the refugee crisis.

And we will remain engaged with you, our Greek allies, the Cypriot people, and the U.N. Secretary-General in hopes of building a lasting peace in Cyprus. If a wall in Berlin can fall to human brotherhood, so can ancient hatreds on Cyprus.

I began with a Turkish proverb, so let me close with another one: "The bird with one wing cannot fly." Mr. President, you're a dear friend and colleague. And you know, as I do, that our strategic relationship has two wings, one extending from Maine to Alaska, and the other spanning your vast historic land. And together, let us fly toward a better future.

So, once again, my friend, thank you for this welcome, for the kindness that you and the Turkish people have shown over the past few days. And may God bless Turkey and the United States of America.

*President Özal.* Mr. President, Mrs. Bush, ladies and gentlemen, we are coming to the end of the President Bush's visit to Turkey. This visit has fulfilled all our expectations. During this visit we have not only con-

firmed how strong the foundations of Turkish-American relations are but we have also been able to take new steps for a more comprehensive and deeper relationship, encompassing political security, economic and social fields.

The fact that the second phase of the F-16 project has been agreed upon with a production target of 160 aircraft, that a steering group has been established to conduct intensive political consultations on all key issues of common interest and to monitor other aspects of our relationship are some of the concrete steps demonstrating the political will and determination of our two countries to forge ever-closer relations.

This visit has also provided us with the opportunity of exchanging views on all the major issues concerning our two countries and confirming the identity of views among us. But alongside all these important issues, it gave all of us, Mr. President and Mrs. Bush, the opportunity to get to know you even better, to consolidate our friendship, and to appreciate once again how lucky the world, whole world, is in having such a great leader like you as the President of the United States at a time when such important developments are taking place in our globe that will affect all generations to come.

I'm asking you, Mr. President and Mrs. Bush, to convey the greetings and best wishes of the Turkish people to the American people. As we say goodbye, we are all proud of the level the Turkish-American partnership has reached through our mutual efforts.

Thank you.

*Note: President Bush spoke at 10:10 a.m. at Ataturk Airport prior to his departure for Washington, DC.*



## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Establishment of the Bulgarian-American Agriculture/Agribusiness Enterprise Fund

July 22, 1991

The President today announced his intent to establish a Bulgarian-American Agriculture/Agribusiness Enterprise Fund. Vice President Dan Quayle discussed the fund with the visiting Bulgarian economic delegation led by Deputy Prime Minister Dimitur Ludzhev and Minister of Finance Ivan Kostov at their July 22 meeting. The Vice President welcomed the progress Bulgaria has made in political and economic reform under the leadership of President Zhelev and Prime Minister Popov and noted that the establishment of an enterprise fund was designed to accelerate the process of privatization.

Similar to the funds already established for Poland, Hungary, and the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, the new Bulgarian fund will invest in the private sector, using its own funds and drawing on other sources of venture capital as well. The Bulgarian fund, however, will differ from the others in two important ways:

- it will focus primarily (but not exclusively) on the agriculture/agribusiness sector, including agricultural inputs, food processing and packaging, distri-

- but ion, and other related areas; and
- it will be charged from the beginning to provide technical assistance to complement its investment activities. The funding for this technical assistance will come out of the capital stock of the fund.

The administration intends to make an initial grant of \$5 million to the fund from money appropriated this fiscal year for East European assistance in the foreign affairs operations Bill.

The Bulgarian-American Agriculture/Agribusiness Enterprise Fund may make loans, grants, and equity investments in addition to sponsoring technical assistance, training, and other measures designed to foster the growth of private business in all sectors of the Bulgarian economy, with a particular emphasis on the agriculture sector.

The fund will be a private, non-profit organization. The American members of the Board of Directors will be designated by the President at a later date. The fund will maintain appropriate records of its activities and will file an annual report that includes a statement of an independent auditor.

## Exchange With Reporters Prior to a Cabinet Meeting

July 23, 1991

### *Oil Sales by Iraq*

Q. How do you feel about limited oil sales to Iraq, Mr. President? Mr. President, limited oil sales to Iraq? Limited oil sales by Iraq, excuse me.

*The President.* Limited oil sales by Iraq.

Q. To raise money.

*The President.* It's something we ought to talk about here, as a matter of fact.

Q. What are you going to talk about?

Q. That's on the agenda, easing the sanctions on Iraq to allow—

*The President.* Well, it might well be, now

that it's been raised here—[laughter]—what our position is on that. And we've talked out there at the U.N., as you know, and my view is the U.N. mechanism is clear in terms of helping children and those who may be threatened with either famine or disease. The machinery is in place there. And it's very clear that Saddam Hussein has not complied with the U.N. resolution, so we'll see what we can do.

We're not trying to hurt any individuals there. Our argument is not with the women and children of Iraq; it's with the dictator. He has not made restitutions regarding the

Kuwaiti people that are held, of Kuwaiti gold that is held, total disclosure on possible nuclear developments. And so there's much to be done.

But the United States is not going to see suffering of innocent women and children there. There's all kinds of mechanisms available for him to take care of it—his own resources inside the country, the possible release of resources outside of the country—and it's a matter that's being discussed at the United Nations.

I had a good discussion this morning with Prince Sadrudin Khan, who is doing some fine work on this question. But we haven't resolved yet, and I need to talk to—here, we have not resolved yet exactly what we're going to do at the United Nations.

Q. But there is a plan? You are working on a plan, possibly, to permit some oil sales

for food and medicine?

*The President.* That's all I'm going to say about it right now. I hope you'll understand, Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International].

Q. I don't quite—[laughter].

*Trade With China*

Q. Sir, do you have enough votes to block MFN or to keep MFN going for China?

*The President.* We're going to be talking about that now, too. My position is so clear I would hope so.

*Note: The exchange began at 10:05 a.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. In his remarks, the President referred to Prince Sadrudin Aga Khan, Executive Delegate for the United Nations Secretary-General on the humanitarian situation in Iraq.*

## Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the Take Pride in America Awards

July 23, 1991

Good to see you all. A few minutes late, filling out the frequent flyer forms. [Laughter]

I'm delighted to be here. And let me just say at the outset of this, why, I'm just back from a fascinating trip to London and to Turkey and to Greece, and I think it was a good one. But now I'm back to the very important business at hand, and an opportunity to thank some people who have done a disproportionate amount for their country.

To Secretary Lujan, who's been such a driving force for voluntarism and public land stewardship, I salute you and thank you. And of course, to Linda Evans, who's just taken so much interest in this Take Pride in America program, we're very, very grateful to her. To Senator Conrad Burns over here, we salute him and thank him. And to all of you who have shown an interest in this, many from its very inception, thank you and welcome to the White House. And thank heavens we're doing it indoors instead of out. [Laughter]

You know, I know I speak for everybody

that goes abroad, it is always nice to be back on home soil. What better way to come home after visiting distant lands than to recognize Americans who do take pride in America, our millions of acres of forests and parks, wildlife preserves, and beaches. The Take Pride in America campaign urges all Americans to help preserve this precious heritage for future generations.

Every day, everywhere in America, people are finding ways to make a difference. We call these Points of Light; we refer to these people as Points of Light. And in your service to our shared environment, all of you who take pride in America do shine brightly and brilliantly.

Our dog Millie is doing her part. [Laughter] Last time I threw a stick out on the lawn and said, "Fetch," she had me written up for littering out here. [Laughter]

The public resources that you've worked to preserve and protect—the parks that you've adopted, the rivers you've cleaned and reclaimed, the children that you've taught—these represent a legacy for future

generations that every one of you works to serve.

This morning, 121 of you received well-earned recognition for your commitment and your achievements in promoting voluntary stewardship of our public lands. And I want to offer my congratulations and my admiration and respect for each and every one of you.

This afternoon, among so many special groups, I can't begin to recognize all. But let me offer just two examples of what it means to take pride in America. Take Pat Mitchell. As a volunteer, she travels around the State of Alabama as "Auntie Litter"—here she is, suited up for the occasion—[laughter]—"and the Pollution Patrol," teaching schools, churches, and other groups about the new three R's: refuse [reuse], reduce waste, and recycling. She's showing people many things that they can do to improve our environment. And thank you very much for what you are doing, Pat.

And the next is Rafael Munoz—where is he? Right here. Here he is. This guy's of the Norris Square Park Patrol, a group working in one of the most deprived areas of Philadelphia. The 35 youngsters who make up this patrol, from 10 to 18 years old, work several hours each day cleaning the park, picking up and recycling broken glass,

planting trees and flowers, and painting park benches. The patrols have discouraged vandals, and what was once a haven for crime and drugs has become a place where preschoolers can play without fear. Keep up the good work.

It's really unfair to single out anybody in this group, because each of the award winners here today have stories of equal accomplishment, equally worthy of recognition, who deserve to be emulated across our country.

You know, one of the previous Presidents, one of my predecessors, Calvin Coolidge, once said: "No person was ever honored for what he received. Honor has been the reward for what he gave." And so it is with all of you who eagerly and actively take pride in America. So, thank you all. I'm just delighted that this is my first event since returning to the good old U.S. of A.

And now, I want to turn the program over to Secretary Lujan, who has two special awards to present, and Linda and I will be the spear carriers helping him out.

*Note: The President spoke at 4 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to actress Linda Evans, spokesperson for the Take Pride in America program.*

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Extension of William Webster's Term as Director of the Central Intelligence Agency

July 23, 1991

The President today requested that CIA Director William Webster remain in his position for one month beyond his scheduled retirement on July 31. Director Webster graciously consented to the President's request. The Director's immediate response underscores the lifelong dedication to

public service that has marked his career. The President appreciates this commitment and the Director's willingness to change his personal plans. The President requested the extension because of the announced delay in the confirmation hearings for Robert M. Gates.

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## Nomination of Arthur J. Rothkopf To Be General Counsel of the Department of Transportation

July 23, 1991

The President today announced his intention to nominate Arthur J. Rothkopf, of the District of Columbia, to be General Counsel of the Department of Transportation. He would succeed Phillip D. Brady.

Currently Mr. Rothkopf serves as a senior partner with the law firm of Hogan & Hartson in Washington, DC, and has served as a partner, 1969–present, and as an associate, 1967–1969. Prior to this, he served as associate tax legislative counsel with the De-

partment of the Treasury, 1963–1966; supervisory attorney with the Securities and Exchange Commission, 1960–1963; and as a staff attorney with the Department of the Treasury, Customs Service, 1958–1960.

Mr. Rothkopf graduated from Lafayette College (B.A., 1955) and Harvard Law School (LL.B., 1958). He was born May 24, 1935, in New York, NY. Mr. Rothkopf is married, has two children, and resides in Washington, DC.

## Remarks and an Exchange With Reporters on the Nominations of Robert M. Gates and Clarence Thomas

July 24, 1991

*The President.* Let me just welcome everybody back and, before we get to our business at hand, make a comment on a couple of nominees. One, Bob Gates, I continue to strongly support him. He's a good man. I defer to the Senate in terms of the scheduling, but I think he's done well on his calls.

As far as Judge Thomas goes, I'm told that the Senate has now set a date for the hearing. I think he's seen something like 32 Senators. It's my judgment that the more people see him and get to know him, they'll understand why we are so convinced that he will be an outstanding Justice on the Supreme Court. He's another good man. So, I just hope these will move forward after this break—

*Senator Thurmond.* August the 10th is the date set for the hearings.

*Q.* September.

*The President.* Well, that's important information—

*Q.* Mr. President, are you getting worried about the Gates nomination?

*The President.* I'm not worried about it a bit because I think fairness will out in the end, and I think that the man deserves to be confirmed. And I've seen nothing other

than innuendo and reports that he must have known this or something—I don't want to get started. I told the Cabinet yesterday how strongly I feel about this, and so I will stand by this man.

There's a system of fairplay in this country, and I think it should apply to both nominees, frankly. And I think the way this country is handling it, I think that's exactly what's going to happen. So, I'm not worried about them, but I wish the system had been able to take care of both those nominations more rapidly. But that's not my argument. The Senate has every right to set its own timing. But I don't like it when there's a lot of innuendo and suspicion.

On the Thomas nomination now, there is a kind of a flurry of outrage and predictable smearing of the man. But if people get to see him, they get to know his record, they get to know his background—I have this feeling this country is strongly behind him. And it's not just in the—I think it's also in the minority community. The survey yesterday showed that, strong support for Judge Thomas in the black community. This is a good thing. I think that's a very good thing.

So, I think on both cases the merits are

on their side. And I just am pleased that they seem to be moving right, in spite of the fact that the Gates nomination, I'd hoped it had been over for—but Bill Webster has been very—I think you all saw that—and very generously agreed to stay on through August. And then I expect the Senate will act, having had plenty of time then to run down some of these, try to catch some of the phantoms out there, the shadows.

It's sorry when this country—if somebody is known to have said that maybe the guy above him should have known this, and apparently people are saying, hey, what's fair here? What's right? What's honorable? And I think the Senate will get to the bottom of

all of that on Thomas, and the man will be confirmed.

*Q.* Do you think it's right that all those questions should be looked into?

*The President.* Every question should be looked into, yes. But what you shouldn't do is have a guy guilty until proved innocent in this country. It's just backwards, 180. I'm afraid—

*Note: The President spoke at 9:15 a.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House, prior to a meeting with congressional leaders. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

## Exchange With Reporters Prior to Discussions With President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe

July 24, 1991

*President Bush.* Welcome, everybody.

*Q.* Mr. President, are you disappointed—

*President Bush.* I'd like to take this opportunity just to welcome President Mugabe here to the Oval Office. I met him many years ago on a visit to his country and have seen him several times since then. But I'm just so pleased you're with us—

*President Mugabe.* Thanks a lot.

*President Bush.* —and very glad to have you here. A lot to talk about, about Africa.

*President Mugabe.* Yes, of course.

*President Bush.* Any anything else, too, I might add.

*South Africa*

*Q.* President Mugabe, do you support

President Bush's decision to lift sanctions against South Africa?

*President Mugabe.* I support his concern about South Africa, his repeated concern that there must be human rights, and the fact that he imposed sanctions against South Africa and still maintains quite a lot of sanctions against South Africa in spite of the relaxation that has taken place.

*President Bush.* That's what I call a very tactful answer and a very good answer, too, I might add. [*Laughter*]

*Note: The exchange began at 11:03 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House.*

## Remarks Following Discussions With President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe

July 24, 1991

*President Bush.* Well, Mr. President, let me just say that I've been honored and

pleased to meet with you and your associates here at the White House today. I re-

member visiting Zimbabwe in 1982, when I was Vice President, and I certainly recall the warm reception that you gave me personally and that the Zimbabwean people gave our whole delegation. And it gives me great pleasure to, in some small way, return that hospitality.

Our nations share many common aspirations. We both found independence in revolution. Americans are proud of the role we played in the Lancaster House accords, paving the way for Zimbabwe's independence in 1980.

Over the years, we've had our honest differences. But we both share a fundamental belief that government must serve the people and that, through democratic elections, the people are the best judge of government's performance.

The last year and a half has brought remarkable and bold developments in your country and, indeed, throughout southern Africa. Positive change moves in promising ways. Zimbabwe has ended its state of emergency and witnessed free and open elections, moving with the tide of human aspiration worldwide. Last year your party decided against attempts to legislate a one-party state. And in keeping with events throughout Africa and around the world, Zimbabwe has abandoned Marxist-Leninism as its guiding principle. Much of the credit for these accomplishments, sir, go to you for your courage, your commitment to creating real opportunity for your people.

And, of course, opportunity means economic growth, and you've announced this investment policy, a new investment policy, as part of a broad structural adjustment program to encourage market-led economic prosperity. The International Monetary Fund has described your program in glowing terms, and we share the IMF's enthusiasm.

Last July, your Government signed an investment guarantee agreement with our Overseas Private Investment Corporation—we call it OPIC. And since then, several firms have announced their intention to invest in Zimbabwe. Beyond simply proclaiming our faith in your country, we've proved it, doubling our level of development assistance this year. We will continue to look for ways to help you invigorate Zim-

babwe's promising private sector.

I believe your stature worldwide will continue to grow. I remember congratulating you in 1982 at that marvelous state dinner in your homeland for Zimbabwe's election to the United Nations Security Council. Earlier this year, Zimbabwe's leadership as President of that Council was critical to the success of the coalition's efforts to enforce U.N. resolutions against Iraqi aggression.

We were very proud to have worked with you during that crucial period. And we look forward to a strong working relationship to serve as a force for positive change in southern Africa, including Mozambique and South Africa.

Our conversations today, I can report, have been warm, productive, and they should serve as a basis to broaden and deepen our important relationship. We support your country's considered steps to economic reform, Mr. President, and we hope those measures will be matched by similar progress towards multiparty democracy.

And as you depart, you leave with the best wishes of the American people for a more peaceful and prosperous and free Zimbabwe, and we look forward to working with you.

Thank you, sir.

*President Mugabe.* Thank you, Mr. President. Ladies and gentlemen, members of the press. I would like to take this opportunity to warmly express my profound appreciation to you, Mr. President, for kindly inviting me to the United States of America. My entire delegation and I are extremely grateful for the hospitality we have received since our arrival.

The President and I have held useful deliberations on bilateral and wide-ranging international issues. Zimbabwe is implementing an economic reform program whose main components are trade liberalization, structural adjustment including strict public expenditure aiming at a reduction of the budget deficit, the decontrolling and deregulation of the economy, and the creation of an atmosphere conducive to increased local and foreign investment, leading in turn to an expansion of the economy and the generation of more employment and more domestic, regional, and interna-



tional trade.

This bold and ambitious but achievable program, which will open up our economy to market forces, has been endorsed by the World Bank and the IMF and, indeed, has received warm support from the United States administration.

Of the \$16 billion needed to finance this 5-year program, \$12.5 billion will come from within Zimbabwe. The remaining 3.5 must be mobilized from external sources. At our March Paris donors meeting, we were gratified by the level of support pledged, but we need further international assistance to enable us successfully to complete the program.

We have over 40 private United States companies doing business in Zimbabwe. We hope the additional incentives and the stable political situation will attract more United States private investors.

Trade is an important part of our economic reform program. We are, therefore, encouraged by the growing trade between our two countries. We hope the volume of this trade will increase rapidly.

Mr. President, Zimbabwe appreciates the development aid it has been receiving from the United States bilaterally and through the Southern African Development Coordination Conference, SADCC, since independence in 1980. I'm sure this assistance plays an even more important role in our economic reform program.

Zimbabwe welcomes the ending of the cold war and the rapprochement currently prevailing between the two superpowers. Many regions in the developing world, however, are not yet benefiting from this political thaw.

In our southern African region, we are still confronted by apartheid despite the repeal of the acts that legalized it. Whilst we applaud and commend President de Klerk for steps taken so far, we are concerned by the pace of events and the continuing violence bedeviling that country. Total dismantlement of apartheid and a new political dispensation leading to the creation of a united nonracial democratic South Africa remains our ultimate goal. That is why we in southern Africa would urge that the remaining sanction pressures on the Pretoria regime be maintained until

the path to democracy has reached an irreversible stage.

The end of hostilities in Angola was a most welcome development. We shall render our full and total support to ensure a lasting peace. And may I take this opportunity of congratulating you, Mr. President, and the United States for the role you have played in bringing about the peace process in Angola.

In Mozambique, we hope the two sides will also move quickly towards a cease-fire and the establishment of a lasting solution. We eagerly await the restoration of peace in our area and the chance to devote our resources to development. The resolution of these conflicts will enhance our ability in peaceful times to unleash all our forces to combat underdevelopment and consolidate our economy.

Mr. President, we are mindful of our close cooperation and collaboration during the Gulf crisis, as was evidenced during our Presidency of the Security Council. We believe in the principles of international law and hope that the momentum of bilateral cooperation will continue and lead to the establishment of a broader solution and peace in the Middle East, including the final, permanent, and satisfactory settlement of the Palestinian question.

Once again, Mr. President, Zimbabwe rejoices in the excellent relations existing between our two countries. We have a proverb in Zimbabwe which says: One never travels a path once. I hope, Mr. President, having traveled the path to Zimbabwe once, you will travel again and visit us, and the Zimbabwean people will once again have the joy of receiving you.

May I thank you for all the very warm welcome we have received and for the opportunity afforded us to exchange our ideas. I thank you.

*President Bush.* Thank you, Mr. President. Well done, sir.

*Q.* Mr. President, tomorrow's the U.N. deadline on the nuclear report from Iraq. Do you expect them to come clean?

*President Bush.* —stick to the—deadline—no comment on that right now. Don't—playing that up too much, but they know what they have to do.

*Note: President Bush spoke at 1:15 p.m. on the South Lawn at the White House. Prior to their remarks, the two Presidents met privately in the Oval Office and with U.S. and Zimbabwean officials in the Cabinet Room,*

*and then attended a luncheon in the Old Family Dining Room. Part of these remarks could not be verified because the tape was incomplete.*

## Remarks on the National Energy Strategy July 24, 1991

Please be seated. Thank you all very much. Well, may I just thank everybody for coming, and first of all greet our Secretaries: Jim Watkins, who is doing an absolutely superb job on the energy front, and I'm delighted that he's here. And I think after I do my number here, why, he will get into a lot more of the substance. But I want to salute also Manuel Lujan and Bill Reilly, key players in our drive to do a better job on the energy front.

And of course, we have in the front row, in case those of you in the back haven't seen them, Senator Wallop and Senator Bennett Johnston and Phil Sharp. And Mike Deland is over here. I'm getting in trouble because I'm going to—I thought Martin Allday was supposed to be here from FERC. There he is, right there in the second row—Midland, Texas, man. [*Laughter*] Thank you again.

Five months ago—and many of you, maybe not all, but put it this way, most were probably here that day—we announced our comprehensive and balanced strategy for an energy future that is secure, efficient, and environmentally sound. And our national energy strategy is designed to meet needs this Nation can't afford to compromise: Continued economic growth, increased energy efficiency, strong environmental protection, and then a reduced dependence on foreign oil.

This strategy relies on the magic of the marketplace, the resourcefulness of the American people, and the responsible leadership of industry and government. As we enter the next American century, this balanced approach will propel a larger and larger American economy in a more and more energy-efficient way.

And some have pushed for radical measures in order to reduce the oil imports and reduce our dependency, measures that, in my view, would hurt American industries and jobs and consumers. So, we've got to act with care; but it is our firm belief that we've got to act comprehensively.

And our energy strategy strikes a balance. We believe it is a sound and reasonable middle ground that will achieve greater energy security without endangering the environment or stopping the economy in its tracks.

We start by using energy more efficiently. And we've got to accelerate our research efforts to keep America on the cutting edge of new energy technologies like alternative fuels, electric cars, high-speed rail, solar and geothermal, safer and more secure nuclear technology. Today, we want to build an energy future that opens the door to new and diverse energy sources because our energy future should never be at the mercy of foreign exporters.

As Jim Watkins will tell you, most of the initiatives contained in this strategy can be implemented under existing authority. And the administration has already made, I think, a great deal of progress. We've set in motion a substantial part of the strategy already, in other words, without waiting for legislation that's needed in other areas.

On the legislative front, we've made substantial headway since we released the strategy last February. And I just can't tell you how much I appreciate the leadership of the Members of Congress that are here. We're talking principally about the Senate bill here, but Senator Johnston and Senator Wallop, the Senate energy committee passed a comprehensive and a balanced

energy bill, one which embodies the key elements of our strategy. And for them it hasn't been easy. They've had to compensate and consider a lot of interests up there, but they've done a superb job. And I urge the full Senate to act swiftly on this bill which should win support from conservationists and industry alike.

There's been a lot said about the Johnston-Wallop bill, some of it, frankly, not very accurate. Let me tell you what it actually does. On balance, it defines a very positive role in energy for the Federal Government. It enhances efficiency, energy efficiency, in areas like building efficiency standards, Federal energy management efforts, energy conservation investments by utilities, and the development of new transportation technologies and alternative fuels.

On the supply side, it ensures access to the energy we need to sustain continued growth, growth that is environmentally sound. And we've made a lot of progress on cleaner burning gasoline over the last few years, private industry doing a superb job with its own research in this area. And in the bill before the Senate, we've encouraged the use of a whole range of environmentally sound fuels like ethanol, methanol, electricity, propane, and certainly, encouraging the use of more clean burning natural gas.

We anticipate that the Johnston-Wallop bill will reach the Senate floor hopefully right after the August recess. I would defer to the experts, but that's what we're hoping for. They've a pretty full calendar before the August recess. The House began markup on the bill last week, and we're hoping for the same comprehensive approach there that was achieved in the Senate.

We need Congress to act wisely and, I think, act soon, and I know these Members agree with that, on this important domestic policy initiative. And we need action on all fronts: To remain world leaders in technology; to protect the environment; to make the most of our domestic resources; and to encourage energy efficiency through incentives for industrial, commercial, and private consumers.

Unfortunately, some critics don't seem to see the big picture. They focus on one or

two issues that admittedly are controversial. And if I think they're controversial, talk to these Senators and Congressmen about it, because they get hammered on all sides on these issues. ANWR clearly is one of them.

And let me give you a little history. In 1980, Congress specifically avoided designating part of the coastal plain in Alaska—the ANWR, the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge—as wilderness. And instead, Congress asked the Interior Department to determine whether the resources of ANWR could be developed without harming the environment.

Well, since then, Interior has conducted or examined more than 170 studies. And time after time, these studies have shown that under strict environmental oversight, ANWR's coastal plain and its resources could, indeed, be developed safely. The wildlife will be protected. John Turner, the Director of Fish and Wildlife, is here today, and he's conducted rigorous studies. The way of life will be protected. And finally, the State of Alaska fully supports ANWR's development.

So, I urge the Congress to take a look at these facts—more than 170 studies and the considered opinion of Alaska's own government—and not to be distracted by the critics, many of whom come from the extreme side. There are some that aren't, that just reasonably have doubt, but we cannot let our policy be shaped in this manner. And so, please encourage people to take a look at the record.

Of course, all of you are here today because you can make a difference in the energy future of this country. And some people act as if Washington can snap its fingers and impose an energy strategy on the rest of the country. We know that just won't work.

The best part of our strategy is that it does draw upon our greatest resource—I'd call it a national resource—and that is the ingenuity of our own people. With their resourcefulness, we can ensure that America in the next century will be energy efficient, environmentally sound, and economically strong.

And so, I really wanted to come over here today, first of all, to say thank you, to

salute those Members of Congress who are out front and laying it on the line—it's not without a political downside to any of them—to stand up courageously for the kind of program that we've talked about here. And as Bennett, Malcolm, and Congressman Sharp will tell you, sure there are differences from time to time, but we're all on the same general track here. And I think it's the right one for our country.

So, I want to thank you for your support. And I hope—and I'm right confident, looking around this room—that we can count on your continuing support. So, thank you all

very much for your interest, taking the time from these fantastically busy schedules that everybody around this room has. And we're with you. I'm strongly in support of this program that our able Secretary, Jim Watkins, will outline in more detail. And once again, thanks for coming.

*Note: The President spoke at 2:53 p.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. In his remarks, he referred to Michael R. Deland, Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality.*

## Message to the Congress Reporting a Budget Deferral and Rescission

July 24, 1991

*To the Congress of the United States:*

In accordance with the Impoundment Control Act of 1974, I herewith report one proposed rescission totaling \$5,000,000 and one revised deferral of budget authority now totaling \$127,036,000. Including the revised deferral, funds reported as withheld now total \$10.3 billion.

The proposed rescission affects the Department of Defense. The deferral affects the Department of State. The details of the

deferral and proposed rescission are contained in the attached report.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
July 24, 1991.

*Note: The attachment detailing the deferral and proposed rescission was printed in the Federal Register of July 31.*

## Message to the Congress Transmitting a Report on the Ready Reserve

July 24, 1991

*To the Congress of the United States:*

Pursuant to section 673(d) of title 10, United States Code, I have the honor to transmit the enclosed report relating to units of the Ready Reserve of the Armed Forces that remain on active duty under the provisions of section 673 as of July 1, 1991.

Retention of these units is required by continuing military requirements in response to the ongoing emergency declared in accordance with section 301 of the Na-

tional Emergencies Act, and Executive Order 12743, January 18, 1991, "Ordering of the Ready Reserve of the Armed Forces to Active Duty."

Ready Reserve units of the Army, Navy, and Air Force are still performing essential missions in the United States, Europe, and Persian Gulf area that support the retrograde of U.S. Armed Forces from the Persian Gulf. Ready Reserve units of the Army are also participating in Operation Provide Comfort by supporting efforts to provide

humanitarian assistance to Kurdish refugees in Turkey and northern Iraq. Marine Corps Ready Reserve units remain deployed to the Western Pacific to fulfill the strategic military obligations of the United States in that region. They will remain deployed until such time as the Active component elements deployed to the Gulf can be reconstituted in the Western Pacific, an effort that was also delayed by Operations Pro-

vide Comfort and Sea Angel, in which returning U.S. forces provided humanitarian relief to victims of natural disasters in Bangladesh.

All Coast Guard Ready Reserve units have been released from active duty.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
July 24, 1991.

## Remarks at the Antiochian Orthodox Christian Church Annual Convention in Arlington, Virginia July 25, 1991

Well, thank you. My heavens, what a wonderfully warm welcome. I'm just delighted to be with you. I want to salute Archbishop Saliba, a man I've known for many years. My pleasure to see you again, sir. And congratulations on celebrating 25 years as the leader of this church.

I think our timing on this meeting is pretty good because just 3 days ago—who is this guy?—[laughter]—I returned from Turkey, the nation that is the home to the ancient city that gives your church its name. And ancient Antioch is where the name “Christian” first came into use, a city where a tradition of tolerance took shape around a faith that would one day light the lives of millions. The strength of your faith and the welcome it has found in America is testimony that the spirit of Antioch lives today and flourishes.

The spirit of Antioch and the spirit of America really have much in common. For many years now, I've been blessed with the privilege to represent, in one way or another, this great country. And wherever I've gone, on every continent, in every corner of the world, I find people who have tremendous admiration for America and all it stands for. And yes, part of it grows out of the fascination with our music and our movies and with the clothes we wear or the cars we drive. But what attracts people to America more than any material thing is an idea, and that idea is freedom.

And we must remember—especially in

this, the bicentennial year of our Bill of Rights—that a central part of that American idea is a freedom of faith, the right of every man and woman to worship, to witness God as they see fit. From the settlers and seekers who landed at Plymouth Rock to the pilgrims of our own day, America has long been a safe haven, a welcome refuge from persecution. They come to our shores to trade tyranny for tolerance. And all faiths are welcome here. Tolerance is our way of recognizing the limits of our own earth-bound understanding. Tolerance testified to the fact that we are human, only human: that before God, our vast knowledge, all our science, all the wisdom of the ages, is a single drop of water, and our ignorance an ocean.

Faith has a power of its own. As in the earliest days at Antioch, the means of moving men remains the same: the power of example, of life lived in harmony with an ideal.

The image of the Good Shepherd was present in Peter's mind when he wrote: Tend the flock of God, that is your charge, not by constraint but willingly, not for shameful gain but eagerly, not as domineering over those in your charge but being examples to the flock.

The same ethic governs not simply men but nations. And when America acts in the world, we must act as a moral agent, as a force for good. Many times, the path forward is full of obstacles, and the choices we

confront neither black nor white, in a world of lesser evils. And still, we must choose. To advance American ideals, we must act.

Nowhere are the choices more difficult than in the Persian Gulf and the Middle East. Many of you came to this country from that region, leaving friends and family, leaving a part of yourselves behind. For you, the suffering and turmoil in that part of the world is not simply political but personal. You feel it deeply in your hearts. And I cannot share your private anguish, but I can say from my heart, it pains me deeply to see the Middle East, sacred ground of three great faiths, riven by hatred and conflict.

In Iraq, we confronted a country under the rule of a man of brutal means and, in my view, unmitigated evil; a man who made war on his own people, menaced his neighbor, and threatened the world's peace.

I believed then and I believe now that what we and our coalition partners did to stand up against Saddam Hussein's aggression was right; it was just; it was moral. And we did the right thing. Who can doubt this now, knowing as we do just how close Saddam Hussein was to possessing nuclear weapons and the means to deliver them against defenseless men, women, and children.

We fought not for a narrow interest but for a noble ideal. And we fought to liberate a nation, to defeat an aggressor who brought misery, who brings it still, to many millions of innocent people. I've said over and over again, and I'll repeat it here today: We have no quarrel at all, none, with the people of Iraq. But Iraq will not realize its potential as a nation, rejoining the family of nations, so long as Saddam Hussein stays in power.

At every point during the Gulf conflict, I held out hope that out of the horrors of war might come new prospects for peace. That hope is even stronger now. In Lebanon, we see the first tangible signs of political progress, of domestic reconciliation and restored order after a decade and a half of nightmarish civil war. Thanks to the Taif accords, a truly sovereign Lebanon, one free of all armed militias and foreign forces, is no longer just a dream.

Just last week, Secretary Jim Baker un-

dertook his fifth mission to the Middle East, fifth since the Gulf war. His purpose: To bring about a peace conference designed to launch direct negotiations between Israel and its Arab neighbors. Building on the positive response from Syria, we've gained the agreement of Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, and the six-State Gulf Cooperation Council, GCC, to attend a peace conference with Israel.

As a result, we know for certain now that the Israelis are studying our proposal seriously. We hope that they will respond favorably to this historic opportunity for peace and security. I know the Palestinians are closely examining their choices. And here, too, I would ask only that they do everything possible to take advantage of this unprecedented situation to attain their legitimate rights and at the same time further the cause of peace.

And as you all know, we also have the public commitment of several Arab States including Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia to suspend the economic boycott of Israel, if Israel suspends settlement activity in the occupied territories.

In the Middle East, as in Lebanon, our objective remains a peace that is fair to all parties, a peace that promotes the security of our friends and true stability in the entire region. At the same time, all of us must understand the challenges to come and the limits to what we can do. No one—not this President, not the United States, not the U.S.S.R. or the U.N. or our European allies—no one can impose a solution that the parties in the Middle East do not welcome and cannot live with. But the difficulties must never stand in our way. We can and will be catalysts for peace. That is the mission of the United States of America.

Just as the Christians of Antioch led by example, so, too, we who would ask others to follow must begin by asking more of ourselves. As Paul wrote to the Romans: Let us, therefore, follow after the things which make for peace.

Once again, let me tell you what a joy it is to be here. Let me give you the commitment I've given to the American people that I will go the extra mile, walk the extra distance to try to bring this peace, lasting

peace, long-sought-for peace, to this troubled corner of the world. I feel it deeply in my heart.

Thank you. And may God bless this great Nation, the United States of America.

*Note: The President spoke at 11:15 a.m. in the Arlington Room of the Crystal Gateway Marriott Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Metropolitan Philip Saliba, Primate of the Archdiocese, and to a baby in the audience.*

## Remarks on Signing the National Literacy Act of 1991

July 25, 1991

*The President.* Please be seated, everybody. And let me welcome our two Secretaries here and also Barbara Bush, who's long been interested in literacy, and the Members of Congress.

As a Nation, we have great educational needs. And those needs don't stop at the schoolhouse door. In this America 2000 strategy that Lamar and I and Lynn and others here and from the Congress have been working on, we're committed to a world-class education for today's and tomorrow's kids. And we're just as concerned with today's workers and parents.

Eighty-five percent of America's workers for the year 2000 are already in the work force, and many of them need help to improve their job skills, to learn how to be better parents, neighbors, citizens, community leaders, friends. And that means recommitting ourselves to literacy for all Americans.

Education is not just about making a living; it's also about making a life. And literacy is where education begins. I first understood the truth of that statement by watching Barbara in her work that still continues, working her heart out for literacy. And I understood it even better when I stood at the National Literacy Honors Celebration last year and shook the hands of grown men and women who changed the course of their lives by learning how to read. I've learned that the tears of joy in their eyes are only the beginning of the difference that literacy makes for all of us, as individuals and as a Nation.

And that's why the Governors and I established a national education goal for adult literacy and lifelong learning. Goal 5 states

that by the year 2000, every adult American will be literate and will possess the knowledge and skill necessary to compete in a global economy and exercise the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. Well, that's an impressive goal, and one that we move closer to reaching today.

And so, I am delighted to sign into law our first major step toward a fully literate America, an historic national commitment to literacy. This bill is truly national. It creates a network for literacy that starts here in my Cabinet with the cooperative effort of every agency that has a real stake in literacy. And it reaches out into every region and State of our country because literacy is a need that knows no boundaries.

A literate work force is crucial to the future of our economy. And the future of our children rests on the literacy of their parents who are their first teachers. The future of our democracy depends on an informed, literate populace. Thomas Jefferson said that "a nation that expects to be ignorant and free expects what never was and never will be."

And I'm happy to say that this piece of legislation—and you can tell that from this unlikely array of Congressmen and Senators joined together here—[laughter]—but it's really important. This is bipartisan in the best sense of the word. And it was developed with the wise counsel of the American people: Educators and business leaders, some of whom are with us today, public officials and private citizens.

And it is my great hope and belief that this legislation will provide the means for us to become the most literate, productive nation on Earth. And it is another step the

administration and Congress will be taking toward the full implementation of America 2000.

And now, therefore, it is my pleasure to sign into law H.R. 751, the National Literacy Act. And I'd like to invite the Senators and Members of the House that are with us today to kind of come up here, if you would, while we do this. It's painless and short. [Laughter] Thank you all very much for coming.

[At this point, the President signed the bill.]

Senator Simon. And I think Barbara ought to get the pen, Mr. President. [Laughter]

The President. Great idea.

Note: The President spoke at 5 p.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Secretary of Education Lamar Alexander and Secretary of Labor Lynn M. Martin. H.R. 751, approved July 25, was assigned Public Law No. 102-73.

## Statement on Signing the National Literacy Act of 1991 July 25, 1991

Today I have signed H.R. 751, the "National Literacy Act of 1991." This legislation represents another significant step toward implementing our AMERICA 2000 strategy and attaining the National Education Goal of adult literacy and lifelong learning.

Improving literacy is one of my Administration's most important objectives. I have consistently proposed increases in funding for literacy programs, including Even Start and adult education, and continued support for current Federal research efforts and the National Adult Literacy Survey.

We have also initiated a number of measures designed to enhance Federal efforts in this area. In 1990, I established a Task Force on Literacy to coordinate Federal literacy policies and programs and to stimulate efforts to improve literacy in our Nation. A host of Federal departmental and interagency activities have been launched as a result of this collaboration.

The Administration has worked closely with the Congress to fashion an effective literacy initiative to enhance government-wide coordination and cooperation. H.R. 751 is the product of that effort. H.R. 751 would establish new literacy programs and provide higher authorization levels for some current adult literacy programs.

I am particularly pleased that State literacy resource centers envisioned by the Act are very similar to the regional literacy re-

source centers proposed in our AMERICA 2000 Excellence in Education Act.

I am also pleased that H.R. 751 provides for:

- a multi-agency supported National Institute for Literacy, which will contain a national clearinghouse on literacy, give technical assistance to basic skills providers, and validate exemplary practices in the field;
- a National Workforce Literacy Assistance Collaborative to improve the basic skills of individuals by assisting small- and medium-sized businesses and labor organizations to develop and implement literacy programs;
- a number of desirable improvements to the Even Start program; and
- support for discretionary State literacy programs in correctional institutions.

I must note that section 102(c)(2) of the Act, which adds new subsection (f)(1) to section 384 of the Adult Education Act (20 U.S.C. 1213c), could be read to constrain the President's authority to select nominees for certain positions to which the Senate gives its advice and consent. Because such a constraint would be inconsistent with the Appointments Clause of the Constitution, this provision must be interpreted as precatory rather than mandatory.

H.R. 751 is a good example of the con-



structive, bipartisan effort needed to further the goal of increasing literacy in our Nation.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
July 25, 1991.

*Note: H.R. 751, approved July 25, was assigned Public Law No. 102-73.*

## Nomination of George Edward Moose To Be United States Deputy Representative at the United Nations Security Council

July 25, 1991

The President today announced his intention to nominate George Edward Moose, of Maryland, to be Deputy Representative of the United States of America in the Security Council of the United Nations, with the rank of Ambassador. He would succeed Milton James Wilkinson.

Since 1988 Ambassador Moose has served as the U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Senegal. Prior to this he served at the Department of State as Director of the Office of Management Operations, 1987-1988, and as Deputy Director of the Office of Management Operations, 1986-1987. From

1983 to 1986 he served as Ambassador to the People's Republic of Benin. In addition, he served as deputy political counselor to the U.S. Mission to the United Nations, 1980-1983; an international affairs fellow with the Council on Foreign Relations, 1979-1980; and Deputy Director of the Office of Southern African Affairs at the Department of State, 1978-1979.

Ambassador Moose graduated from Grinnell College (B.A., 1966). He was born June 23, 1944, in New York, NY. Ambassador Moose is married and resides in Senegal.

## Nomination of David J. Ryder To Be Director of the United States Mint

July 25, 1991

The President today announced his intention to nominate David J. Ryder, of Virginia, to be Director of the Mint, Department of the Treasury, for a term of 5 years. He would succeed Donna Pope.

Since 1990 Mr. Ryder has served as Deputy Treasurer of the United States at the Department of the Treasury in Washington, DC. Prior to this Mr. Ryder served as an Assistant to the Vice President and Deputy Chief of Staff in the Office of the Vice President, 1989-1990; director of management and operations for the Presidential transition team, 1988-1989; director of operations for the 1988 Republican National Convention, 1988; and director of oper-

ations for TCOM Systems, Inc., 1986-1988. In addition, he served as Deputy Assistant to the Vice President and Director of Advance for the Office of the Vice President, 1985-1986. Mr. Ryder served with the Department of Commerce as commissioner general of section and director of the U.S. Pavilion at the 1984 Louisiana World Exposition, 1984-1985; and as deputy commissioner general of section and director of the U.S. Pavilion, 1983-1984.

Mr. Ryder attended Boise State University. He was born October 14, 1955, in Billings, MT. Mr. Ryder is married, has two children, and resides in Arlington, VA.

## Nomination of Richard C. Houseworth To Be United States Alternate Executive Director of the Inter-American Development Bank

*July 25, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Richard C. Houseworth, of Arizona, to be United States Alternate Executive Director of the Inter-American Development Bank. He would succeed Larry K. Mellinger.

Since 1988 Mr. Houseworth has served as Director of the Export-Import Bank of the United States in Washington, DC. Prior to this he served in several positions at the Arizona Bank: consultant, 1987–1988; execu-

utive vice president and senior corporate development officer, 1982–1987; and executive vice president and branch administrator, 1972–1982.

Mr. Houseworth graduated from the University of Kansas (B.S., 1950). He was born January 18, 1928, in Harveyville, KS. Mr. Houseworth served in the U.S. Army, 1946–1948. He is married, has three children, and resides in Chevy Chase, MD.

## Remarks Commemorating the First Anniversary of the Signing of the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990

*July 26, 1991*

First, may I greet the distinguished Members of Congress here in the front rows, thank them for coming, thank them for their interest in the passage of this important legislation we're here to celebrate today, but also in their interest in following up on it. May I greet also the Attorney General, Dick Thornburgh, and our Secretary of HHS, Lou Sullivan, and the Vice President, of course. He and I welcome you to the Rose Garden. And may I salute the other guests that are with us. And a special thanks today to the men and women from our business community. American corporations, you see, are a vital part of this team, and your support of the ADA is critical to its success.

One year ago, I stood over there—many of you present—on the South Lawn. And I will never, literally, never forget that sight or certainly the emotional feeling I felt on that day. Thousands of people from across the country had come to celebrate the signing of the Americans with Disabilities Act, one of the most comprehensive civil rights bills in the history of this country. And while people felt a justifiable sense of tri-

umph last year, you also could see a feeling of eager impatience. After all, the signing of the ADA didn't mark the end of a long struggle; it marked, really, a beginning.

Some of you here today joined me on the South Lawn, as I mentioned, a year ago, and we've made tremendous advances since that ceremony. We've introduced changes that will transform people's worlds. The ADA has also helped us, all of us, to understand a little bit more about ourselves. It reminds us that along with the privilege of being an American comes a duty to recognize and defend the rights of every American.

This bill does more than make the American dream of equality a reality for 43 million Americans with disabilities. It offers, in a sense, fresh testimony to our Nation's greatness. It demonstrates how we can advance the cause of civil rights. It shows what can happen when we work together, drawing upon the fundamental decency of the American people.

The quest for civil rights is not a zero-sum game. It shouldn't mean advancing some at the expense of others. The quest

for civil rights is a quest for individual rights and equal opportunity. And it's a crusade to throw open the doors of opportunity and tear down the walls of bigotry.

The ADA works because it calls upon the best in the American people, and then Americans respond. It works because it embodies what must be at the heart of all civil rights struggles: the spirit of inclusiveness, the devotion to individual rights and equal opportunity. That devotion runs deep in our Nation. We are the land of opportunity and always have been. Our Constitution and our courts pledge equal protection under the law. But equally important, our people believe in legal equality. And many try to broaden opportunity in little ways, by reaching out to capable people and giving them a chance, giving them a fair chance.

America must be a country where the sons and daughters of poverty have the same grasp on the American dream as the children of privilege. And it must be a land where a child can overcome any obstacle and fulfill his or her own potential.

We see this promise fulfilled by a man I presented to this Nation 4 weeks ago. And we can be proud to live in a country whose highest Court will include a man who understands the importance of basic American values: tolerance, industry, and decency. And I'm speaking, of course, of my nominee to the Court, Clarence Thomas.

While Judge Thomas was at the EEOC, he compiled an excellent record on disability issues, with which I hope all of you are familiar. But his life illustrates the principle that inspires all civil rights bills, the principle that we must throw open the doors of opportunity to everyone. And this spirit should guide us as we pursue all civil rights legislation, for our greatest strength lies in our ability to work together and honor the shared values we treasure.

We have worked together this last year. And in so doing, we've understood more fully just how much people with disabilities have to offer. We've demonstrated that social progress includes economic growth and that both play essential roles in the American dream. Businesses support the ADA because it gives everyone a chance to be productive in the workplace. It broadens our economic mainstream. It enables socie-

ty to benefit from the wisdom, energy, and industry of people who want just one thing, a fair chance.

And while we've made a strong start, we have much to do. As long as the doors of opportunity are closed to even one American we must keep working at it.

The passage of the ADA, the world's first declaration of equality for people with disabilities, made this country the international leader on this human rights issue. And now the world is watching to see how we use this act, how we remove the physical barriers we've created and the social barriers that we've accepted. Our success or failure in keeping the promise of the ADA will affect the lives of hundreds of millions of people with disabilities, not just here in the United States but throughout the world.

Our challenges remain great, but our will is even greater. In America—the most generous, optimistic Nation on the face of the Earth—we will not rest until every man and woman and child with a dream has a fair chance to realize it.

Most of this work will be done by individual Americans acting day by day to increase tolerance and understanding. But the ADA also required five Federal Agencies to come up with the implementation regulation or guidelines. These regulations relating to employment, public accommodation, transportation, and communications are key to the full implementation of ADA. And so I'm proud to announce that most of these Federal regs will be issued today.

All guidelines required of the Department of Justice, the EEOC, the FCC are in final form, and those regarding transportation will be issued soon. I want to thank the people of the executive branch who have worked so hard to make the ADA a reality.

And in addition, today I'm issuing a memorandum to Federal Departments and Agencies. And it directs them to recruit people with disabilities as Federal employees and to ensure that Americans with disabilities have access to Federal programs. The Federal Government must serve as a model employer for the rest of the Nation.

And again, thank you all so very much for your work, for your dedication, and for your devotion and your steadfast faith, and to

many here, for your inspiring example. And may God bless you all. And thank you very, very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 10:04 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.*

## **Memorandum on Access for People With Disabilities to Federal Programs and Employment**

*July 26, 1991*

### *Memorandum for the Heads of Departments and Agencies*

On July 26, 1990, I signed the "Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990," and this Nation welcomed into the mainstream of life all of our fellow citizens with disabilities. As we move forward with the implementation of this landmark legislation, I ask you to look at what you have done, what you currently are doing, and what your plans are for the future to ensure people with disabilities are not excluded from the mainstream.

Many of you have worked hard over the years to establish policies and initiatives to remove barriers that prevented people with disabilities from gaining access to programs and employment opportunities within the Federal Government.

You have removed architectural and physical barriers and provided people with disabilities access to Government facilities and buildings. You have also made real change in employment policies and in the nature of Federal jobs to recognize the talents and skills of people with disabilities. In 1990, people with disabilities represented 6.9 percent of the Federal work force while they represented 3.6 percent of the civilian work force.

However, there is still much work to be done. I want you to renew your efforts in this area and make a special pledge to do everything possible to ensure that people with disabilities have the opportunities they deserve. I want all Federal agencies to review their programs, policies, and practices to ensure that people with disabilities

are included in Federal programs, that they are recruited as Federal employees, and that incentives for productivity are encouraged.

Also, I want you to share your experiences and success stories with the private sector so they can benefit from the lessons learned since the 1973 Rehabilitation Act was implemented within the Federal Government. The Federal Government must be a model for the rest of the country to ensure that people with disabilities are afforded opportunities to become full participants in our society. Recruitment, hiring, and career development must afford people with disabilities equal opportunities to achieve their highest potential and become contributing, productive members of the work force.

People with disabilities represent a tremendous pool of talent. They bring to their work diversity in skills and commitment, with a simple request in return—the chance to be a part of the mainstream of society. As a nation, we face a shortage of qualified workers in the coming years. Those of us who look beyond an individual's disability and, instead, focus on the ability will be better prepared to meet these new challenges.

I know I can count on all of you in advancing the Federal Government as a model employer of people with disabilities.

**GEORGE BUSH**

*Note: An original was not available for verification of the content of this memorandum.*

## Message to the Congress Transmitting Proposed Legislation on Wilderness Designation of California Public Lands

July 26, 1991

*To the Congress of the United States:*

I am pleased to submit for your consideration and passage the "California Public Lands Wilderness Act."

The Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 directs the Secretary of the Interior to review the wilderness potential of the public lands. Based on the Bureau of Land Management's review of 7.1 million acres of public lands in California and 600 acres in Nevada, the Secretary has recommended that 62 areas encompassing 2.3 million acres be designated wilderness and 147 areas encompassing 4.8 million acres not be designated wilderness.

I concur with the Secretary of the Interior's recommendations, and I recommend designation of the 62 areas identified in the enclosed proposed legislation for inclusion in the National Wilderness Preservation System.

The proposed additions to the National Wilderness Preservation System represent the diversity of wilderness values in the State of California. These range from the forested areas in the King Range Conservation Area, along the northwest California coast, to the Algodones Sand Dunes near the Mexican border, comprising classic sand dunes in low desert. The recommendations span a wide variety of California landforms, ecosystems, and other natural systems and features. Their inclusion in the National Wilderness Preservation System will increase the geographic distribution of wilderness areas in California and complement

existing areas of Federal and State designated wilderness. They will provide new outstanding opportunities for solitude as well as primitive and unconfined recreation.

The proposal provides that designation as wilderness shall not constitute a reservation of water or water rights for wilderness purposes. The proposal also provides for areas designated as wilderness that may contain valid existing mineral rights. Generally, these mineral rights will not be acquired. However, when necessary to prevent incompatible development, these rights could be acquired through exchange.

In addition, the Secretary recommends transferring to the National Park System over 108,000 acres of public lands, including about 82,000 acres suitable for wilderness designation. The Secretary also recommends that 147 wilderness study areas, encompassing 4.8 million acres, not be designated as wilderness. I concur with both of these recommendations.

Enclosed are the letter and wilderness study reports from the Secretary of the Interior concerning the 62 wilderness area proposals and the transfer of lands from the Bureau of Land Management to the National Park Service.

I urge the Congress to act expeditiously and favorably on the proposed legislation, so that the natural resources of these areas may be protected and preserved.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
July 26, 1991.

## Notice of the Continuation of the National Emergency With Respect to Iraq

July 26, 1991

On August 2, 1990, by Executive Order No. 12722, I declared a national emergency to deal with the unusual and extraordinary

threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States constituted by the actions and policies of the Government

of Iraq. By Executive Orders Nos. 12722 of August 2 and 12724 of August 9, 1990, I imposed trade sanctions on Iraq and blocked Iraqi government assets. Similar sanctions were imposed against occupied Kuwait by Executive Orders Nos. 12723 and 12725 of August 2 and August 9, 1990, respectively, which were terminated by Executive Order No. 12771 of July 25, 1991. Because the Government of Iraq has continued its activities hostile to U.S. interests in the Middle East, the national emergency declared on August 2, 1990, and the measures adopted on August 2 and August 9, 1990, to deal with that emergency must continue in effect beyond August 2, 1991. Therefore, in accordance with section

202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)), I am continuing the national emergency with respect to Iraq.

This notice shall be published in the *Federal Register* and transmitted to the Congress.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
July 26, 1991.

*[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 2:09 p.m., July 26, 1991]*

*Note: The Executive order terminating sanctions against Kuwait is listed in Appendix E at the end of this volume.*

## Message to the Congress on the Continuation of the National Emergency With Respect to Iraq *July 26, 1991*

*To the Congress of the United States:*

Section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)) provides for the automatic termination of a national emergency unless, prior to the anniversary date of its declaration, the President publishes in the *Federal Register* and transmits to the Congress a notice stating that the emergency is to continue in effect beyond the anniversary date. In accordance with this provision, I have sent the enclosed notice, stating that the Iraqi emergency is to continue in effect beyond August 2, 1991, to the *Federal Register* for publication.

The crisis between the United States and Iraq that led to the declaration on August 2, 1990, of a national emergency has not been

resolved. The Government of Iraq continues to engage in activities inimical to stability in the Middle East and hostile to U.S. interests in the region. Such Iraqi actions pose a continuing unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and vital foreign policy interests of the United States. For these reasons, I have determined that it is necessary to maintain in force the broad authorities necessary to apply economic pressure to the Government of Iraq.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
July 26, 1991.

## Message to the Congress Transmitting the European Economic Community-United States Fishery Agreement *July 26, 1991*

*To the Congress of the United States:*

In accordance with the Magnuson Fishery Conservation and Management Act of 1976

(Public Law 94-265; 16 U.S.C. 1801 *et seq.*), I transmit herewith the Agreement between the Government of the United States

of America and the European Economic Community Amending and Extending the Agreement of October 1, 1984, Concerning Fisheries off the Coasts of the United States, as amended and extended. The agreement, which was effected by exchange of notes at Washington and Brussels on February 1 and June 14, 1991, copies of which are attached, extends the 1984 agreement for an additional 2 years and 6 months, from July 1, 1991, to December 31, 1993. The exchange of notes together with the 1984 agreement constitute a governing international fishery agreement within the requirements of sec-

tion 201(c) of the Act. The exchange of notes also amends the 1984 agreement to incorporate the latest changes in U.S. law and policy.

U.S. fishing industry interests have urged prompt consideration of this agreement to avoid disruption of ongoing cooperative fishing ventures. I urge that the Congress give favorable consideration to this agreement at an early date.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
July 26, 1991.

## Message to the Congress Transmitting the Poland-United States Fishery Agreement

July 26, 1991

*To the Congress of the United States:*

In accordance with the Magnuson Fishery Conservation and Management Act of 1976 (Public Law 94-265; 16 U.S.C. 1801 *et seq.*), I transmit herewith the Agreement between the Governments of the United States of America and the Republic of Poland Amending and Extending the Agreement of August 1, 1985, Concerning Fisheries off the Coasts of the United States. The agreement which was effected by exchange of notes at Washington on January 24 and June 12, 1991, copies of which are attached, extends the 1985 agreement for an additional 2 years and 6 months, from

July 1, 1991, to December 31, 1993. The exchange of notes together with the 1985 agreement constitute a governing international fishery agreement within the requirements of section 201(c) of the Act. The exchange of notes also amends the 1985 agreement to incorporate the latest changes in U.S. law and policy into the agreement.

I urge that the Congress give favorable consideration to this agreement at an early date.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
July 26, 1991.

## Message to the Congress Transmitting the Republic of Korea-United States Fishery Agreement

July 26, 1991

*To The Congress of the United States:*

In accordance with the Magnuson Fishery Conservation and Management Act of 1976 (Public Law 94-265; 16 U.S.C. 1801 *et seq.*), I transmit herewith the Agreement between the Governments of the United States of America and the Republic of

Korea Amending and Extending the Agreement of July 26, 1982, Concerning Fisheries off the Coasts of the United States, as amended and extended. The agreement, which was effected by exchange of notes at Washington on May 29 and June 19, 1991, copies of which are attached, extends the

1982 agreement for an additional 2 years and 6 months, from July 1, 1991, to December 31, 1993. The exchange of notes together with the 1982 agreement constitute a governing international fishery agreement within the requirements of section 201(c) of the Act. The exchange of notes also amends the 1982 agreement to incorporate the latest changes in U.S. law and policy into

the agreement.

I urge that the Congress give favorable consideration to this agreement at an early date.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
July 26, 1991.

## Interview With Soviet Journalists on the Upcoming Moscow Summit *July 25, 1991*

*The President.* Well, we have, I think, about 30 minutes, and I don't know any better way to start other than to say I'm looking forward to this visit very much indeed. A lot of things to talk about, and I have every anticipation that the visit will go well.

A lot of the issues were addressed at this G-7 meeting, but we've got a lot of bilateral things to discuss. And as far as we're concerned, every issue is open for discussion. So, I think it will be positive. And I hope that the outcome of the visit will be a strengthening of this relationship. It's very important to the United States, and I like to think it's important to the Soviet Union.

So, with no further ado, why don't we just keep going around the circle here until we run out of questions or time. Who wants to start?

*Q.* Mr. President, you've met with Mr. Gorbachev several times, and every meeting was kind of a step toward some new situation. Maybe it's a little bit premature to ask you such a question, but can you explain to us, what could it be from your point of view, this visit of yours—from a qualitative point of view, qualitative for Soviet-American relations?

*The President.* Well, of course, on the qualitative sense, I think the signing of an arms control agreement speaks for itself. And I hope that we'll have the agreement ready to sign on every detail. But even if we don't, we've got so much; I mean, the deal is done. And whatever we sign will be viewed as a significant step forward and one that—this one isn't just U.S.-Soviet. A

lot of people around the world have been hoping to see this for a long time.

So, that will probably dominate it. We've got a lot of—I don't know what you mean "qualitative." I guess I would put that in the terms of just improving a bilateral relation. I think there's been some doubts in the Soviet Union about the United States intentions. There are different voices in the United States saying different things, just as there are in the Soviet Union. But as the President, I think it will be helpful to convey a message of respect, wanting to work with the Soviet Union, discussing all issues including the regional issues where Soviet participation—very important on the Middle East—discussing what we call a new world order where a changing Soviet Union, changed Soviet Union, are an integral part of it.

So, that's the way I'd answer the qualitative aspect of it.

*Q.* Mr. President, how do you view motivations in the triangle—Washington, Soviet central government, and the Republics? Your first steps on this way meeting with Mr. Yeltsin and the trip to Kiev—

*The President.* Well, I don't think we've got a triangle. In other words, I view that the President of the United States primarily deals with the President of the Soviet Union. Having said that, contacts with the Republics is a very important thing. And I think any Soviet leader has many contacts with our federation, with our Governors, and with our Representatives of these different States. So, to me it's—but I don't



want to suggest that we've got a three-sided triangle. We're not in that.

I thought Mr. Yeltsin, when he came here, conducted himself very well. He came here in a manner that is understood by Americans, and that is, backed by a very large vote. And this made quite a difference to Americans. Here's a man who took his case to the Russian Republic and won a big victory.

But I don't think that that means we have a triangle where I deal with Yeltsin on the same basis as I deal with Gorbachev, and Yeltsin deals with us the same way he deals with Gorbachev. I mean, you can't conduct foreign policy that way. You have to have an ordered approach. And people in the Soviet Union, whole Union, are entitled to know that the President of the United States will deal with respect with the President of the Soviet Union.

Having said that, that doesn't preclude good relations with Yeltsin or anybody else there. But I just don't want to equate the two.

Did I get that question? Okay. I just wanted to be sure that was the question.

*Q.* Mr. President, the START treaty to some extent signifies a shift from the cold war agenda centered around arms control to a new agenda, so to say, agenda with more emphasis on economic preparation, trade. What is your perspective on that?

*The President.* I think that's true. I don't say this is the end of the arms control road because there will be other objectives down the road, I think. But we're dealing with such dynamic change in the Soviet Union that, as we said out at the G-7, in terms of technical assistance and all, we want to be a part of it. And so, I think that the economic questions that will be, were discussed will be a part of it. The system questions will be a part of it.

The Soviet Union has not had a market economy. They've not had convertibility of currency. They've not had private ownership. And now there seems to be—and elections. So, we have all these subjects that will soon dominate the agenda without driving arms control totally away from the agenda. But these are the critical things. These are the things that—successful acceptance of the technical assistance and moving the

Soviet economy and markets forward and all—we think is in the best interests of all the citizens there. And clearly, we think it's in our interests, or we wouldn't be pursuing this.

I mean, I think if you want to visualize a bright future, you look at the continuations of the Gorbachev reforms; you look at the continuations of much of what Mr. Yeltsin stands for. And you see enormous opportunity for investment and for participating and working closely in political matters. The very changes that Gorbachev has brought about really was, I think, largely responsible for the utility of the United Nations, for example. We talk about a new world order, but this couldn't have taken place unless there had been a dramatic change in the thinking in the Soviet Union—thinking, incidentally, that both Gorbachev and since we mentioned Yeltsin seem to share.

So, I think that arms control, defense, all of these things will continue to be important—and sometimes sticking; there will be some sticking points. But if we do our jobs properly, I think they will be overshadowed by this common desire to work together for the change, to facilitate and enhance the changes taking place in the Soviet Union.

*Q.* Mr. President, my question may be kind of a followup on what my colleague just asked. I am interested in the arms control issue. My impression is that now, when START is done, the arms control issue is going to the background. I mean, in the first place, we're having these economic and social problems—

*The President.* Yes.

*Q.* —between the United States and the Soviet Union. So, the question, number one, to which extent would you agree that arms control is not as important as it used to be, say, a year ago? And secondly, if we talk about START II, which you're going to discuss in the Soviet Union, what do you think would be the ultimate goals of the START II process? Do you have any numerical figures?

*The President.* I don't. On the second part, I just don't. Can't help you with what we will be proposing or even a broad dimension of what might follow on.

There will be other arms control areas where we've got to work together. Chemical weapons is a good example. We like this open skies approach that we've talked about before, and I've got to convince Soviet leaders that this is not detrimental to their interests at all, particularly in a new and open society. So, there will be arms control items that will follow on.

Having said that, the achievements in CFE, INF, and START have taken the major intractable issues off the table. And those are the ones that the world looks to and says: My God, isn't this great? We're moving in the same direction with the Soviet Union. Our children might grow up without the fear of nuclear weapons. And so, those three have been very, very important in my view. But I think we've still got an arms control agenda. And there could be some START follow-on; there could be some of these other areas we're talking about. But I think the reason the economic issues and all will come to the forefront is that so much has already been done in arms control, or will have been done by the time we get this START deal done.

*Q.* If I understood you correctly, Mr. President, you will be taking some specific proposals for a START II to—

*The President.* I don't know how specific they will be in this short of time, but there will be a broad discussion of issues. I haven't really seen the briefing paper to know how interested the leaders over there will be in all of this, but I have found Mr. Gorbachev always interested in discussing that kind of thing. But I can't help you with any specifics at this point. We may be fleshing out some before we get there, but there won't be any bold, new proposal on the part of the United States for a dramatic next step. We'll be talking more, how do we achieve a next step? What areas are of interest here?

*Q.* Mr. President, until the last years there was a huge and very intensive ideological war between East and West. As I find it today it's nearing to the end, but it's centered and moved to the Soviet Union. And being here in Washington, I heard that there was a new thesis which was put in use in the Soviet Union that results—and meeting of Mr. Gorbachev with you and with

other leaders from Western countries—they are estimated now by some circles, some political circles of our country, as a third world war which was lost by Mr. Gorbachev. Would you comment on such a—

*The President.* I think that is a very cynical and very unfair observation. You mean the results of the summit would be—yes. I don't agree with that at all, because what I detected there in the G-7 was an anxious desire to try to facilitate the change that is already taking place there, to help in the change.

And maybe somebody is saying, "Well, he didn't get money." Maybe that's what the criticism is. But he didn't ask. I mean, he wasn't there with his hat in his hand in a beggar's uniform, coming there trying to beg for money. We talked very openly about the needs to continue the reform. Obviously, we made clear to him something that he already knew: that finalization of the treaty, union treaty, formalization of the nine-plus-one, is very important. It's very hard to make investments if you don't know who you're contracting with or how the taxes are going to be divided up.

But to suggest that this was a cold war victory just misinterprets the climate of the meeting. The climate wasn't staring at each other across the table with animosity. It was really quite constructive: How do we work together? And therein lies the biggest difference on cold war ideology. Hell, I remember from the U.N. with Yakov Malik, who became a friend of mine; but, God, there'd be times when we'd just sit glaring at each other with opposite positions. And that was cold war, maybe not the coldest days of the cold war, but that was cold war. And now that's changed, and there isn't any kind of "grind the other guy into the dirt" on either side as far as I'm concerned. So, the analogy, the charge that people make that say that, simply is unfounded in my view.

*Q.* Mr. Bush, the G-7 decided that the West would give the Soviet Union only advice, not money, not much credit. However, we hear another viewpoint in the West. Aid will increase the chances that reform start—area and will work. What do you think about this position, and where is a

fine line when the West can realize that the Soviet Union's reforms are going successfully?

*The President.* Well, one of the reasons we proposed this associate membership in the IMF and the World Bank is that I think that membership, that associate membership, will lead to greater understanding all across the economic hierarchy in the Soviet Union. And so, I think that it will end when the treaty's been finalized; when reforms are irreversible; and where the commitment that Gorbachev has made and Yeltsin has made to market, to privatization is more demonstrable.

And technical assistance that came out in this G-7 is important to facilitating all that. It wasn't a question of just finding some way not to do something with the Soviet Union. Everybody there really felt that technical assistance, be it in energy, or food distribution, or nuclear safety, consultation on environment—all of this kind of thing is essential to make subsequent investments worthwhile. Without them the private investments wouldn't come, as a matter of fact. And that's where the big change is.

One of the summit participants made the comment that we've got a company in our country that wants to invest \$1 billion in the Soviet Union. They can't quite do it yet until you finalize the union treaty, until some of the internals are worked out—how we get our money out. But when that happens, all you need is 100 of those and you have \$100 billion that can make a tremendous difference in the lives, the standard of living of the people inside the Soviet Union.

So, this technical assistance approach was not some kind of stumbling fallback position—let's do that and then we won't have to do something else. I think President Gorbachev knows not only that that makes sense, but I also think he knows that financial constraints under which some countries—I'll start right with the United States—are operating. You guys know it. You're here, you read the debate every day. And I think he handled that, getting all that in perspective, very well.

*Q.* Sir, this is kind of a followup. If we could get back to the London summit. I want to make sure one thing. So, eventually you think that the West will commit its

prestige, I mean itself, its prestige, some of its resources to making the U.S.S.R. part of what Gorbachev called one civilization?

*The President.* No question. And the emphasis should be, to really help the lives of the people, on private-sector investment. I mean, that's where the big bucks lie; that's where the major change lies; that's where employment of people lie; where increase of standard of living lies. However, the preliminary—what the hell am I thinking of—associate membership in the World Bank, in the IMF, yes, would lead to membership, which in turn would lead to the kinds of specialized funding requirements that some of these projects or some of the central government or some of the governments there will require.

I do think that this approach will lead to irreversibility at home, in the Soviet Union, I mean, because once that starts big, I think it will so benefit the people's lives that there won't be any going back. It's happening in other countries. It's happening in Eastern Europe, although it's a little slower than they'd like to see. But they're beginning to get the feel of what private investment can do and what market economies can do and what private ownership can do.

Having said that, the Soviet Union has some big problems. And it's not for me to go over there and get all involved in their internal affairs, but I'm told they've got problems with housing for returning soldiers. Well, those are tough problems to work out. But I still believe that the broad emphasis on markets and private investment and all of that is a way to solve even those intractable problems.

*Q.* Mr. President, I would like to raise an issue which is very much in the headlines these days.

*The President.* Which country, yours or mine?

*Q.* Both.

*The President.* Both—okay.

*Q.* The application for the full membership with IMF and the World Bank for the Soviet Union—so what are you going to do about that?

*The President.* Well, the G-7 has already taken a position on that; it should be an associate membership. The application

came in a letter that was dated prior to the G-7 meeting, so I will try to get some clarification on this. But there was a lot of consideration given to it, and what I've said here is the position of the United States.

*Q.* So, in other words, it's premature you think?

*The President.* That's what we decided, and that's the position that was taken at the G-7. The IMF and the World Bank have certain requirements. We've touched generally on what some of these requirements are. And the Soviet Union, like any other country, is going to have to meet the requirements. And the requirements can't be met yet. But they will be met when this associate membership brings to fruition—helps bring about the changes in the strengthening, in the different economic—the economy in the Soviet Union.

You know, I was a little surprised to see the application, but on the other hand, I don't get all out of shape on it because I know what the G-7—how they deliberated. I know the spirit of cooperation, not negativism, that existed in terms of helping there. And it's our strongly-held conviction that this has to happen. The rules of these big IFT's, we call them, international financial institutions, would not at this juncture permit them to go forward with loans or with grants or whatever it is. But if the program that we outlined, the associate membership—if experts get the feeling of how it works and the assistance that we talked about here goes forward, who knows? I mean, that may happen sooner rather than later.

But it's not an anti-Soviet position. It's just a very realistic position. So, when this application was made, we say, hey, what's happening here? I mean, maybe they decided to go in for some technical reason at this point. But I don't think anybody can be under any illusion as to what's going to happen on that because that was discussed a little over a week ago. And the decision taken by at least seven of the countries that are members of these IFT's, these international financial institutions.

*Mr. Fitzwater.* One more round.

*The President.* All right, four to go.

*Q.* Mr. President, I hope that during your visit to the Soviet Union you wouldn't hear

such an accusation such as we hear. But, anyway, they exist and we must talk—

*The President.* Yes, I understand.

*Q.* —and one of them, it's again from an ideological point of view that if there would be a profound and comprehensive market reentered, reforms in the Soviet Union, everything, every little bit of Soviet industry will be bought out or sold to the so-called Western capitalists. Is there, from your point of view and from your experience, any foundation?

*The President.* I don't think there's a foundation for that. I'm all for encouraging foreign investment in the Soviet Union. I think that would be the quickest way, the quickest way to encourage—to raise the level of—standard of living of people at home. But that doesn't mean all foreign investment.

The dynamism of the U.S. economy, when it was more dynamic and as it recovers, will come from small business. It's not going to be the General Electrics and these gigantic corporations. It comes from small business. And once this thing takes hold, in some little business in some corner of the Soviet Union that was owned by the state or by a city or by some bureaucracy, moves into ownership by Igor so-and-so on the corner down here—it has nothing to do with foreign investment. It has to do with system. And that's what's going to make this economy more dynamic.

Foreign investment can help. And as I say, I think it's important. But the concept, the exciting concept, has to lie with individual people over there or people coming together to start businesses or take over a state-owned business and make it more efficient. I'm absolutely certain that it will just open up tremendous opportunities, in addition to what may be foreign investment coming, but for the guy next door owning a small shop, a restaurant, whatever it is, a manufacturing company—and doing it quicker and doing it better and making a better product because of competition.

And so, to those that say, hey, we don't want the foreign investors to own everything in the Soviet Union, I'd say, you make these changes that the whole world is looking for and you'll find that it is—this is all a

cash and is generated by what I'm talking about. You'll find there's a lot of innovation in people once they don't have to comply with a lot of state regulation.

Now, how do I know this? Because we've been down this. We still have publicly owned utilities or publicly owned projects that are much less efficient than those that are owned by the American people.

Now, you hear the same charge made, incidentally, about Japanese investment in this country. Some have rather cynically said, well, Japan's going to own all of the United States. My view is, I support Japanese investment in our country. It results in competitiveness. It results in productivity increasing in our country. If they can come in and show a better way to run a hotel, the guy next door is going to have to do a better job, or his hotel is going to go down.

So, I would say to those that might be concerned about this at home: No, private investment will help. It will make a big difference. But what you're going to do here is unleash the dynamism of private ownership at home of people in the Soviet Union. And people say, well, they don't have the money to do that. Watch how it generates. Watch how a small business can mushroom, create jobs for people, and create opportunity. So, I would say to those who might worry about that: Don't worry. That's not the history of how it works in other countries.

One more?

Q. And in this connection, what are your personal expectations of achievements, political and economic achievements, in the Soviet Union between now and the year 2000?

*The President.* Oh, well, there I'm optimistic about all that because I think you'll see a Soviet Union that has sorted out its internal relations with the Republics. I'm not saying you have to do it the way we do—50 States and a central government. But there may be some pattern, how we sort these relationships on taxation or power to regulate between States and Federal. But that will be sorted out on a Soviet Union scale, Soviet Union model, not a U.S. model, not a French model.

And once that's done, I would say that—and that will be done far sooner than the

year 2000—then I'd say, looking over the horizon to the year 2000, you're going to find a dynamic situation with better transportation, a better distribution for agricultural products, a smoother working political relationship between the Republics and the center, and a standard of living that has gone up for the individual worker or the individual housewife in the Soviet Union. That's what I visualize. And, of course, that's what we'd like to see happen.

And some might say, well, you see a big economically strong Soviet Union beginning to emerge in the year 2000; isn't that competition for the United States? No. Competition stems from the differences in ideology, I mean, to be very candid about it, the approach that the Soviet Union took for many years in terms of what we would view as totalitarianism or centrally controlled industry, marxism, whatever you want to call it. But as that gives way to the same kind of change that's taken place elsewhere, this idea that we have to be enemies or that we have to be in competition all the time is crazy. We compete with Europe. And I get mad at them when they've got protection practices that we don't like. And they get mad at us when we do. But nobody views it as an enemy kind of thing.

So, I would say that the final answer to your question is, looking at the year 2000, there wouldn't be this talk of enmity. And, of course, I'd like to see that we'd look at our defense requirements and have a little more trust and take some of the great assets that are involved in defense and turn them into private productive uses—beat the swords into plowshares.

We're trying that, as you know. We're closing bases, bringing down defense. We've still got a very strong defense. The Soviet Union has a strong defense. But as we trust each other more, and as this economic model works, why, I think the happy thing about 2000 is that kids growing up in the Soviet schools and the kids growing up in the American schools—little 10-year-olds—9 years from now won't be looking with a kind of question—hey, we trust these people. I mean, I'd like to think that more mutual trust would emerge because of what we're talking about.

*Mr. Fitzwater.* This is the final question.

*The President.* Yes, we've been around. Keep going, I'll keep the answers shorter, Marlin.

*Q.* Sir, can we expect a joint statement emerging from the Moscow summit on the Middle East probably, or Iraq?

*The President.* I don't know whether there will be a joint statement. My position has been the Soviet Union already has demonstrated a very helpful attitude in terms of—cooperative attitude, working towards bringing about peace talks in the Middle East. And we're grateful. But whether there will be a statement emerging on that, I don't know.

And Iraq, we may have some differences, is how we look at it. But the main thing is we came together at the U.N. on the major common goal: this aggression will not stand. And the Soviet Union at the last minute had a couple of ideas of a peace conference or peace talk just before military force was used. But that's fine. I mean, so did a lot of other people have those ideas. But once the battle was joined, the Soviet Union stayed with the U.N. position and the U.N. resolutions. And so, I will be looking at that and thanking people there for that support.

But whether there will be anything in the future on it or not, I just don't know. I have to see what we talk about when we get there.

Last one.

*Q.* Mr. President, since this is the last question, could I make it two-part?

*The President.* Yes.

*Q.* Those will be very short parts.

*The President.* Two parts with no follow-on—how's that for an idea. *[Laughter]* I hope you guys don't get into the American system just because you've lived here a long time, with a follow-on. The insidious follow-on question.

*Q.* From Helen Thomas *[Helen Thomas, United Press International]*.

*The President.* Yes, exactly. Exactly.

*Q.* Mr. President, you said that you wouldn't like to interfere into the internal affairs of the Soviet Union.

*The President.* That I don't want to interfere in it?

*Q.* Yes, right.

*The President.* Yes.

*Q.* But still, I don't think we would come out of this room without you making your comment on what happened yesterday in the Soviet Union when President Gorbachev managed to strike a deal with the leaders of the Republics.

*The President.* I see what you mean. No, I don't feel I'm interfering in the Soviet Union when I say it's very good that a deal appears to have been worked out. Don't ask me to give you the details on the deal. Don't ask me to fine-tune any paragraph on it. But the idea of the Soviet Union working out a deal with the Republics is very, very important to these economic objectives that I talked about here. So, I would view a comment by me as simply being supportive. But I hope it wouldn't be interpreted as intervening in the internal economic affairs or political affairs of the Soviet Union.

*Q.* And the second part, which would be drastically varying from what we used to ask you before. And so, should we expect any news today, which is the final day for the United Nations deadline on Iraqis supplying all the information about nuclear—

*The President.* I don't know what's happening up there. Brent, do you know what's happening today up there?

*General Scowcroft.* No—

*The President.* There's been a kind of heightened view that after—almost got it back to the January 15th deadline in terms of using force. And I think that's gotten a little out of hand. I mean, the United States is not going to go off like some cowboy, six-guns shooting in the air because the 25th of July has gone by. But what we are going to do is be damned sure one way or another that Saddam Hussein does not continue to lie and does not continue to go against the U.N. resolutions.

And he has not restituted the gold from Kuwait. He has not fully accounted for the people from Kuwait. He continues to do bad things in terms of pursuing nuclear objectives. And there is a whole other list of things that he—he diverts food away from the people into certain hierarchies. And that's not any good.

But I think there's been a heightened kind of feeling—well, on the 25th, we'd better batten down the hatches over there

because this man is going to be punished. He may get punished someday. And we have got to enforce these United Nations sanctions and resolutions. But I'm just trying to put that 25th of July into a proper perspective. We have expected full disclosure. And I'll be interested to see on the 26th of July what my experts tell me about whether there's been full disclosure. But I wouldn't read too much into it as a day that military action is taken.

I think the very fact that there was some rather strong feeling from a lot of countries that military action might be taken if he doesn't comply resulted in his coming forward and say, "Oh, all the things I told you I wasn't doing yesterday, yes, I am doing them." But here's the answer. Here's the disclosure. The problem is the disclosure is not full, and he's got to comply.

And so, all we want to do is have him keep his word and stop brutalizing his own people by diverting food away from them and medicines. But I'm still hopeful that he will do that, very candidly, still hopeful. But I can't guarantee it from what I've seen so

far.

*Q.* Mr. President, this interview will appear on Saturday. What you just said, it still will be valid by that time?

*The President.* Saturday? What time Saturday? No, I'm just teasing you. [Laughter] No, it will be valid.

*Q.* Thank you very much, sir.

*The President.* No, it will be valid. Yes, it will be valid. This thing is—any action, you've got to have other people with out. We're not going to be off on some Lone Ranger wicket, as I say.

Good to see you all. Thanks for coming.

*Note: The interview began at 2:30 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. The following journalists participated: Yuri Bandoura, Moscow News; Edgar Cheporov, Literaturnaya Gazeta; Vitaliy Gan, Pravda; and Alexander Shalnev, Izvestia.*

*In his remarks, the President referred to Yakov Malik, former Soviet representative to the United Nations. The interview was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on July 29. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this interview.*

## Remarks at the Arrival Ceremony in Moscow July 30, 1991

*President Gorbachev.* Mr. President, Mrs. Bush, I would like to extend a warm and sincere welcome to you on Soviet soil within the walls of our ancient Kremlin.

It has been little more than a year since I visited the United States. This year has seen events of tremendous importance, both in our two countries and in the world. For us in the U.S.S.R., it was a year that put to a daily test our capacity to act constructively at a critical time in the process of transition in our progress along the path of democratic transformation and reform.

It was also a challenging year for the international community. It, too, is going through a period of transition to a new, unprecedented system of international relations. The beginning of a new era in history has been a tough test, indeed, for leaders of

states, requiring enormous effort, a sense of high responsibility, strictest realism, and vision.

A great deal in world politics will continue to depend on how the Soviet Union and the United States interact with each other. For the first time ever, our two countries have a chance to build their relations on the natural basis of universal human values and national interest. We are beginning to realize that we need each other, that the security, internal stability, and dynamic development of each of our two countries benefits both of them. Not only our two nations but the entire world needs this kind of U.S.-Soviet relationship. The world has realized this and has given us support in our joint efforts. Today and tomorrow we will be discussing with you, Mr. President,

these and many other matters. The Soviet people welcome you as the leader of a great power, as a statesman who is making a great contribution to the shaping of new world politics.

Mr. President, in recent months and weeks, the Kremlin, a symbol of our nation's centuries-old history, has been the scene of events that will shape this country's future. Tomorrow it will witness another such event, the signing of the treaty on the reduction of strategic offensive arms. It is more than just a major step in the process of disarmament. It is a sign of a growing irreversibility of the fundamental change for the better in world development.

The results of the G-7 meeting in London further solidified this irreversibility. It was the beginning of a new type of international economic relations which will form the material foundation for world politics in the 21st century.

All this, I hope, will allow our peoples to benefit more directly from the improving Soviet-U.S. relationship.

Allow me, Mr. President, to assure everyone who will be following our work with you in the coming days that we shall try to live up to the hopes of our fellow citizens, the peoples of the United States and the Soviet Union.

Once again, Mr. President and Mrs. Bush, welcome to the Soviet Union.

*President Bush.* Thank you very much, sir.

Well, first, let me thank President Gorbachev, leaders that met us last night, people along the way for their warm welcome here. We've been looking forward to this visit. And I'm honored to be in Moscow to meet with President Gorbachev for this historic summit at a time when tension gives way to a new season of hope. We need only compare the words of the cold war with our historic accomplishments in recent years to realize that a new age of promise has dawned. No visitor to this country can fail to see the signs of change.

Since my last visit in 1985, we've witnessed the opening of Europe and the end of a world polarized by suspicion. That year, Mikhail Gorbachev assumed leadership of the Soviet Union, put many monu-

mental changes into motion. He began instituting reforms that basically changed the world. And in the United States, everyone now knows at least two Russian words, *glasnost* and *perestroika*. And here everyone appreciates the English word "democracy."

Our nations have moved forward in every sphere, political, military, and economic. And we stood together for the first time in 50 years to face down aggression in the Gulf, the Persian Gulf. And this week we take, as the President just said, another historic step away from the cold war with the signing of the START treaty.

In the next 2 days, President Gorbachev and I hope to build upon this beginning, to forge a U.S.-Soviet agenda, built not upon military confrontation but upon economic and security cooperation. In the economic sphere, we hope to build upon the agreements we made in Malta, to normalize economic relations and work toward helping the Soviet Union integrate itself into the international economy. In the Middle East, we see new prospects for peace where once there was only contention. And together, we will work toward building a lasting peace between Israel and her Arab neighbors. And we'll also work together to resolve difficulties and conflicts in Afghanistan and Cambodia, just as we worked to build peace and democracy in Angola, Namibia, and Nicaragua.

No longer must all the world serve as a stage for superpower standoffs. Instead, let everyplace from Central America to Angola to Afghanistan offer new hopes, new opportunities. And let us pursue shared goals: a stable world no longer polarized, mutually beneficial economic ties, cooperation on everything from weapons proliferation to environmental problems.

President Gorbachev has earned our respect and admiration for his uncommon vision and courage in replacing old orthodoxy with *glasnost* and *perestroika*. But more fundamental than the relations of leaders are the shared values of their people, and here our common humanity offers the greatest hope for mankind.

And yes, we have differences, but this hope can enable us to address our differences, differences over Cuba or the future



of the Baltic States or what Japan calls the Northern Territory. But let's conduct all our affairs in the spirit of enduring partnership, based on politics peaceful and democratic, on economies productive and free. You see, Americans want to work with all levels of Soviet society. Beyond our central Governments, we look for greater interaction between the citizens of our States and your Republics. And beyond government, we seek greater understanding throughout the broad spectrum of society, among businessmen, students, artists, and scientists.

So, I come here on a state visit to the Soviet Union, but I also come to discover a rapidly changing country. For the sake of peace and new prosperity, on behalf of all Americans I come here today to assure President Gorbachev, the leaders, the great people of this land in each of its Republics,

that we stand with you in your historic struggle for democracy and reform.

Fifty years ago, we united as allies to fight a horrible war, a war that cost the Soviet Union hundreds of thousands of lives. So this week, let us come together to seek a newer world, more stable, more just, more peaceful.

Thank you. And may God bless the Soviet people, the sovereign people of this Soviet Union. We are delighted to be here, Mr. President.

*Note: The remarks began at 10:23 a.m. in St. George's Hall at the Kremlin. President Gorbachev spoke in Russian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

## Remarks at the Moscow State Institute for International Relations July 30, 1991

First, may I salute the Acting Director Tyulin, and of course, the distinguished Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, Mr. Bessmertnykh.

It is a great privilege to meet with you at this critical moment in the history of your nation, at this time of great hope for all the world.

For four long decades, our two nations stood locked in conflict as the cold war cast its shadow across an armed and uneasy peace. This summit marks a new beginning, the prospect that we can put an end to a long era as adversaries, write a new chapter in the history of our two nations, forge a new partnership and a sturdy peace.

We have reason to hope. Indeed, we have good reason to hope. One by one, the cruel realities of the cold war flicker and fade and a new world of opportunities calls us forward. In Europe, for 40 years the fault line of East-West conflict, the nations of Central Europe now find a common home in democracy. Far beyond the confines of this continent—from Afghanistan to the Horn of Africa, from Angola to Central

America—regional conflicts no longer threaten to become flashpoints for super-power confrontation. Worldwide, the risk of global war stands lower now than at any point in the postwar era.

The challenge you face as present and future leaders of this great nation—is simply this: Together, our two nations must overcome a half-century of mistrust to seize this moment and build a lasting peace.

During the past 2 years, President Gorbachev and I have made substantial progress in building this new relationship. Together, the Soviet side and the United States side, we've created new opportunities for arms control. Last fall, in Paris, we agreed on landmark reductions in conventional forces stationed in Europe. And tomorrow, in the Kremlin, we will sign the historic START treaty, the first treaty that significantly reduces the most dangerous and destabilizing nuclear forces.

Lower tensions have also made it possible for our two nations to normalize economic relations. President Gorbachev and I made

this a priority at the Malta summit, and I am pleased to report today that this process of normalization is now nearly complete. In May, the Supreme Soviet removed the key impediment to increased trade: Soviet restrictions on free emigration. The new Soviet emigration law stands as a major step forward, a victory for all who value human rights. As a consequence of this progress, when I return to Washington, I will submit to the United States Congress the U.S.-Soviet trade agreement that we signed 1 year ago. And then we can grant the Soviet Union most-favored-nation trade status.

I will urge the Congress to repeal the Byrd and Stevenson amendments, restrictions that limit credits and impede trade. In addition, we will accelerate our effort to conclude a tax agreement and a bilateral investment agreement.

For most of this century, the Soviet Union stood apart from the world market—stood aside as free market forces spawned unprecedented prosperity across the West. The results of that self-imposed isolation from the world economy proved very costly.

But now that's begun to change. At this month's London summit, President Gorbachev spoke about the Soviet Union's interest in becoming fully integrated into the world economy.

The Soviet Union should become a full participant in the global economy, and the United States will support you in that effort. Beyond two-way trade, the United States is working to open doors to Soviet entry into the economic mainstream. And that's why the United States supported Soviet observer status at the GATT, and full membership when the U.S.S.R. has completed the necessary reforms upon which it has embarked. And that's why I proposed last December—and the G-7 has just agreed—that the U.S.S.R. should enter a "special association" with the IMF and the World Bank. Though the Soviet Union has recently embarked on its massive reconstruction program of economic reform, its importance and its sheer size entitle it to this special status which will speed the day to full qualification for benefits from the international financial institutions.

These measures will make available to

the Soviet Union assistance and expertise that can help ease the difficult transition to a market economy and improve the standard of living for the Soviet people.

But the crowning proof that we are overcoming the old cold war animosities remains our cooperation in the Persian Gulf. In the depths of the cold war era, Iraq's aggression against its tiny neighbor might well have brought our two nations, even the entire world, to the brink of conflict. Instead, our cooperation ensured the international isolation of Saddam Hussein. And if Saddam Hussein thought he could exploit our differences to his own advantage—he was dead wrong. At every key point in the crisis, the United States and the Soviet Union worked together to send a strong and steady signal to Saddam that his aggression would not stand.

And today, our cooperation in the Gulf holds out hope that we can work together towards a just and lasting peace in regions of the world now driven by conflict—in the Middle East, Cambodia, and Afghanistan—just as we've worked together to bring peace and free elections to Namibia, Angola, and yes, Nicaragua.

In every aspect of our relations—military, political, economic—we see positive signs of a new partnership. But for all the progress we've made, let's face it, obstacles do remain. Our ability to overcome them will be a key test of the strength of this new relationship I'm talking about.

In many cases, we face conflicts and quarrels rooted in the World War fought 50 years ago, frozen in place by the long cold war that followed, disputes like Japan's claim, which we support, for the return of the Northern Territories. This dispute could hamper your integration into the world economy, and we want to do whatever we can to help both sides resolve it.

Difficult, as well, are questions regarding the future of the Baltic States—Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Today, a new generation of Baltic leaders, democratically elected and reflecting the will of the Baltic peoples, asks a new generation of Soviet leaders to repudiate one of the darkest legacies of the Stalin era. Surely, men and women of reason and good will can find a

way to extend freedom to the Baltic peoples.

Only good-faith negotiations with the Baltic governments can address the yearnings of their people to be free. We must not see the positive progress that we have made threatened or thrown in doubt. Above all, there needs to be a clear and unqualified commitment to peaceful change.

Another obstacle lies close to home for the United States—I'm sure you know what I'm going to say it is. Ninety miles off the Florida coast, in Cuba, this obstacle remains. The United States poses no threat to Cuba. Therefore, there is no need for the Soviet Union to funnel millions of dollars in military aid to Cuba—especially since a defiant Castro, isolated by his own obsolete totalitarianism, denies his people any move toward democracy. Castro does not share your faith in *glasnost*. Castro does not share your faith in *perestroika*.

Then finally, it's time for your military establishment to move to a peacetime footing. It's time to reduce military spending. We're doing that in the United States. The world has changed. As you struggle to join the international economy, we will offer our help in converting your military-industrial might to productive, peaceful purposes. Now, we appreciate the difficulties of military reform—the competing demands of people displaced when a cold war makes way for a new world order. But we also know this: The demilitarization of your economy is key to economic transformation. It will enable you to devote more resources to economic growth, and will help you fill the shelves of your stores.

But the key challenge, the single most important factor in forging a new partnership between our nations, remains the outcome of the experiment now reshaping Soviet economy, Soviet society. Consider the Soviet Union we see today. Gone are the days when a small cadre hidden behind the high walls of the Kremlin worked the levers of power. Gone is a rubberstamp legislature, the one-party monopoly enforcing one point of view.

In its place we see unmistakable signs of the new Soviet Union. Dissidents who once languished in internal exile now serve as

deputies in the People's Congress. *Samizdat* has given way to streetcorner critics. A new Soviet revolution has begun, a revolution marked by the emergence of many voices inside and outside government, in the proliferation of political parties here in Moscow and across every part of the vast reaches of this great and wonderful land.

The forces of reaction and resistance still retain great power. But each day brings new alliances, a new manifesto for change, a new call to action. Some ask: Amid this shifting scene, what is our policy toward all these groups? Who and what do we support? My answer is clear: America stands with the forces of freedom and reform wherever they are found.

My country stands ready to assist in this new Soviet revolution. In the economic sphere, the transformation must come from within. A shortage of foreign capital is not what plunged your economy into crisis, nor can your economic ills be cured by a simple infusion of cash. Only through real reform can the Soviet Union abolish the counterproductive command economy. Only through real reform can the Soviet Union unleash the ingenuity, the energy, and the entrepreneurial potential of its people.

As market reform moves forward, the U.S. stands ready to support your efforts. Right now, the next step, it seems to me, is to devise an economic strategy with the IMF and the World Bank, a strategy that wins the support of the international investment community. It should be a program that sets out priorities, one that makes great use of your enormous natural wealth. But even more, it must be a plan that unlocks the great human potential of the people, of the Soviet people. Progress rests on the pace of your reforms—on the speed with which you move from a system based on command and control to one based on supply and demand. As in Eastern Europe, our assistance will keep pace with your reform.

But our new partnership must go far beyond the halls of government in Washington and Moscow and the capitals of Western Europe. Western governments, with their own strapped resources, are limited in what they can do. So, we must bring

together the businessmen from Europe and America, and their partners from all across the Soviet Union.

Our new partnership must bridge the thousands of miles between smalltown America and Soviet cities. It means expanded exchanges of scientists and scholars, artists and engineers. And from the great cities of Moscow and Kiev, from the plains of Central Asia and the villages of Siberia, to the port of Vladivostok and all points in between, it means students coming to study in American schools and live with American families. It means thousands more American students coming to the Soviet Union to explore your past and experience firsthand the future you are working to create.

For four long decades, cooperation of this kind was the casualty of the cold war. So, let this Moscow summit definitively mark the end of what all of us would agree has been an era of mistrust, and let it mark a

new beginning for our two nations, an era of progress toward a new world of peace and partnership.

Once again, thank you for giving me the opportunity to speak to this Institute. And let me just tell you that relations between the United States and the Soviet Union are good and are getting better. And it is my goal as President of the United States to see that they get even better still. Thank you. And may God bless the people of the Soviet Union. Thank you very, very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 3:04 p.m. in the Conference Hall at the Moscow State Institute for International Relations. In his remarks, he referred to Ivan G. Tyulin, acting director of the Moscow State Institute for International Relations. He also referred to the Stevenson amendment to the Export-Import Bank Act and the Byrd amendment to the 1974 Trade Act.*

## Remarks Following Discussions With President Boris Yeltsin of the Republic of Russia July 30, 1991

*President Yeltsin.* Of course, this is a short meeting. I met President Bush and his party. The main issues that we have covered and discussed were questions of the situation in the Russian Federation and in the country—the matters of the union compact, and why there has been a delay in the signing of the union compact. I spoke about the decision, which subject was only yesterday agreed upon. And then we continued our dialog which we launched in Washington on the implementation of a number of programs in the Russian Federation. The four principal: storage and processing of agricultural produce, conversion of military industries, training and education of our management personnel, and the setting-up of joint transportation ventures.

We have already made some movement while only 28 days have elapsed since our meeting in Washington. In some fields we have already prepared a draft agreement. And I am grateful too, Mr. President, for

giving such an impulse, in such a speedy way, to promote our understanding. Besides, we agreed that after the signing of the union treaty, of the union compact, we shall maintain our links and contacts with the Department of Commerce and Department of the Treasury and Agriculture so that after the union compact is signed we would start formalizing our relations either through a memorandum or an understanding between Russia and the United States of America.

I am satisfied.

*President Bush.* So am I. [Laughter]

The President has given you a very good and thorough description of the agenda. The only point I would add is, one, it was a good meeting from the U.S. standpoint; and, two, President Yeltsin's visit to the United States was a big hit and furthered not only relations and understanding between the Russian Republic and the States but also the Soviet Union and the States. So,

we view this visit as a very positive step in the overall relationship between the United States and Russia and the United States and the Soviet Union.

I want to congratulate him on a job well done in the States.

Q. President Yeltsin, why didn't you attend the meeting with President Gorbachev?

*President Bush.* We've got to go. I'm late.

*Note: The remarks began at 4:40 p.m. in the Ceremonial Room at the Kremlin. President Yeltsin spoke in Russian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

## Remarks at the State Dinner in Moscow

July 30, 1991

*President Bush.* May I first thank you, Mr. President and Mrs. Gorbachev, and all the Soviet people who have welcomed Barbara and me so warmly to this great city and this great country in this historic time.

And I want to pay a special tribute to our host and friend—a man that my country greatly admires, and a man that I greatly admire. When he came to Washington last year, I took him up to Camp David. And while there, we played a game called horseshoes, a game in which you throw a horseshoe as close as possible to a stake far away. And on his very first try, he hit the stake. And I gave him that horseshoe as a symbol of good luck. But, as with everything he's accomplished, I think his success was due more to his unique mixture of determination, courage, and skill.

Dramatic changes have reshaped our world since we first met 6 years ago, Mr. President. The relationship between our great nations has moved from confrontation to friendship. Our growing ties remind me of an old proverb from your land: There's no road too long and no obstacle too hard for friendship. Our nations' friendship, built on mutual respect and personal trust, is changing the world.

For almost a decade, the START negotiators sought to achieve real and stabilizing reductions in our strategic arsenals. And tomorrow we will sign a START agreement, a treaty that bolsters the promise of peace and advances the security of both of our nations, the first agreement ever to reduce the number of strategic nuclear arms. START and CFE both testify to our new

spirit of cooperation and to its potential for building world peace.

But arms control is only one element of our new relationship. We will spend much of our 2 days together discussing the issues that will shape our future: democracy, free markets, prosperity, and peace.

A peaceful revolution has unfolded in the Soviet Union, and we wholeheartedly support your progress towards a society based upon the rule of law, democratic institutions, and a system of free enterprise.

We stand ready to work with you in transforming your economic system by normalizing bilateral ties, deepening our trade relations, and taking concrete steps to support market reforms in many sectors, food and energy and defense conversion.

Today we spoke of ways to follow up on President Gorbachev's successful visit to London. The United States supports your integration into the global economy, but a successful integration will ultimately depend on your democratic and market reforms.

Internationally, our growing partnership as peacemakers and peacekeepers continues to deepen. In the past year, we've worked together to deter aggression and to encourage nations to resolve their differences peacefully. And now, our common efforts may help bring peace to the Middle East. In this region where dangerous confrontations once divided our nations, we may consolidate our partnership as peacemakers.

Our people will face tough challenges in the days ahead. And I understand that it's

an ancient custom in your land that when you prepare for a long journey, you sit for a moment of quiet reflection. Perhaps that is what we need to do now, at least in the silence of our hearts. Individually and together, you see, we face a long, exciting journey of change.

We can gain strength from the words of Chekhov, who once wrote of our responsibility to our world: Man has been endowed with reason, with the power to create, so that he can add to what he has been given.

And let us add then, to the relationship we have developed in recent years. And let us build a better future. And as we begin, may I echo your traditional toast: To the future of our countries. And may I add, the health and happiness of President and Mrs. Gorbachev.

*Note: The President spoke at 7:37 p.m. in the Hall of Facets at the Grand Kremlin Palace. In his remarks, he referred to President Gorbachev's wife, Raisa.*

## Message to the Senate Transmitting the Agreement on the Extension of AM Broadcasting Service in the Western Hemisphere *July 30, 1991*

### *To the Senate of the United States:*

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Regional Agreement for the Use of the Band 1605–1705 kHz in Region 2, with annexes, and two U.S. statements as contained in the Final Protocol, signed on behalf of the United States at Rio de Janeiro on June 8, 1988. I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Department of State with respect to the Agreement.

The Agreement establishes a frequency allotment plan and associated procedures designed to enable the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) member countries in Region 2 (Western Hemisphere) to implement the AM broadcasting service in the 100 kHz band (1605–1705 kHz) adjacent to the upper end of the existing AM broadcasting band. It is the result of two sessions of a Regional Administrative Radio Conference held in 1986 in Geneva, and in 1988 in Rio de Janeiro, under the auspices of the ITU. The Agreement is consistent

with the proposals of and the positions taken by the United States at the 1988 conference. Given the history of harmful interference to U.S. AM broadcasting stations in the existing AM radio band from various countries in the Region (particularly Cuba), the United States, at the time of signature, submitted statements on this subject that were included in a Final Protocol to the Agreement. The specific statements, with reasons, are given in the report of the Department of State.

I believe that the United States should become a party to this Agreement, which provides for the expansion in an orderly manner of the AM broadcasting service in the Western Hemisphere into the band 1605–1705 kHz. It is my hope that the Senate will take early action on this matter and give its advice and consent to ratification.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
July 30, 1991.

## Remarks to Soviet and United States Businessmen in Moscow July 31, 1991

Good morning. May I pay my respects and thanks to our able Ambassador, Ambassador Matlock. This gives me a good opportunity to thank him for the fantastic job he has done for the United States of America, and I think also that he's done an awful lot to further understanding between the United States of America and the Soviet Union.

May I say good morning to Mr. Bunich, Mr. Vladislavlev, Mr. Tikhonov, and say that I've been looking forward to this meeting.

As Jack said, I was a businessman once myself. That was first in the oil drilling equipment business and then as a drilling contractor. And the risks were high. But I enjoyed that phase of my life. As entrepreneurs and businessmen and risk-takers, you really do hold a key to the future prosperity of the Soviet Union. You possess the power to create a better life for yourselves and your countrymen. There's an old Russian proverb: The one who leads makes a bridge for the others. Businessmen such as yourselves are building that bridge to a new and prosperous Soviet Union.

All around the world we see that a free society rests upon the twin pillars of political and economic liberty, for only when free markets and free people work together can we build a better life for all people. You understand that opportunity arises when people act freely, relying on their own talents. Call it what you want—ingenuity, resourcefulness, a can-do attitude—but it all comes down to this: People must be free to work, save, to own their own homes, to take risks, to invest in each other; in essence, to control their own lives.

No conclave of government experts, no matter how brilliant, can match the sheer ingenuity of a market that collects and distributes the wisdom of millions of people, all pursuing their destinies in different ways.

Government does have legitimate responsibilities such as enforcing contracts and protecting private property rights, providing the boundaries of acceptable business

behavior. Government must establish rules of fairplay, what we call a level playing field that builds trust and stability. Once established in the Soviet Union, the rule of law will further attract foreign know-how and investment. There is no question about that.

The United States stands ready to help. We're going beyond loans and subsidies. We're offering our best expertise. We endorsed last year's Soviet observership in the GATT to help establish normal relations with the trading nations of the world. And to accelerate market reforms and your integration into the global economy, at the recently concluded G-7 meeting in London, special association for the Soviet Union in the IMF—International Monetary Fund—and the World Bank was proposed.

When I return to Washington I will be submitting the United States-Soviet trade agreement to Congress for approval which will generate trade between our countries. We will also seek most-favored-nation status for the Soviet Union. And I'll ask that certain restrictions, technically known as the Stevenson and Byrd amendments, be lifted so that American businesses can better compete for export sales here.

We're also negotiating bilateral tax and investment treaties, and I'd like to see them completed by year's end. They will create a better investment climate between us, help expand our economic partnership as much as possible. In sum, we want to do everything to ensure that our economic relationship expands as quickly as your reforms permit.

Freedom brings the opportunity to succeed and, yes, the risk of failure. The government can act as referee, perhaps, but it cannot guarantee success. Free markets are based on the impulsive energy of man's imagination and creativity. And of course, there are risks. I know that from firsthand experience years ago. But there are also rewards for success. Who would have predicted that 15 years ago a group of college students, university students in the United States, working in a garage, would redefine

the computer industry in America? Or that a trash collector, a garbage collector from Philadelphia 30 years ago, would today be the head of a \$6 billion waste management firm in the United States?

When opportunity is at work, you can be a mechanic or a millionaire, and in my country some mechanics are millionaires. Pursuing one's destiny means building a better life. Russian values and traditions are compatible with free enterprise, and they should be preserved. Look at the members of the G-7: Western European nations, each an industrialized democracy, each with its own values and traditions. The culture and climate of American business may be different than other places, but the power of the idea is universal. It's been applied in thousands of ways by millions of people all over the world.

Those who succeed here should not be insulted and labeled as speculators and exploiters, because they're not. They are the people who will fill the shelves in your stores, put your people to work. We understand now why socialism's attempt to create the new Soviet man simply didn't work, because human nature cannot be destroyed and created anew. We seek instead to build upon the strengths of human nature, to allow men and women to control their own destinies in whatever way works best for them.

This notion of free markets and free people—opportunity for all—this joint venture between political and economic liberty, this is the spirit of democratic capitalism. Everywhere we hear the voices of men and women yearning for freedom, for the chance to control their own destiny, for a stronger link between effort and reward. Some call it the American dream, but it's more than that. It's a universal dream. And it's a dream that the Soviet people are now striving to make real for themselves.

And after talks here, I believe the leaders are grasping this concept. Each of you can bring that dream alive. The creation of small and medium-sized businesses means meeting payrolls, hiring good men and women, producing goods and services that are most needed by consumers, and improving technologies and methods so as to stay competitive.

Free market principles don't just mean that one or two people go out and get rich quick. It is so much more than that. As our President Woodrow Wilson said: Every great man of business has got somewhere a touch of the idealist in him. For you and your employees, it means the dignity and self-respect that come with the job. It means making a difference in your community. And as more and more businesses evolve, business opportunity evolve. It means bringing back hope to the people of the Soviet Union.

Your task will be difficult, but let me risk some advice. The story goes that a young man became the manager of a company. And his predecessor handed him three envelopes and said that if he was ever in trouble to open the envelopes. So, one day when the business was not going well, the man decided it was time to open up envelope number one. The message inside said: Blame your predecessor. So he did, and things improved for a while. But then they got worse again. So he decided to open up envelope number two. It read: Blame the accounting department. So he did that. But sales continued to go downhill. And finally, with much hesitation, he opened envelope number three. And it said: Prepare three envelopes. *[Laughter]*

The moral of that story, I think, is that there are no right or wrong answers. I wouldn't be bold enough to try to tell you in three envelopes how to transform this economy from "command and control" to "buy and sell." You must find what works best for each of you and for your customers. You must make the dreams of your own people, in whatever way you can, come alive for them. You must define your own brand of democratic capitalism, one that is consistent with Russian cultures and values.

Remember the words of Tolstoy: The strongest of all warriors are these two, time and patience. Bringing free markets to life will of course take time and patience. But it can be done, because everyone in this room today possesses something that simply cannot be bought or sold. You possess the power of an idea. And I salute you as pioneers for your vision and for your drive.

It's been a great pleasure for me to meet



with this very special group today. And I wish you well in the tasks that lie ahead. May God bless you. And thank you very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 8:46 a.m. in the Composer's Hall of the Radisson Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Jack F. Matlock, U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union; Pavel G. Bunich, president of the Association of Leaseholders and Entrepreneurship*

*of the U.S.S.R.; Aleksander P. Vladislavlev, Deputy Chairman of the League of Scientific and Industrial Associations of the U.S.S.R.; and Aleksander A. Tikhonov, president of the Agricultural Academy of the U.S.S.R. He also referred to the Stevenson amendment to the Export-Import Bank Act and the Byrd amendment to the 1974 Trade Act. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

## Remarks at the Signing Ceremony for the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty in Moscow July 31, 1991

*President Gorbachev.* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, comrades. In a few moments the President of the United States and I will put our signatures under the treaty on the reduction of strategic offensive arms. This completes many years of efforts that required hard work and patience on the part of government leaders, diplomats, and military officials. They required will, courage, and the rejection of outdated perceptions of each other. They required trust.

This is also a beginning, the beginning of voluntary reduction of the nuclear arsenals of the U.S.S.R. and the United States, a process with unprecedented scope and objectives. It is an event of global significance, for we are imparting to the dismantling of the infrastructure of fear that has ruled the world, a momentum which is so powerful that it will be hard to stop.

In both countries we face the complex process of the ratification of the new treaty. There will be critics. Here in Moscow some will point to our unilateral concessions, while in Washington there will be talk about concessions made to the Soviet Union. Some will say the new treaty does not really fulfill the promise of a peace dividend since considerable resources will be required to destroy the missiles. And if the missiles are not destroyed, critics will say they're obsolete and must be replaced with new ones, and that will be even more ex-

pensive.

Sharp criticism is to be expected also from those who want to see faster and more ambitious steps toward abolishing nuclear weapons. In other words, the treaty will have to be defended. I'm sure we have achieved the best that is now possible and that is required to continue progress.

Tremendous work has been done and unique experience has been gained of cooperating in this enormously complex area. It is important that there is a growing realization of the absurdity of overarmament now that the world has started to move toward an era of economic interdependence, and that the information revolution is making the indivisibility of the world ever more evident.

But the policymakers have to bear in mind that as we move toward that era we will have to make new, immense efforts to remove the dangers inherited from the past and newly emerging dangers, to overcome various physical, intellectual, and psychological obstacles. Normal human thinking will have to replace the kind of militarized political thinking that has taken root in the minds of men. That will take time. A new conceptual foundation of security will be a great help. Doctrines of war fighting must be abandoned in favor of concepts of preventing war. Plans calling for a crushing defeat of the perceived enemy must be replaced with joint projects of strategic stabili-

ty and defense sufficiency.

The document before us marks a moral achievement and a major breakthrough in our country's thinking and behavior. Our next goal is to make full use of this breakthrough to make disarmament an irreversible process. So, as we give credit to what has been achieved, let us express our appreciation to those who have contributed to this treaty their talent and their intellectual and numerous resources. And let us get down to work again for the sake of our own and global security.

Mr. President, we can congratulate each other. We can congratulate the Soviet and American people and the world community on the conclusion of this agreement.

Thank you.

*President Bush.* Thank you, Mr. President. To President Gorbachev and members of the Soviet Government, and all the honored guests here, may I salute you.

The treaty that we sign today is a most complicated one, the most complicated of contracts governing the most serious of concerns. Its 700 pages stand as a monument to several generations of U.S. and Soviet negotiators, to their tireless efforts to carve out common ground from a thicket of contentious issues. And it represents a major step forward for our mutual security and the cause of world peace.

And may I, too, thank everybody who worked on this treaty—the military, State Department, arms control negotiators—really on both sides. And I would like to say that many are here today. Some, like my predecessor, President Reagan is not here. But I think all of us recognize that there are many who are not in this room that deserve an awful lot of credit on both the Soviet side and the United States side.

The START treaty vindicates an approach to arms control that guided us for almost a decade: the belief that we could do more than merely halt the growth of our nuclear arsenals, we could seek more than limits on the number of arms. In our talks we sought stabilizing reductions in our strategic arsenals.

START makes that a reality. In a historic

first for arms control, we will actually reduce U.S. and Soviet strategic nuclear arsenals. But reductions alone are not enough. So, START requires even deeper cuts of the most dangerous and destabilizing weapons.

The agreement itself is exceedingly complex, but the central idea at the heart of this treaty can be put simply: Stabilizing reductions in our strategic nuclear forces reduce the risk of war.

But these promises to reduce arms levels cannot automatically guarantee success. Just as important are the treaty's monitoring mechanisms so we know that the commitments made are being translated into real security. In this area, START builds on the experience of earlier agreements but goes far beyond them in provisions to ensure that we can verify this treaty effectively.

Mr. President, in the warming relations between our nations, this treaty stands as both cause and consequence. Many times during the START talks, reaching agreement seemed all but impossible. In the end, the progress that we made in the past year's time, progress in easing tensions and ending the cold war, changed the atmosphere at the negotiating table and paved the way for START's success. Neither side won unilateral advantage over the other. Both sides committed themselves instead to achieving a strong, effective treaty and securing the mutual stability that a good agreement would provide.

Mr. President, by reducing arms, we reverse a half-century of steadily growing strategic arsenals. But more than that, we take a significant step forward in dispelling a half-century of mistrust. By building trust, we pave a path to peace.

We sign the START treaty as testament to the new relationship emerging between our two countries, in the promise of further progress toward lasting peace.

Thank you very much.

*Note: The remarks began at 3:42 p.m. in St. Vladimir's Hall in the Kremlin. President Gorbachev spoke in Russian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.*

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Completion of the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty *July 31, 1991*

The completion of START, the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty, marked by today's signing ceremony, fulfills the challenge undertaken 9 years ago by Presidents Reagan and Brezhnev. That challenge was to find a way not only to limit but actually to reduce the number of nuclear weapons deployed by our two nations, and to do so in a way that improves stability and reduces the risk of war.

During the nearly 50 years since the first nuclear weapon was developed, the world has witnessed the creation and deployment of ever increasing numbers of strategic nuclear weapons. Today marks the beginning of a process that reverses that trend.

For the first time in the history of arms control, this treaty will achieve substantial reductions in the strategic nuclear forces deployed by both sides. Even more important, the START treaty will strengthen strategic stability in three key ways.

First, it concentrates reductions on the most threatening and destabilizing systems. The reductions will amount to 40 to 50 percent of the total number of strategic missile warheads deployed today and fully one-half of all Soviet heavy ICBM's.

Second, START encourages each side to restructure its strategic forces in ways that make them less threatening and more survivable. The treaty will ban new types of heavy ICBM's and encourage greater reliance on heavy bombers and on SLBM's and

ICBM's with fewer warheads per missile.

Third, START includes a wide variety of unprecedented and demanding verification measures designed to help ensure compliance with the treaty. These measures also help build mutual confidence and reduce uncertainty. They include a ban on the encryption of data transmitted during ballistic missile flight tests, an extensive exchange of information on the size and composition of each side's strategic forces, 12 different types of onsite inspections, and specialized monitoring of mobile ICBM production.

As we work toward lowering the risk of nuclear war between our nations, we must ensure that our strategic forces continue to enhance deterrence. For that reason, START allows the modernization of strategic forces within very well defined limits.

We have taken many bold steps in arms control in the past few years. The INF treaty has eliminated a whole class of nuclear weapons. The CFE treaty will establish a conventional balance at lower levels and erase the threat of a short-warning war in Europe. Now, START will produce stabilizing reductions in strategic nuclear weapons and reduce the danger of nuclear war.

While some may seek to judge this treaty in terms of who won or who lost on this or that issue, the right answer is that both our nations, and indeed all the nations of the world, have won in terms of greater security and stability.

## White House Fact Sheet on the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty *July 31, 1991*

Today, the United States and the Soviet Union signed the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty. This treaty marks the first agreement between the two countries in which the number of deployed strategic nuclear weapons will actually be reduced. Reductions will take place over a period of 7

years, and will result in parity between the strategic nuclear forces of the two sides at levels approximately 30 percent below currently deployed forces. Deeper cuts are required in the most dangerous and destabilizing systems.

START provisions are designed to

strengthen strategic stability at lower levels and to encourage the restructuring of strategic forces in ways that make them more stable and less threatening. The treaty includes a wide variety of very demanding verification measures designed to ensure compliance and build confidence.

#### *Central Limits*

The treaty sets equal ceilings on the number of strategic nuclear forces that can be deployed by either side. In addition, the treaty establishes an equal ceiling on ballistic missile throw-weight (a measure of overall capability for ballistic missiles). Each side is limited to no more than:

- 1,600 strategic nuclear delivery vehicles (deployed intercontinental ballistic missiles [ICBM's], submarine launched ballistic missiles [SLBM's], and heavy bombers), a limit that is 36 percent below the Soviet level declared in September 1990 and 29 percent below the U.S. level.
- 6,000 total accountable warheads, about 41 percent below the current Soviet level and 43 percent below the current U.S. level.
- 4,900 accountable warheads deployed on ICBM's or SLBM's, about 48 percent below the current Soviet level and 40 percent below the current U.S. level.
- 1,540 accountable warheads deployed on 154 heavy ICBM's, a 50-percent reduction in current Soviet forces. The U.S. has no heavy ICBM's.
- 1,100 accountable warheads deployed on mobile ICBM's.
- Aggregate throw-weight of deployed ICBM's and SLBM's equal to about 54 percent of the current Soviet aggregate throw-weight.

#### *Ballistic Missile Warhead Accountability*

The treaty uses detailed counting rules to ensure the accurate accounting of the number of warheads attributed to each type of ballistic missile.

- Each deployed ballistic missile warhead counts as 1 under the 4,900 ceiling and 1 under the 6,000 overall warhead ceiling.
- Each side is allowed 10 on-site inspections each year to verify that deployed

ballistic missiles contain no more warheads than the number that is attributed to them under the treaty.

#### *Downloading Ballistic Missile Warheads*

The treaty also allows for a reduction in the number of warheads on certain ballistic missiles, which will help the sides transition their existing forces to the new regime. Such downloading is permitted in a carefully structured and limited fashion.

- The U.S. may download its three-warhead Minuteman III ICBM by either one or two warheads. The Soviet Union has already downloaded its seven warhead SS-N-18 SLBM by four warheads.
- In addition, each side may download up to 500 warheads on two other existing types of ballistic missiles, as long as the total number of warheads removed from downloaded missiles does not exceed 1,250 at any one time.

#### *New Types*

The treaty places constraints on the characteristics of new types of ballistic missiles to ensure the accuracy of counting rules and prevent undercounting of missile warheads.

- The number of warheads attributed to a new type of ballistic missile must be no less than the number determined by dividing 40 percent of the missile's total throw-weight by the weight of the lightest RV tested on that missile.
- The throw-weight attributed to a new type must be no less than the missile's throw-weight capability at specified reference ranges (11,000 km for ICBM's and 9,500 km for SLBM's).

#### *Heavy ICBM's*

START places significant restrictions on the Soviet SS-18 heavy ICBM.

- A 50-percent reduction in the number of Soviet SS-18 ICBM's; a total reduction of 154 of these Soviet missiles.
- New types of heavy ICBM's are banned.
- Downloading of heavy ICBM's is banned.
- Heavy SLBM's and heavy mobile ICBM's are banned.
- Heavy ICBM's will be reduced on a

more stringent schedule than other strategic arms.

#### *Mobile ICBM's*

Because mobile missiles are more difficult to verify than other types of ballistic missiles, START incorporates a number of special restrictions and notifications with regard to these missiles. These measures will significantly improve our confidence that START will be effectively verifiable.

- Nondeployed mobile missiles and nondeployed mobile launchers are numerically and geographically limited so as to limit the possibility for reload and refire.
- The verification regime includes continuous monitoring of mobile ICBM production, restrictions on movements, on-site inspections, and cooperative measures to improve the effectiveness of national technical means of intelligence collection.

#### *Heavy Bombers*

Because heavy bombers are stabilizing strategic systems (e.g., they are less capable of a short-warning attack than ballistic missiles), START counting rules for weapons on bombers are different than those for ballistic missile warheads.

- Each heavy bomber counts as one strategic nuclear delivery vehicle.
- Each heavy bomber equipped to carry only short-range missiles or gravity bombs is counted as one warhead under the 6,000 limit.
- Each U.S. heavy bomber equipped to carry long-range nuclear ALCM's (up to a maximum of 150 bombers) is counted as 10 warheads even though it may be equipped to carry up to 20 ALCM's.
- A similar discount applies to Soviet heavy bombers equipped to carry long-range nuclear ALCM's. Each such Soviet heavy bomber (up to a maximum of 180) is counted as 8 warheads even though it may be equipped to carry up to 16 ALCM's.
- Any heavy bomber equipped for long-range nuclear ALCM's deployed in excess of 150 for the U.S. or 180 for the Soviet Union will be accountable by the number of ALCM's the heavy bomber

is actually equipped to carry.

#### *Verification Regime*

Building on recent arms control agreements, START includes extensive and unprecedented verification provisions. This comprehensive verification regime greatly reduces the likelihood that violations would go undetected.

- START bans the encryption and encapsulation of telemetric information and other forms of information denial on flight tests of ballistic missiles. However, strictly limited exemptions to this ban are granted sufficient to protect the flight-testing of sensitive research projects.
- START allows 12 different types of on-site inspections and requires roughly 60 different types of notifications covering production, testing, movement, deployment, and destruction of strategic offensive arms.

#### *Treaty Duration*

START will have a duration of 15 years, unless it is superseded by a subsequent agreement. If the sides agree, the treaty may be extended for successive 5-year periods beyond the 15 years.

#### *Noncircumvention and Third Countries*

START prohibits the transfer of strategic offensive arms to third countries, except that the treaty will not interfere with existing patterns of cooperation. In addition, the treaty prohibits the permanent basing of strategic offensive arms outside the national territory of each side.

#### *Air-Launched Cruise Missiles (ALCM's)*

START does not directly count or limit ALCM's. ALCM's are limited indirectly through their association with heavy bombers.

- Only nuclear-armed ALCM's with a range in excess of 600 km are covered by START.
- Long-range, conventionally armed ALCM's that are distinguishable from nuclear-armed ALCM's are not affected.
- Long-range nuclear-armed ALCM's may not be located at air bases for

heavy bombers not accountable as being equipped for such ALCM's.

- Multiple warhead long-range nuclear ALCM's are banned.

#### *Sea Launched Cruise Missiles (SLCM's)*

SLCMs are not constrained by the treaty. However, each side has made a politically binding declaration as to its plans for the deployment of nuclear-armed SLCM's. Conventionally-armed SLCM's are not subject to such a declaration.

- Each side will make an annual declaration of the maximum number of nuclear-armed SLCM's with a range greater than 600 km that it plans to deploy for each of the following 5 years.
- This number will not be greater than 880 long-range nuclear-armed SLCM's.
- In addition, as a confidence building measure, nuclear-armed SLCM's with a range of 300–600 km will be the subject of a confidential annual data exchange.

#### *Backfire Bomber*

The Soviet Backfire bomber is not constrained by the treaty. However, the Soviet side has made a politically binding declaration that it will not deploy more than 800 air force and 200 naval Backfire bombers, and that these bombers will not be given intercontinental capability.

#### *Other Background*

The START agreement consists of the treaty document itself and a number of associated documents. Together they total more than 700 pages. The treaty was signed in a public ceremony by Presidents Bush and Gorbachev in St. Vladimir's Hall in the

Kremlin. The associated documents were signed in a private ceremony at Novo Ogar'yev, President Gorbachev's weekend dacha. Seven of these documents were signed by Presidents Bush and Gorbachev. Three associated agreements were signed by Secretary Baker and Foreign Minister Bessmertnykh. In addition, the START negotiators, Ambassadors Brooks and Nazarkin, exchanged seven letters related to START in a separate event at the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow.

#### *Magnitude of START-Accountable Reductions*

Following is the aggregate data from the Memorandum of Understanding, based upon agreed counting rules in START. (Because of those counting rules, the number of heavy bomber weapons actually deployed may be higher than the number shown in the aggregate.) This data is effective as of September 1990 and will be updated at entry into force:

	United States	Soviet Union
Delivery Vehicles.....	2,246	2,500
Warheads.....	10,563	10,271
Ballistic Missile Warheads .....	8,210	9,416
Heavy ICBM's/Warheads.....	None	308/3080
Throw-weight (metric tons)...	2,361.3	6,626.3

As a result of the treaty, the above values will be reduced by the following percentages:

Delivery Vehicles.....	29%	36%
Warheads.....	43%	41%
Ballistic Missile Warheads .....	40%	48%
Heavy ICBM's/Warheads.....	None	50%
Throw-weight (metric tons)...	None	46%

## The President's News Conference With President Mikhail Gorbachev of the Soviet Union in Moscow

*July 31, 1991*

*President Gorbachev.* Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. The basic part of the visit, the official visit of the President of the United States of America to the Soviet

Union, is behind us. And there are many things that are important which are still ahead within the framework of this big political international event.

These days were full of very substantial dialog over a wide spectrum of issues. And I must say that it's kind of difficult for me—

*[At this point, President Bush's earphones for translation failed.]*

I guess I'll have to repeat from the very beginning what I said in that case. *[Laughter]*

Q. Number two, Mr. President. *[Laughter]*

*President Gorbachev.* Now—do you hear me now? We can make it louder if you wish. How about now? Can you hear it now? You'll tolerate it? It's tolerable?

I already said, addressing the international press, that we see the official visit of the President of the United States to the Soviet Union as a big event in our relations, really a global event. And I want to say that these days we have done a great deal of work which I think will create difficulties for me and the President in order to present it in condensed form. And nevertheless, this visit to some extent sums up the last stage of our cooperation at a very fundamental, dramatic time of development, of events in the world, when both the President of the United States of America and the Soviet Union were placed in very difficult circumstances, unusual ones, which demanded from them a great feeling of responsibility in taking very important decisions which have had consequences and will have consequences in the further development of our cooperation and events in the world.

And so, with the President, he and I did not lose time. And immediately at our first meeting, we summarized the overall situation in a fast-changing world and tried from these positions to look upon our cooperation, evaluate our joint efforts, and trying to map out some contours, directions of development of this cooperation which would correspond to these changing conditions within which we have to act.

The President showed great interest in the events taking place in our country, our domestic processes. I tried to satisfy his interest and did this on my part with a great deal of satisfaction, since in his interest I felt a desire to understand even more what is going on in our country. And moreover, I

felt also a feeling of solidarity in this.

We had an interesting, substantive discussion, and perhaps for the first time it covered the following in our bilateral cooperation. For the first time over the past period, we probably accented rather strongly what our economic relationship should be like, how we have to work together in this importance here so that relationships in this area would be appropriate to the international dialog which we have reached in other areas.

And here we have noted on the basis of mutual understanding—if not, President Bush will say so—that there must be movements in accommodation as well. Obviously, one can do a lot in the area of reform so that we can include ourselves in international economic ties, to play by the rules of the game. I like this expression. I haven't invented any other one for the time being. That's why I use the term I'm familiar with. We have to do a great deal, and we have made our choice to continue reforms, democratic changes, and especially now to move decisively forward towards a market relationship, a relationship of property, and so on.

It's clear that our success in these internal affairs is tied to a great extent to the process of reform in the federation. And I hope that I have satisfied the interest of the President about the state of this as of today. We both understand that this is very important for the success of our work, and thus, we must change. We must understand and will understand here in the Soviet Union that the basic responsibility for the fate of this country for reforms, for the making of decisions which are very important, is our prerogative, our responsibility.

And obviously, we are very interested in the more fruitful cooperation with the countries of the West. And in the light of continuing the discussion which we had in London within the framework of my meeting at the G-7, we spoke also about this subject as well. And I tried to develop a thesis, which I expressed in London, that we hope to see accommodating movement of the Western countries because they, too, in their approaches in the sphere of economic cooperation, must accommodate us.

We are talking about removing barriers which are connected with decisions taken during the cold war, during the arms race. This is a different time; different winds are blowing. And we must reevaluate all these decisions. I don't think they need to be preserved when our relationship is different now, and we want them not only to be preserved but to be more dynamic, to be based more firmly on trust.

Obviously, the question arose about the participation of the Soviet Union in international economic organizations. And I must say, for the first time we talked substantially about specific spheres of cooperation in implementing certain projects on the basis of bilateral cooperation. To speak about this briefly, we spoke about cooperating in the field of energy, especially in the area of conversion. We have great possibilities here, and specifically in the sphere in which we are very interested, that is, the agricultural sphere, especially food distribution.

In this regard, I transmitted certain materials to the President as in a memoir—the same was done by the Foreign Minister Bessmertnykh—gave it to the Secretary of State, Mr. Baker, in a memoir about those projects in which we could cooperate fruitfully. This is a very interesting and substantive project. We would want to act in such a way that in implementing these projects—all of them—to give a possibility to each other to earn money. In other words, the process—[inaudible]—goes forward, unless there's benefit from it.

But there are spheres of cooperation where movement forward will not give us a chance because of additional production to make these calculations, like in the area of food production, for example. In the food area, here there could be interesting accomplishments, an interesting project, but what we get as the result, we need. We have problems in the food area, very acute ones. But we can't offer this to the United States. They have no interest now in buying food from us. So, we must implement other projects where we could earn hard currency and use this. And I've named such spheres, many such spheres.

We talked in general about continuing such works. Soon we will have competent groups of specialists, headed by important

representatives of business circles, to realize these projects. And thus, I expanded this part, and the other parts will be shorter. For the first time, we discussed very substantially the sphere of bilateral relations, and not only with regard to disarmament, political dialog, and a resolution of world problems but—[inaudible]—had such a businesslike discussion. And I greet this, I welcome it, and I hope that it will have positive consequences.

Then the President and I thought about the following: And what do we do next? We've signed the treaty and what's next? We've congratulated each other and our peoples and the world with the fact that such great progress has been accomplished as a result of almost a decade of work. And what's next?

And we did not want simply to be pragmatists here. We wanted to look at the problem of security, stability from the point of view of the present-day realities. Or should we simply continue the negotiations which already taking place? And there are many problems which still need to be discussed. Or should we also look at the world from a somewhat different position from today's heights with the new reality which exists?

And I think this was the main item of our exchange because without understanding each other in this, it's hard to find the keys to resolution of specific issues. We agreed to continue discussion on this issue and even set up the mechanisms which must be implemented in order to do this.

Nevertheless, we also examined very many specific issues of disarmament without our—we did not leave unattended problems of the Middle East. And I must say, and if the President considers it appropriate, he could name certain things. And if you have questions, we could discuss this. We have worked out a joint document on this. I have in mind our common position with regard to the Middle East. I think that this is a very important result of our joint work, and I think that the fact that this position will be publicly announced will have serious influence on this process. And we consider that it is in a decisive stage and we should not—and here I want to use



what our ministers use—to have a window of opportunity in order to really achieve progress in this very sensitive area of international politics.

The President and I talked about the situation in Europe in the context of implementing the agreement, the Helsinki agreement, the Paris Charter, and especially with regard to the processes taking place in that region, and specifically noted the situation in Yugoslavia, and expressed our position, our understanding, our approach to the resolution of this issue, a very serious one which worries many of us. Also in a joint statement we expressed this.

I must say that we also moved forward and discussed other things. We tried to also look at many global processes and in this regard did not pass by many issues of international politics, compared our points of view. In some issues we reserved the opportunity to come back to this. We put off discussing this. In some cases, we required consultations on the U.S. side. In other cases, we needed time to study the issue. But that means that the process will continue. And in this case as well, we noted the necessity of cooperation and interaction in resolving those many international issues which exist and which must be resolved.

The atmosphere is a very warm one, sincere, frank, open. And today we sense the representatives of the press; yesterday said that the press did not interfere with us somewhere out in a village to talk one-on-one and in an uninhibited manner. We did all of this. This is also important. It's very good.

One of the members of the delegation—I asked the question: How do you feel?—a very important person. And the answer was: Like at home. And that's the kind of atmosphere which we worked in.

I am satisfied with the fact that political dialog is developing in this way once in this hall. And there are many witnesses here; I want to repeat this—I talked about this to the President, he knows this as well—that I am convinced that without what we have today in our relationship, such a character of Soviet-American relations, we could hardly count on everything that has happened in the past year. And we could hardly have interacted in such a way when

the world placed before us very serious problems.

If this had been in another time, if we had faced such problems in another time, it would be difficult to say what would have happened. But today we even understand better the value of our cooperation, the fact that this is necessary. So, perhaps this is not a question of a platonic love but a deep understanding of the fact that, as countries and states, we need each other today and tomorrow. And I feel and I know that our peoples welcome this direction of development of our relations between our countries.

And from this point of view, the visit moves ahead, far ahead, our cooperation. And thus, I want to ask the pardon of the President and the press. I am the host, and I maybe misused it, but perhaps I could listen to your comments as well that I'm speaking so much.

I understood that you almost agree with everything I have said. [*Laughter*]

*President Bush.* What I heard I liked. [*Laughter*]

Once again, this might be an appropriate time for Barbara and me to thank the President and Mrs. Gorbachev for this fantastic hospitality. And yes, I couldn't agree more about the productive nature of the talks, the enhancement of mutual understanding. This is not diplomatic language, in my view. This is fact.

You know my views on the START agreement. Indeed, it's the culmination of a long and historic negotiation. And I happen to believe that the winners on this are the young people, not just in the Soviet Union, not just in the United States, but all around the world. And we are taking major steps in transforming our economic relations. President Gorbachev touched on some of this.

But we're going to send up the trade agreement to the U.S. Congress. We're going to grant most-favored-nation status now that the technicalities have been worked out. We have fulfilled thus our Malta goal, Mr. President, of normalizing our economic relationship. We agreed here to tackle the next challenge—President Gorbachev talked about that—furthering economic reform in the U.S.S.R. and seek-

ing to integrate the Soviet economy into the international system. We're going forward with space cooperation, cooperation in the environment. And we have several joint projects in mind there.

Building on our historic cooperation during the Gulf crisis, the President and I discussed our partnership in resolving long-standing regional problems. As you mentioned, we're putting out statements on Yugoslavia and Central America. And indeed, I want to comment now just briefly on the Middle East before taking your questions.

We did reaffirm our mutual commitment to promote peace and genuine reconciliation between the Arab States, Israel, and the Palestinians. And we believe there is an historic opportunity right now to launch a process that can lead to a just and enduring peace and to a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East. We share the strong conviction that this historic opportunity must not be lost. And while recognizing that peace cannot be imposed, it can only result from direct negotiations between the parties, the United States and the Soviet Union pledge to do their utmost to promote and sustain the peacemaking process.

And to that end, the United States and the Soviet Union, acting as cosponsors, are going to work to convene an October peace conference designed to launch bilateral and multilateral negotiations. Invitations to the conference will be issued at least 10 days prior to the date the conference is to convene. And in the interim, Secretary Baker and Foreign Minister Bessmertnykh will continue to work with the parties to prepare for this conference. And I am today asking Secretary of State Jim Baker to return to the Middle East to obtain Israel's answer to our proposal for peace.

And again, my thanks to you, and I'd be prepared to take questions along with you, sir.

#### *Yugoslavia*

*Q.* One question to Comrade Gorbachev. You said that you talked with Mr. Bush about Yugoslavia. What is the essence of that conversation about Yugoslavia?

And, Mr. Bush, when you received me several years ago in the White House in

your capacity at that time as Vice President of the United States of America, you said to me that the relations between our two countries—there's a special relationship between Yugoslavia and the United States. Is that definition still valid? And whether the United States are still supporting Yugoslavian territorial integrity? Thank you.

*President Gorbachev.* You asked about the essence of the conversation. I will then make use of the fact that I will relate the content of the U.S.-Soviet statement on Yugoslavia. This is the result of our conversation on this subject:

We, both countries, with a deep concern, have noted the dramatic development of events in Yugoslavia. And we have been against the use of force and call upon all sides to abide by the agreements on the cease-fire.

We, the Soviet Union and the U.S., proceed from the premise that the resolution of issues must be found by the peoples of Yugoslavia themselves on the basis of democratic principles through peaceful negotiations and constructive approach.

We emphasized the necessity of having all sides respect the basic principles indicated in the Helsinki Act and the Paris Charter.

The U.S. and the U.S.S.R. support the efforts undertaken by the CSCE countries, specifically the European Community steps to resolve the problem.

This is the essence of the statement.

*President Bush.* I would only add, sir, that inasmuch as that was a joint statement, that expresses our continued position as well.

#### *Middle East Peace Talks*

*Q.* Mr. President, can I ask you, the fact that you're going ahead with this peace conference, does that mean that you have Israel's acceptance of the outlines of your conditions for a peace conference, or is there still a hangup, or have you got a commitment from Mr. Shamir?

*President Bush.* Well, I would wait and let Secretary Baker answer that question after this next meeting. And if I had to express a degree of optimism or pessimism, I'd say I'm a little more optimistic today. But the visit of Jim Baker now is for what

we said here, to obtain Israel's answer to our proposal for peace. And if I had the answer in my pocket—or he did—I'd expect that we would say so.

#### *Soviet-U.S. Relations*

*Q.* I have a question to both Presidents: You discussed many questions of international issues, bilateral issues. You signed a unique agreement today. What did you leave for the next meeting? And can we say when you're planning to have it?

*President Gorbachev.* I think that what we discussed today and what we have set in motion, both with regard to a political dialog and a continuation of the disarmament process and new subjects in the area of economic cooperation and trade, interaction in the resolution of important issues including regional conflicts which unfortunately still take place, and especially since we have begun a significant discussion about the concept of future strategic stability, that means that we have many issues to discuss and many meetings ahead. So, I think that our contacts will continue.

But I would express myself in favor of the following: Perhaps not always can we go—and this makes the positions of Presidents very specific—but it's harder for them than for the Ministers of Foreign Affairs to travel and discuss issues of foreign affairs. But nevertheless, the President and I have developed a method of conversation. We exchange opinions by telephone. As soon as we have a need, concerns, or simply to exchange opinions about something important, we do this by telephone, and this takes place on a regular basis.

And secondly, we regularly exchange letters. And this exchange of opinions has not ceased even in recent days when we have already reached agreement with the President, we were expecting him here. So, we have many channels in order to support this very high level of cooperation which we have. And I think a great role will be given to our departments—the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, but other departments as well because we have new areas of cooperation.

*President Bush.* I would only add to that, that though no date is set, it is my view—and I haven't always held this view—that a meeting without an agenda is a good idea

from time to time between the Soviet President and the President of the United States. President Gorbachev talked about arms control and regional problems and other problems, but as this dynamic autonomy begins to move, a chance for a dynamic economy here, there's going to be much more to talk about on the economic side than we've ever had before: cooperation, partnerships, joint ventures. The whole approach to economics that he has endorsed that is going to benefit, I believe, the Soviet Union, and I think there's enormous potential for the United States.

So, it is my view that we've got plenty to talk about. And I, for one, would be prepared to, as I've stated before, to have a meeting where there's not a crisis out there to be managed. Rather, we can be sure that we're not two ships passing in the night—the analogy I used, I believe, in Malta, appropriately. [Laughter] And I look forward to future meetings because you get a lot done where you can't put out—sign a 3-point program or a 20-point protocol. But a lot is done just by the kinds of conversations we've had today.

#### *Lithuania*

*Q.* President Gorbachev, there was an ugly border incident in Lithuania last night in which a number of Lithuanian border guards were killed. I wonder if we could have your reaction and any explanation you might have of it?

Also, President Bush, any reaction from you, in light particularly of your call yesterday afternoon for freedom for the Baltic States?

*President Gorbachev.* You know, we received this information when we were talking outside the city. The first information was such that the incident was on the border between Lithuania and Byelorussia, and when one of the citizens of Byelorussia went in the direction of Lithuania and at the customs point where he was approaching, he saw two wounded people and four that died. He quickly related this information, and now the state security agency of Lithuania and Byelorussia—the chairman of the state committee on security offered also to help in the cooperation. So, now we are

investigating this.

I must say that, in addition to regret, we must simply sympathize with the families of the people that died. And I myself must say that we are doing everything in order not only to take actions but also to avoid such excesses, such conflicts on the basis of resolution of basic issues. And we have taken such basic mutual decisions with regard to issues—concerning Armenia and Azerbaijan there's a dialog. And the faster and more productive the dialog is, the more efforts there are to break it down. Not everyone likes this process that is developed in such a direction. And it's hard for us to say what happened. We heard versions, the President and I, but these are versions. This is not important at any rate. I will be monitoring this, and we will tell you what it was that happened in reality.

*Q.* I just wanted to get your reaction, sir, to the incident in light of your call yesterday afternoon for freedom for the Baltic States.

*President Bush.* Well, I don't think there's a connection, but I do regret the violence. I listened to what President Gorbachev said about the discussion. We clearly favor negotiation—he knows that—that would lead to a reduction of cross-border violence from both sides. And obviously, I'd like to join in expressing my regrets to those families whose loved ones are lost.

But the President immediately got on this and said they're conducting an investigation. I think there's hope that the investigation will be cooperative between the Lithuanian side and Byelorussia's side. And so, we can't prejudge the incident, but I had an opportunity to express my views to President Gorbachev on the whole question of the Baltic States. I don't think it's fair to link a border incident, before you know what happened, to that question, however.

#### *Soviet Economic Integration*

*Q.* Mr. President, how far did you go after London in moving ahead in the integration of the U.S.S.R. into the international economy? Was there progress reached in this area? To both Presidents.

*President Gorbachev.* Perhaps you can begin.

*President Bush.* Well, let me say that's a

serious objective to start with. Secondly, I believe that active participation in these international financial institutions and the status that was deemed best by the G-7 is the most important thing that the Soviets can do right now. I have freed up, as you heard today, certain trade benefits or normalizing of trade procedures that, in my view, will help. And we've done that since the meeting in London.

But the answer is, full participation, full benefit of these international institutions require full knowledge and steps towards the privatization and towards convertibility, all the things that I believe the Soviet Union wants.

So, work with the international organizations and then bilaterally do what we've done and other countries will be doing, too, I'm sure, to remove the underbrush, remove the barriers to bilateral economic cooperation. So, quite a bit has happened between us since Paris. And we look forward with our representatives in these international organizations to working very cooperatively with the Soviet leaders.

*President Gorbachev.* I understand that I'm supposed to comment on this as well since the question was to both Presidents. I will be brief since I have already expressed my opinion about this. London was the beginning of a very important process. This was the meaning of the London meeting, and one must judge about this in that light.

It's very important that after London there's a desire on both parts to work out a mechanism which would permit the shifting of this cooperation, given the political will of the leadership of the Western countries. In the Soviet Union, we think that we should have special structures which would keep tab of the cooperation between the Soviet Union and the G-7 countries, and first of all, in the area of investment, so the process would be easier in the taking of decisions of mutual interest.

And it's good that the mechanism has started to be implemented which we discussed in London, and the Minister of Finances of England is already here. We first talked about the fact that there would be visits of the Minister of Finance, the Secretary of the Treasury of the U.S., and the

representative of the FRG. So, in other words, there would be the mechanism of implementing specific areas of cooperation. And this is very important, that there be a mechanism for real interaction.

And finally, the President mentioned that on the part of the U.S., an important decision will be taken to make trade between our countries easier. I would say that I mention this in passing, but we often discussed this with the President. I asked, and we agreed, to study the question of COCOM restrictions today because many billion-dollar projects which are ready to go and even signed are not being implemented because of the fact that they have elements that come under COCOM restrictions.

And therefore, a very serious process has started and I think that this will continue and grow stronger, be more specific. It will give results. There is a will and a desire to do this. It's very important.

#### *Nuclear Weapons*

*Q.* I would ask both of you to think back to the 1986 Reykjavik summit when Ronald Reagan horrified quite a few American nuclear experts and almost all of the European leaders by giving serious consideration to your proposal, President Gorbachev, for a ban on all nuclear weapons. In the end, Reagan said no because of the belief that nuclear deterrence has, in fact, kept the peace. At that time, you had a massive conventional edge in Europe, though. Since then, we've had the CFE treaty. Why now are the two of you not saying we will now work towards a total nuclear ban? Do you still believe in the efficacy of nuclear deterrence in keeping the peace? Particularly, sir, I ask you, President Bush, given the fact that some of these breakaway Republics, they have nuclear weapons in there, and who knows what would happen if they declare independence.

*President Bush.* The very fact that—I wouldn't suggest that a breakaway Republic is going to use a nuclear weapon against the United States, but I would suggest that we have every reason in the world to be concerned about renegades—not in these areas, perhaps; I hope not—getting hold of nuclear weapons. And that's one of the reasons I strongly support our GPALS program that

is being debated in the Senate right now

But in my view, other countries do possess nuclear weapons. It's not just the Soviet Union and the United States. And I do believe that we are on the right path by the path that President Gorbachev has outlined today on following on on existing agreements. So, rather than try to have a ethereal or a utopian answer, let's follow through practically, as he suggested. And then as far as the U.S. is concerned, I'd like us to go forward with a system that puts nobody at threat, nobody at risk. The only thing at risk is an errant nuclear missile aiming at a country. And that's why I support the defensive approach, and that's why I think one of the lessons out of the Iraq war—and maybe President Gorbachev reads this differently—is that defenses work. And though we're talking about a different concept now, an expanded concept, a more high-tech concept, I think a lot of lives were saved by defense. So, that's my reply.

*President Gorbachev.* I will say a few words. I think that the argument which you want to ascribe to me, that in my policy I looked upon nuclear weapons as an element of deterrence, is not true. I have not said this. Yes, we got involved in the arms race in a very serious way. Thank God, as we say in Russian, that we stopped this and turned it back. And this is a great accomplishment since we understood where we were headed.

But it's hard to resolve all these issues which have piled up, and all these weapons that have piled up. And I think that there is still a lot that we have to do. We have mapped out a few things for the future, and then there will probably also be questions put to all members of the nuclear club, and they also have to think about what to do with nuclear weapons in the future.

And finally, we must very carefully act about having the mechanism which we have created and which seems has worked—but apparently not effectively enough—about nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. This was one of the important topics of our conversation with the President during these days. For if certain countries will lower their arms and disarm and head in the direction of a nonnuclear world,

and at the same time, others will find ways to develop the process in order to have their own nuclear weapons, then we will have a situation which is absurd.

So, in continuing to support nuclear disarmament and within the framework of the negotiation process, which we have, we have agreed to continue this. We have the question of truly improving the mechanism of nonproliferation nuclear technology in order—missile technology—in order to create an unsurmountable barrier in this area. I think it's one of the most important things we have to do today.

### *Europe*

*Q.* What significance does the process of European integration have in your conversations with the President, for example, the postwar unification of Europe? What image of this is the most acceptable to you from the point of view of the Soviet Union? For example, the image of a General de Gaulle Europe of fatherlands, countries with decisions being made on a national level, or a united states of Europe, with common decisions being made among them? Thank you.

*President Gorbachev.* First of all, you can probably guess that everything that happens in Europe—in the world—we have always looked towards Europe for everything that happens in Europe, in our areas—I don't want to list them—has a great importance for the developments in the world. So, undoubtedly, the President and I noted the positive developments which are taking place in Europe and we noted support of the documents aimed at creating a new Europe. And we see that the Soviet Union and the U.S. must participate very actively in building a new Europe. All of this has existed and continues to exist. And we feel a responsibility to do this.

But you asked the question about how. I think perhaps you are a little hasty because when we are creating a certain schematic and then try to impose it, then we get one result. When a process is being developed in a logical way within the Helsinki process, a political process of choice, then we find that new forms of cooperation and new institutes come into being.

Now I would say the following: We must,

within the framework of the documents, the general path mapped out in the Helsinki and the Paris agreements, act in such a way that the old institutions be transformed in the interest of a new Europe so that they serve the interest of a single economic territory, a single security of Europe, a legal aspect. And so, this is what we must aim for. That means when the old institutions, when they change, we have to bear this in mind. But apparently, we will also have new institutions which will arise, which will serve this process.

And now if we have, for example, a common energy approach, there will be mechanisms of administering this and will have a great significance in the fate of Europe and the process to realize this. Thus, in going along this path without destroying the old institutions and in creating the new ones, we probably will find the forms gradually to resolve these issues. But if we declare a specific course, but will keep the old structures, institutions, without changing them at all, then again there can be a process of simply regrouping of forces in Europe. And there can be new confrontations which would come into being with a different distribution of forces.

I am not in favor of this, so I would more quickly go through the process of creation of new institutions and would stimulate those tendencies which would move us towards a united Europe.

I don't think that here we need to have languages vanish, cultures, traditions vanish. I think this would be a mistake if we set ourselves such a goal. I think we should take into consideration those specific characteristics and traditions, the histories of the people, but also aim for their unification. I think this is compatible, although we see that there is also an explosion of nationalism, separatism, efforts to unravel everything. This is a dangerous process. I think that if we follow a path of chaotic development of such processes, then we'll get into a bad situation.

So, I am for the transformation of all institutions. I am for new institutions which would act in the interest of unification processes in Europe.

*Mr. Fitzwater.* We used our allotted time.

Thank you very much.

*Note: President Bush's 96th news conference began at 4:33 p.m. in the Press Theater of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. President Gorbachev spoke in Russian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. In the news conference, the following per-*

*sons were referred to: Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh of the Soviet Union; Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir of Israel; Norman Lamont, Chancellor of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom; Secretary of the Treasury Nicholas F. Brady; and Finance Minister Theo Waigel of Germany.*

## Remarks at a Dinner Hosted by President Bush in Moscow July 31, 1991

*President Bush.* Well, may I just welcome President and Mrs. Gorbachev, President Yeltsin, President Nazarbayev, President Ter-Petrosian, Mayor Popov, so many distinguished guests. I just want to welcome you here to Spaso House. And I am delighted to have you to this American home in Moscow in the hope of repaying, at least in some very small way, the warmth of the hospitality that's been shown to us by the Soviet people and by many of you in this room since our arrival.

I believe in these meetings we've launched a new era of hope. In the past year alone, we've seen that despite political differences, we can move forward together. I would particularly thank those who worked on the START agreement—so many in this room having committed so much of their time, of their lives, to achieve the end that I was privileged to sign on behalf of our country today.

And I believe the signing of that treaty offers hope beyond the borders of the Soviet Union, beyond the borders of the United States of America, all across the world. I really believe that from the bottom of my heart.

And let me say to our friends from the Soviet Union: Americans, more and more, look upon this country with profound curiosity and hope. And they want to work with all levels of Soviet society. And we live in an exciting time, when we all seek understanding in the larger society, among businessmen, students, artists, scientists, people engaged in every imaginable profession and endeavor. As we leave, let me just simply

assure you that we are ready to work with the people, to establish a partnership in the new world order based on the rule of law and the promise of freedom and the consent of the governed.

This relationship is built on respect. And you've brought incredible transformation in just a few years. And once again, we are very honored to host such a distinguished group of guests, men and women who will lead the Soviet Union to a new era of democracy, a new hope of a better life for all.

May I particularly salute the three Presidents of the Republics that are with us tonight: significant, important, and I am delighted that they are here. May I salute the mayor, Mayor Popov of Moscow. And if his problems are anything like the problems of the cities in the United States, he's going to need our best wishes. *[Laughter]*

May I salute the human rights activists such as Yelena Bonner and artist Anatoly Rybakov, whose works fill in the blank pages of Soviet history under Stalin's rule.

And finally, there is my host on this whole visit, a man that I respect and admire, a man whose deeds during the past 6 years have given hope to those who believe, as I do, that one individual can change the world for the better. I salute President Gorbachev, then. And I say that we leave confident, more confident than when I came here, that we can together build a lasting peace and, with it, a brighter tomorrow for our children.

I'm told that there's an old Russian proverb: You can't tie a knot with one hand. Well, tonight, the United States offers our

hand as we tie the knot of friendship and peace together. And may I propose a toast to the health and happiness and prosperity of the Soviet people with heartfelt thanks to our host and hostess, President and Mrs. Gorbachev.

*President Gorbachev.* Mr. President, Mrs. Bush, ladies and gentlemen, comrades. Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, today has been a busy day. A considerable amount of work has been accomplished. We have had meaningful discussions with the President in an atmosphere of openness and trust. We have reviewed a large gamut of problems pertaining to our bilateral relations. We discussed the role that our two countries play on the world scene, as well as their relations with other countries.

Today we signed a landmark agreement that will reduce the strategic arsenals of our two countries. And although I have already had a chance to describe what I believe is the purport and purpose of that treaty, let me now share with you some thoughts regarding this important document.

An important work that had covered almost a decade culminated in this landmark treaty, which has been the witness of many days of difficult and tense relations between our two countries during the cold war and in the postwar period. We have managed to fulfill the task that world history had assigned to our two countries.

I want now to pay particular tribute to our partners for the immense contribution that they made to the signing, the preparation, and negotiation of this important treaty. And most of all, I want to pay tribute to the President of the United States, Mr. George Bush.

While perhaps this is not really the most appropriate audience to say this, but nevertheless, let me break a secret that today, as we were putting the final touches on the treaty that we signed today, we discovered, much to our consternation, that we had approached a number of subjects which even the most sophisticated of our negotiators could not find their way through. You can imagine the tasks, the challenges, and the problems that our experts had to address if I simply tell you that assistants to President Bush had to bring over two volumes of documents just to explain one small point that

he wanted to have cleared up.

This is a fact, and we all know this for a fact. And therefore, let me here in your presence pay tribute to our scientists who have managed to find the key that opened this ultimate and final vault which really led us through to the final stage of this treaty.

A recurrent theme in our discussions today was the fact that our signatures that we put under the treaty marked only a point of departure in our future endeavors in order to maintain and preserve and bolster the momentum that our negotiations have already gathered. Today we are asking ourselves whether our perception of the world today and of the future of this civilization is correct, and how accurate our forecasts for the future are, and whether or not we will be able to meet the challenges of the future. And my answer to these most important and difficult questions would be in the positive. And let me explain why I believe those questions should be answered in the positive.

Never in its history has humankind been faced with such risks and dangers engendered by its own progress. And if we are to meet this challenge, what we need is bringing together the intellectual and moral resources of our civilization. It is no accident that the idea of a new world order has struck an important chord in the heart of the people of the world. And very important political and spiritual leaders of our countries have pitched into this effort.

Our two countries possess a tremendous potential for future cooperation and development of our relations for their joint participation in this important endeavor. And it gives me particular pleasure to say that during our discussions at Novo Ogaryevo today, the recurring theme of our talks was just how we can cooperate in the future in order to move our relationship and our cooperation ahead. And it is not a play of ambitions; it is an important statement of an important fact. And that fact is the role and responsibility of our countries, both to our nations and to the world at large.

Perhaps it is just a lucky historical coincidence, but who knows, maybe it is not. At this crucial moment in our history, when



we are faced with very important challenges, our countries are headed by people who can meet those challenges.

Mr. President, today at this house we had a chance to shake hands with many of those who shared this responsibility and who made an important and active contribution toward building a new relationship between our countries. Mr. President, I want to raise this glass to your health, sir, to the health of Mrs. Barbara Bush, to the peoples of the United States who are our partners. And we are looking forward to developing coopera-

tion and friendship with you. And this is choice.

*Note: President Bush spoke at 7:30 p.m. in the ballroom of Spaso House, the residence of U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union J. F. Matlock. In his remarks, President Bush referred to President Nursultan Nazarbayev of the Republic of Kazakhstan; and President Levon Ter-Petrosian of the Republic of Armenia. President Gorbachev spoke in Russian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.*

## Nomination of William Caldwell Harrop To Be United States Ambassador to Israel

July 31, 1991

The President today announced his intention to nominate William Caldwell Harrop, of New Jersey, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Israel. He would succeed William Andreas Brown.

Since 1987 Ambassador Harrop has served as U.S. Ambassador to Zaire. Prior to this Ambassador Harrop served as Inspector General of the Department of State and Foreign Service, 1983-1986, and as U.S.

Ambassador to Kenya and concurrently U.S. Ambassador to the Seychelles, 1981-1983.

Ambassador Harrop graduated from Harvard University (B.A., 1950). He was born February 19, 1929, in Baltimore, MD. Ambassador Harrop served in the U.S. Marine Corps, 1951-1952. He is married, has five children, and resides in Washington, DC.

## Nomination of Russell K. Paul To Be an Assistant Secretary of Housing and Urban Development

July 31, 1991

The President today announced his intention to nominate Russell K. Paul, of Georgia, to be an Assistant Secretary of Housing and Urban Development for Congressional and Intergovernmental Relations. He would succeed Timothy J. Coyle.

Currently Mr. Paul serves as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Grant Programs at the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Prior to this he served as an international governmental relations officer at the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Mr. Paul graduated from Samford University (B.A., 1974). He was born June 1, 1952, in Greenwood, SC. Mr. Paul is married, has five children, and resides in Rockville, MD.

## Nomination of John J. Easton, Jr., To Be General Counsel of the Department of Energy

*July 31, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate John J. Easton, Jr., of Vermont, to be General Counsel of the Department of Energy. He would succeed Stephen A. Wakefield.

Since 1989 Mr. Easton has served as Assistant Secretary of Energy for International Affairs and Energy Emergencies at the Department of Energy. From 1987 to 1989 he

served as an attorney with the law firm of Miller, Eggleston and Rosenberg, Ltd., and as attorney general of Vermont, 1981–1985.

Mr. Easton graduated from Georgetown University (J.D., 1970) and the University of Colorado (B.S., 1964). He was born June 16, 1943, in San Francisco, CA. Mr. Easton served in the U.S. Air Force, 1964–1968. He resides in Arlington, VA.

## Remarks at the Arrival Ceremony in Kiev, Soviet Union

*August 1, 1991*

*Chairman Kravchuk.* Today on the Ukrainian soil we are extending our hearty welcome to the high-ranking guests, President of the United States of America George Bush and Mrs. Bush. Our sincere words of welcome are also addressed to the well-known U.S. statesmen and those accompanying the President.

Mr. President, we attach to your visit to the Ukraine very great importance, and we think it will be another step in improving relations between our countries. Your visit reflects the changes which have taken place in our countries and in the world as a whole.

Despite the complexity and contradictoriness of the political processes, the basic feature of today's world development is radical positive changes. And for these changes mankind should thank the foresighted policy of our states, their common aspirations towards humane and just peace.

We are especially satisfied with the fact that you, Mr. President, came to our Republic right after the historic document, the Strategic Offensive Arms Reduction Treaty, had been signed in Moscow. The Ukrainian people consider this act as another concrete step towards the achievement of general and complete disarmament, toward a world without weapons and without wars.

Your visit to the Ukraine is taking place

at a time difficult for the Republic. However, on the basis of the Declaration on State Sovereignty and thanks to the aspiration toward national concord, the Ukraine is, step by step, moving along the road to its high aim: sovereignty, bringing about stability and civil peace.

Fifty-two million representatives of different people—the Ukrainians, the Russians, the Poles, the Jews, the Bulgars—are working together on this land. And for them, Ukraine is their home. We have resolutely chosen the road to democracy, market economy, and sovereignty. And this choice of ours is supported by the majority of the people.

The American Nation knows only very well the price of genuine sovereignty, and the Declaration of Independence was one of the first to proclaim to the whole world the ideals of freedom, equality, and brotherhood. Taking into account the present-day political and economic realities, we are pursuing the policy aimed at the setting up of a new union, a union of sovereign states as further consolidation and development of fruitful relations with all the Republics. This policy is being supported by the people, and around it, all kinds of political forces are being consolidated.

On the international area, the Ukraine is striving to acquire the status of an equal

member of the international community, to integrate its economy into the world economy.

To your visit, Mr. President, we attach sincere hope for the establishment of direct relations between the Ukraine and the United States of America, into whose foundation the first bricks have already been laid.

We believe that after your visit to Ukraine it will be visited by a great number of businessmen, and we will create every necessary condition for their activities here.

Let me once again welcome you, Mr. President, Mrs. Bush, and the members of the American delegation on the hospitable Ukrainian soil, and say to you in Ukrainian, *Laskavo prosimo*.

*President Bush.* Chairman Kravchuk, Barbara and I are simply delighted to visit Kiev, the city of golden domes, and I might say that we saw so many beautiful hilltop churches from the windows of Air Force One as we came in.

Ukraine, as we all know, is the motherland of many hundreds of thousands of Americans. In fact, back home in Washington, DC, stands a statue of the Ukrainian poet and painter Taras Shevchenko. Once, reflecting on the democratic experiment in America, he wrote this: "When will we have a Washington with a new and righteous law? One day we shall have him."

Well, I'm here to tell you, sir, that the United States stands committed to a new world order based on what Shevchenko called a "new and righteous law"—the rule of law and the guarantee of real economic freedom, political freedom, religious freedom. Yes, the world is changing profoundly. But with change comes opportunity and hope for the future.

The American people applaud the changes that are creating a Soviet Union blessed with free markets and free people. We're anxious to offer help and hope where needed, to build ties of understanding and common interest. In that spirit we recently opened a consulate general in this great city, a permanent American presence to build America's friendship with Ukraine.

I come here having concluded 2 days of very productive work in Moscow. President Gorbachev and I did sign, as you referred

to, an historic treaty that will for the first time reduce strategic forces between our countries. But we also talked about peace and prosperity in hopes that our nations can increase trade and share ideas and experiences with one another.

Now we look forward to meeting with Chairman Kravchuk and other Ukrainian leaders. We want to expand the scope of our relationship with the people of this Republic, as you mentioned: build stronger economic ties and extend the range and quality of cultural, social, and academic and professional exchanges. We want to retain the strongest possible official relationship with the Gorbachev government, but we also appreciate the importance of more extensive ties with Ukraine and other Republics, with all the peoples of the Soviet Union.

As I hope you know, the American people care about people in Ukraine and Russia and the other Soviet Republics. In the aftermath of the Chernobyl tragedy, American citizens and private relief organizations responded with deep concern and generosity. American physicians are helping Ukrainian officials study the long-term health effects of the accident. And through a Presidential initiative on medical assistance, we've shipped badly needed pharmaceutical supplies to help Chernobyl victims.

You are a strong people, and your rich and glorious past spans centuries of upheaval and change. You first brought Christianity to this part of Europe, this crossroads of Europe and Asia. Christianity took hold here over a thousand years ago when Prince Vladimir of Kiev baptized his followers in the Dnieper River.

Now, for the first time in 40 years, the patriarchs of the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic Churches have returned to Kiev. With the freedom to practice religion a spiritual renewal has begun among all the religions of Ukraine—Catholics, Jews, Orthodox, and others. A new day, in some ways, has already arrived.

Thank you, Chairman Kravchuk. It's a great pleasure for all of us to be here. And we're looking forward to our visit.

*Note: The ceremony began at 1:01 p.m. at*

*Borispol Airport. Leonid M. Kravchuk, Chairman of the Republic of the Ukraine's Supreme Soviet, spoke in Russian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.*

*In his remarks, the President referred to U.S. and Soviet cooperation in dealing with the aftermath of a 1986 accident at the Chernobyl nuclear plant in the Ukraine.*

## Remarks at a Luncheon in Kiev, Soviet Union *August 1, 1991*

Thank you very much. And I am very grateful to Chairman Kravchuk and people of Ukraine for welcoming us so warmly through your Golden Gate.

I will shorten these remarks because our lives are controlled by satellites these days. But I've come here to Kiev to learn more about the tremendous challenges you face, to strengthen the ties that link the people of America and the people of Ukraine, and to signal our strong support for free markets and free government.

Our people are not strangers. In Chicago and Cleveland, Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, and all across America, hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian-Americans preserve your proud heritage and history.

The end of the cold war opens opportunities to forge a new relationship. Through increased trade, expanded exchanges, through American medical assistance, efforts aimed at helping you cope with the aftereffects of Chernobyl, the United States and Ukraine can build a future based on shared aspirations and common interests.

So, our visit marks a beginning. We don't come to tell you how to pursue your future.

We won't preach, nor prescribe solutions. We come to offer our expertise, our hopes. And we will do our best to build sturdier ties of culture, ideas, and trade with the Soviet Union and all of its Republics.

America stands ready to support the forces of reform in Ukraine, especially those of economic reform. But in the end, we recognize that Ukraine will shape its own future. And only you can transform an economy based on the concept of command and control into one based on the laws of supply and demand. Only you can guarantee the sovereign rights of the individual, political, religious, and economic.

You will bear responsibility for making your land more prosperous and free according to your traditions and cultures, your hopes and dreams.

May God bless both our lands. And may I say thank you, Chairman, for your hospitality. Mrs. Bush and I and all that travel with us are just delighted to be here. Thank you, sir.

*Note: The President spoke at 3:10 p.m. at Marinsky Palace.*

## Remarks to the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of the Ukraine in Kiev, Soviet Union *August 1, 1991*

Well, first, thank all of you for that warm welcome. And may I take this opportunity to thank all people of Ukraine that gave us such a warm welcome, such a heartfelt greeting. Every American in that long motorcade—and believe me, it was long—was moved and touched by the warmth of the

welcome of Ukraine. We'll never forget it.

Chairman Kravchuk, thank you, sir. And to the Deputies of the Soviet, Supreme Soviet, may I salute you. Members of the clergy that are here, members of the diplomatic corps, representatives of American pharmaceutical and health care corpora-

tions who I understand are with us today, and distinguished guests all. Barbara and I are delighted to be here—very, very happy. We have only one regret, and that is that I've got to get home on Thursday night—I can still make it. And the reason is, our Congress goes out tomorrow, finishes their session they're in now, and I felt it was important to be there on that last day of the final session.

This beautiful city brings to mind the words of the poet Alexander Dovzhenko: "The city of Kiev is an orchard. Kiev is a poet. Kiev is an epic. Kiev is history. Kiev is art."

Centuries ago, your forebears named this country Ukraine, or "frontier," because your steppes link Europe and Asia. But Ukrainians have become frontiersmen of another sort. Today you explore the frontiers and contours of liberty.

Though my stay here is, as I said, far too short, I have come here to talk with you and to learn. For those who love freedom, every experiment in building an open society offers new lessons and insights. You face an especially daunting task. For years, people in this nation felt powerless, overshadowed by a vast government apparatus, cramped by forces that attempted to control every aspect of their lives.

Today, your people probe the promise of freedom. In cities and Republics, on farms, in businesses, around university campuses, you debate the fundamental questions of liberty, self-rule, and free enterprise. Americans, you see, have a deep commitment to these values. We follow your progress with a sense of fascination, excitement, and hope. This alone is historic. In the past, our nations engaged in duels of eloquent bluff and bravado. Now, the fireworks of superpower confrontation are giving way to the quieter and far more hopeful art of cooperation.

I come here to tell you: We support the struggle in this great country for democracy and economic reform. And I would like to talk to you today about how the United States views this complex and exciting period in your history, how we intend to relate to the Soviet central Government and the Republican governments.

In Moscow, I outlined our approach: We

will support those in the center and the Republics who pursue freedom, democracy, and economic liberty. We will determine our support not on the basis of personalities but on the basis of principles. We cannot tell you how to reform your society. We will not try to pick winners and losers in political competitions between Republics or between Republics and the center. That is your business; that's not the business of the United States of America.

Do not doubt our real commitment, however, to reform. But do not think we can presume to solve your problems for you. Theodore Roosevelt, one of our great Presidents, once wrote: "To be patronized is as offensive as to be insulted. No one of us cares permanently to have someone else conscientiously striving to do him good; what we want is to work with that someone else for the good of both of us." That's what our former President said. We will work for the good of both of us, which means that we will not meddle in your internal affairs.

Some people have urged the United States to choose between supporting President Gorbachev and supporting independence-minded leaders throughout the U.S.S.R. I consider this a false choice. In fairness, President Gorbachev has achieved astonishing things, and his policies of *glasnost*, *perestroika*, and democratization point toward the goals of freedom, democracy, and economic liberty.

We will maintain the strongest possible relationship with the Soviet Government of President Gorbachev. But we also appreciate the new realities of life in the U.S.S.R. And therefore, as a federation ourselves, we want good relations, improved relations with the Republics. So, let me build upon my comments in Moscow by describing in more detail what Americans mean when we talk about freedom, democracy, and economic liberty.

No terms have been abused more regularly, nor more cynically, than these. Throughout this century despots have masqueraded as democrats, jailers have posed as liberators. We can restore faith in government only by restoring meaning to these concepts.

I don't want to sound like I'm lecturing,

but let's begin with the broad term "freedom." When Americans talk of freedom, we refer to people's abilities to live without fear of government intrusion, without fear of harassment by their fellow citizens, without restricting others' freedoms. We do not consider freedom a privilege to be doled out only to those who hold proper political views or belong to certain groups. We consider it an inalienable individual right bestowed upon all men and women. Lord Acton once observed: The most certain test by which we judge whether a country is really free is the amount of security enjoyed by minorities.

Freedom requires tolerance, a concept embedded in openness, in *glasnost*, and in our first amendment protections for the freedoms of speech, association, and religion—all religions.

Tolerance nourishes hope. A priest wrote of *glasnost*: Today, more than ever the words of Paul the Apostle, spoken 2,000 years ago, ring out: They counted us among the dead, but look, we are alive. In Ukraine, in Russia, in Armenia, and the Baltics, the spirit of liberty thrives.

But freedom cannot survive if we let despots flourish or permit seemingly minor restrictions to multiply until they form chains, until they form shackles. Later today, I'll visit the monument at Babi Yar, a somber reminder, a solemn reminder of what happens when people fail to hold back the horrible tide of intolerance and tyranny.

Yet freedom is not the same as independence. Americans will not support those who seek independence in order to replace a far-off tyranny with a local despotism. They will not aid those who promote a suicidal nationalism based upon ethnic hatred.

We will support those who want to build democracy. By democracy, we mean a system of government in which people may vie openly for the hearts, and yes, the votes of the public. We mean a system of government that derives its just power from the consent of the governed, that retains its legitimacy by controlling its appetite for power. For years, you had elections with ballots, but you did not enjoy democracy. And now, democracy has begun to set firm roots in Soviet soil.

The key to its success lies in understand-

ing government's proper role and its limits. Democracy is not a technical process driven by dry statistics. It is the very human enterprise of preserving freedom, so that we can do the important things, the really important things: raise families, explore our own creativity, build good and fruitful lives.

In modern societies, freedom and democracy rely on economic liberty. A free economy is nothing more than a system of communication. It simply cannot function without individual rights or a profit motive, which give people an incentive to go to work, an incentive to produce.

And it certainly cannot function without the rule of law, without fair and enforceable contracts, without laws that protect property rights and punish fraud.

Free economies depend upon the freedom of expression, the ability of people to exchange ideas and test out new theories. The Soviet Union weakened itself for years by restricting the flow of information, by outlawing devices crucial to modern communications such as computers and copying machines. And when you restricted free movement, even tourist travel, you prevented your own people from making the most of their talent. You cannot innovate if you cannot communicate.

And finally, a free economy demands engagement in the economic mainstream. Adam Smith noted two centuries ago, trade enriches all who engage in it. Isolation and protectionism doom its practitioners to degradation and want.

I note this today because some Soviet cities, regions, and even Republics have engaged in ruinous trade wars. The Republics of this nation have extensive bonds of trade which no one can repeal with the stroke of a pen or the passage of a law. The vast majority of trade conducted by Soviet companies—imports and exports—involves, as you know better than I, trade between Republics. The nine-plus-one agreement holds forth the hope that Republics will combine greater autonomy with greater voluntary interaction—political, social, cultural, economic—rather than pursuing the hopeless course of isolation.

And so, American investors and businessmen look forward to doing business in the

Soviet Union, including the Ukraine. We've signed agreements this week that will encourage further interaction between the U.S. and all levels of the Soviet Union. But ultimately, our trade relations will depend upon our ability to develop a common language, a common language of commerce—currencies that communicate with one another, laws that protect innovators and entrepreneurs, bonds of understanding and trust.

It should be obvious that the ties between our nations grow stronger every single day. I set forth a Presidential initiative that is providing badly needed medical aid to the Soviet Union. And this aid expresses Americans' solidarity with the Soviet peoples during a time of hardship and suffering. And it has supplied facilities in Kiev that are treating victims of Chernobyl. You should know that America's heart, the hearts of all, went out to the people here at the time of Chernobyl.

We have sent teams to help you improve upon the safety of Ukrainian nuclear plants and coal mines. We've also increased the number of cultural exchanges with the Republics, including more extensive legal, academic, and cultural exchanges between America and Ukraine.

We understand that you cannot reform your system overnight. America's first system of government, the Continental Congress, failed because the States were too suspicious of one another and the central Government too weak to protect commerce and individual rights. In 200 years, we have learned that freedom, democracy, and economic liberty are more than terms of inspiration. They're more than words. They are challenges.

Your great poet Shevchenko noted: Only in your own house can you have your truth, your strength, and freedom. No society ever achieves perfect democracy, liberty, or enterprise. If it makes full use of its people's virtues and abilities, it can use these goals as guides to a better life.

And now, as Soviet citizens try to forge a

new social compact, you have the obligation to restore power to citizens demoralized by decades of totalitarian rule. You have to give them hope, inspiration, determination, by showing your faith in their abilities. Societies that don't trust themselves or their people cannot provide freedom. They can guarantee only the bleak tyranny of suspicion, avarice, and poverty.

An old Ukrainian proverb says: When you enter a great enterprise, free your soul from weakness. The peoples of the U.S.S.R. have entered a great enterprise, full of courage and vigor. I have come here today to say: We support those who explore the frontiers of freedom. We will join these reformers on the path to what we call, appropriately call, a new world order.

You're the leaders. You are the participants in the political process. And I go home to an active political process. So, if you saw me waving like mad from my limousine, it was in the thought that maybe some of those people along the line were people from Philadelphia or Pittsburgh or Detroit where so many Ukrainian-Americans live, where so many Ukrainian-Americans are with me in the remarks I've made here today.

This has been a great experience for Barbara and me to be here. We salute you. We salute the changes that we see. I remember the French expression, *vive la difference*, and I see different churnings around this Chamber, and that is exactly the way it ought to be. One guy wants this and another one that. That's the way the process works when you're open and free, competing with ideas to see who is going to emerge correct and who can do the most for the people in Ukraine.

And so, for us this has been a wonderful trip, albeit far too short. And may I simply say, may God bless the people of Ukraine. Thank you very, very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 3:55 p.m. in Session Hall of the Supreme Soviet Building.*

## Remarks at the Babi Yar Memorial in Kiev, Soviet Union *August 1, 1991*

Thank you, Chairman Kravchuk. And to our special guests today, the survivors of the Babi Yar massacres and the Ukrainians who helped rescue them, it is my great honor to be here today.

We come to Babi Yar to remember. We remember violence and valor; we remember prejudice and selflessness. At Babi Yar, in the vast quiet here, something larger than life assails us: the shadows of past evil, the light of past virtue. The wind that shakes the leaves bears a special weight, as if whispering warnings and cautions, telling tales of victims and villains, cowards and heroes.

Babi Yar stands as a monument to many things. It reminds us that history gives our lives meaning and continuity and that any nation that tries to repudiate history, tries to ignore the actors and events that shape it, only repudiates itself.

For many years, the tragedy of Babi Yar went unacknowledged, but no more. You soon will place a plaque on this site that acknowledges the genocide against Jews, the slaughter of gypsies, the wanton murder of Communists, Christians, of anyone who dared oppose the Nazi madman's fantasies.

Babi Yar reminds us of the sheer stupidity of prejudice. Here we think about people of great promise and talent, young men and women who would have become doctors or physicists, athletes or artists, mothers, fathers. All died because a maniac in Berlin wanted to exterminate their kind.

The statue here testifies to an important truth. Just as bricks and stones shape great monuments, families shape nations. The love of parents, the trust of children, the blessings of life and learning, these things give life meaning. They give society its character. They give nations a sense of destiny and purpose.

Here at Babi Yar, Nazis set out to destroy families and faiths, set out to destroy the soul of a nation. And here, on September 29, 1941, soldiers forced men, women, and children to undergo a ritual of humiliation and death. Victims stopped first to empty

their pockets and place their valuables in heaps on the ground, and then moved forward to another place where they had to remove their clothing, which Nazis folded in neat piles—booty for the Fuehrer.

And then shivering, they moved to the edge of the ravine where marksmen murdered their prey, letting the bodies tumble into long, deep pits. For 36 hours, rifle reports and shrill human cries shattered the calm. Nazis tried to drown out that horror by playing dance music over loudspeakers. And despite this macabre ritual, screams made their way into the hearts of townspeople—and to the pages of history.

When the first round of shooting stopped, more than 33,000 bodies lay in the pit, and many more people had committed suicide rather than undergoing the humiliating execution rites. Within 18 months, nearly 100,000 people perished here.

Miraculously, a few managed to escape, several of whom have joined us today, along with several people who helped protect the victims of the massacre at Babi Yar. And I think it would be most appropriate to ask them to stand so we may honor them.

Abraham Lincoln once said, "We cannot escape history." Mikhail Gorbachev has promoted truth in history. Here's the quote: "Not to settle political scores, or cause suffering, but to render due tribute to everything that was heroic in the past and to learn lessons from mistakes and miscalculations."

Today we stand at Babi Yar and wrestle with awful truth. We marvel at the incredible extremes of human behavior. And we make solemn vows:

We vow this sort of murder will never happen again.

We vow never to let the forces of bigotry and hatred assert themselves without opposition.

And we vow to ensure a future dedicated to freedom and individual liberty rather than to mob violence and tyranny.

And we vow that whenever our devotion to principle wanes, we will think of this



place. We will remember that evil flourishes when good men and women refuse to defend virtue.

Let me quote the poet Yevtushenko, whose poem about Babi Yar helped restore remembrance of this place and of its history. Here's what he wrote: "On Babi Yar weeds rustle; the tall trees, like judges, loom and threaten. All screams in silence; I take off my cap and feel that I am slowly turning gray. And I, too, have become a soundless cry over the thousands that lie buried here. I am each old man slaughtered, each child shot. None of me will forget."

None of us will ever forget.

The Holocaust occurred because good men and women averted their eyes from

unprecedented evil. And the Nazis fell when good men and women opened their eyes, summoned their courage and faith, and fought for democracy, liberty, and justice and decency. This memorial proves that eventually the forces of good and of truth will rise in triumph. No matter how bleak our lives may seem, this fact should comfort us. It should inspire us to spare future generations from horrors like the one that claimed nearly 100,000 souls at Babi Yar.

May God bless you all. May God bless Ukraine and its wonderful people, and may God bless the memories of Babi Yar.

*Note: The President spoke at 5:25 p.m. in front of the memorial.*

## Remarks on the Middle East Peace Talks in Kiev, Soviet Union August 1, 1991

*The President.* —a wire service report that Prime Minister Shamir has accepted and they will attend this conference. I've not yet had a chance—just got on the plane—have not had a chance to talk to Secretary Baker, but this indeed is good news if that report is accurate. And I hope it is, assume it is.

And there's still a lot of hard work ahead, but this is bound to be good news for peace in the Middle East. And I'm very, very pleased that the hard work on many parties, especially our Secretary of State, looks like it may be coming to fruition. So, let's mark this one up as good tidings, and I hope that things go forward right now in a good way.

*Q.* How did you solve the Palestinian issue, Mr. President?

*The President.* I leave all the details to the Secretary, at least until I have chance to talk to the Secretary. All I've heard was a service report, a wire service report that Prime Minister Shamir has accepted. And I assume that's the way—under the conditions that were presented to him. And if so, that's very good.

*Q.* Did he ask if—

*The President.* That's all I've got. I don't know enough about it to comment anymore, except to say I think it's very good and we'll have more on that later.

*Note: The President spoke at 7 p.m. aboard Air Force One, prior to his departure for Washington, DC. In his remarks, he referred to Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir of Israel.*

Message to the Senate Transmitting the International Convention  
on Oil Pollution Preparedness, Response and Co-operation  
August 1, 1991

*To the Senate of the United States:*

I transmit herewith, for the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, the International Convention on Oil Pollution Preparedness, Response and Co-operation, 1990, with Annex, adopted at London November 30, 1990. I also transmit, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Department of State with respect to the Convention.

The Exxon Valdez experience demonstrated that catastrophic oil spills have the potential to overwhelm the resources of any single nation. The Convention is an important new international environmental agreement that establishes a global framework for cooperation among nations whose resources, knowledge, and expertise are available to share in preparing for and com-

batting such spills.

The Convention, which was signed by the United States on November 30, 1990, subject to ratification, was developed in response to a U.S. initiative at the Paris Economic Summit in July 1989. When in force, the global response coordination mechanism created by the Convention will make a significant contribution to minimizing damage from major oil pollution incidents and to the protection of the marine environment. I therefore recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Convention and give its advice and consent to ratification.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
August 1, 1991.

Presidential Determination No. 91-47—Memorandum on Trade  
With the Soviet Union  
August 2, 1991

*Memorandum for the Secretary of State*  
*Subject:* Determination under Section 405(a) of the Trade Act of 1974, as Amended—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Pursuant to the authority vested in me under the Trade Act of 1974 (Public Law 93-618, January 3, 1975; 88 Stat. 1978), as amended (the "Trade Act"), I determine, pursuant to section 405(a) of the Trade Act, that the "Agreement on Trade Relations Between the United States of America and

the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" will promote the purposes of the Trade Act and is in the national interest.

You are authorized and directed to transmit copies of this determination to the appropriate Members of Congress and to publish it in the *Federal Register*.

GEORGE BUSH

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 9:41 a.m., August 14, 1991]

## Letter to Congressional Leaders on Soviet-United States Trade August 2, 1991

*Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)*

In accordance with section 407 of the Trade Act of 1974 (Public Law 93-618, January 3, 1975; 88 Stat. 1978), as amended (the "Trade Act"), I am transmitting a copy of a proclamation that extends nondiscriminatory treatment to the products of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. As an annex to the proclamation, I also enclose the text of the "Agreement on Trade Relations Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," which I signed on June 1, 1990, including related annexes and exchanges of letters.

Implementation of this Agreement will strengthen political relations between the United States and the Soviet Union and produce economic benefits for both countries. It will also give further impetus to the progress we have made in our overall diplomatic relations over the last several years, and help to reinforce political and economic reform in the Soviet Union.

I believe that the Agreement is consistent with both the letter and the spirit of the Trade Act. It provides for mutual extension of nondiscriminatory tariff treatment, while seeking to ensure overall reciprocity of economic benefits. It includes safeguard arrangements designed to ensure that imports from the Soviet Union will not disrupt the U.S. market.

The Agreement also confirms and expands for American businesses certain basic rights in conducting commercial transactions both within the Soviet Union and with Soviet nationals and business entities. Other provisions include those dealing with settlement of commercial disputes, financial transactions, and government commercial offices. Through this Agreement, the Soviet Union also undertakes obligations to mod-

ernize and upgrade very substantially its protection of all forms of intellectual property rights. Once fully implemented, the Soviet intellectual property regime will be on a par with that of our principal trading partners.

I note that the proclamation also extends nondiscriminatory treatment to the products of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. This in no way affects the long-standing U.S. policy of not recognizing the forcible incorporation of the Baltic States into the Soviet Union and of continuing to support their legitimate aspirations.

On December 29, 1990, I waived application of subsections (a) and (b) of section 402 of the Trade Act with respect to the Soviet Union. On June 3, 1991, I recommended an extension of the waiver authority in section 402. I included with this recommendation my determination that the continuation of the waiver in effect for the Soviet Union would substantially promote the objectives of section 402.

I urge that the Congress act as soon as possible to approve the "Agreement on Trade Relations Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" and the proclamation extending nondiscriminatory treatment to the products of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania by enactment of a joint resolution, referred to in section 151 of the Trade Act.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

*Note: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Dan Quayle, President of the Senate. The proclamation is listed in Appendix E at the end of this volume.*

## Nomination of B. Robert Okun To Be an Assistant Secretary of Education

August 2, 1991

The President has nominated B. Robert Okun, of the District of Columbia, to be Assistant Secretary for Legislation and Congressional Affairs at the U.S. Department of Education. He would succeed Nancy Mohr Kennedy.

Currently Mr. Okun serves as a consultant for the U.S. Department of Education in

Washington, DC. Prior to this he served as executive director of the House Republican Conference, 1989–1991.

Mr. Okun graduated from Duke University (A.B., 1981). He was born October 24, 1959, in Glen Cove, NY. Mr. Okun is married and resides in Washington, DC.

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on Cyprus

August 2, 1991

Prime Minister Mitsotakis and President Özal have informed President Bush that Greece and Turkey have agreed to attend a well-prepared meeting concerning Cyprus.

The meeting would be convened and chaired by the United Nations Secretary-General under his Security Council mandate. Greek and Turkish leaders will work in support of the Secretary-General's efforts

to narrow differences in advance of it. The meeting is planned for September in the United States, provided that adequate progress in the effort to narrow those differences is made in the meantime.

*Note: The statement referred to Prime Minister Constantinos Mitsotakis of Greece and President Turgut Özal of Turkey.*

## The President's News Conference

August 2, 1991

*The President.* Today, August 2, provides an opportunity for all Americans to reflect upon the past year. It was just 12 months ago today that Saddam Hussein, lacking provocation or cause, ordered an attack upon Iraq's small and defenseless neighbor, Kuwait. What followed, the world now knows, was a nightmare of brutal occupation, a nightmare that only came to an end several months ago. What liberated Kuwait was an unprecedented effort, one that brought together most of the international community, initially in support of sanctions, ultimately in support of military force, and always consistent with the principles and resolutions of the United Nations.

Our task has not ended. We must ensure

that Iraq complies fully with all U.N. resolutions and eliminates its weapons of mass destruction. And we must work to reintegrate Iraq and its people into the region once the Iraqi people choose new leadership.

Most significantly on this August 2d, we note that two new opportunities for peace have emerged as a byproduct of our efforts in the Gulf. In the Middle East, we're close to convening a conference this October that will launch direct talks among Israel, the Palestinians, and the Arab States. I welcome Prime Minister Shamir's statement that he supports our proposal, and I call upon Israel and the Palestinians to clear away remaining obstacles and seize this truly historic

opportunity for peace.

And I'm pleased, too, on another front, that Prime Minister Mitsotakis and President Özal have informed me that Greece and Turkey have agreed to attend a meeting concerning Cyprus. This meeting would be well-prepared and both convened and chaired by the United Nations Secretary-General under his Security Council mandate. Greek and Turkish leaders will work in support of the Secretary-General's efforts in advance of the meeting, planned for September in the United States, provided that adequate progress is made narrowing differences before then.

That's the end of the statement, and I'll be glad to take just a few questions. Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International], I understand you have the first question.

#### *Middle East Peace Talks*

*Q.* Mr. President, you're on the record several times saying that the implementation of U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338, land-for-peace, should be the basis of ending this 40-year conflict. Do you still feel that way?

*The President.* Well, the United States has not changed its position on 242 and 338, of course. But the point now is not to further elaborate on how we think the outcome should be; this is a matter to be negotiated. But the United States policy hasn't changed.

*Q.* But you admit that there has to be concessions on both sides, though.

*The President.* I would leave that for the discussions. One way to avoid progress is to start spelling out what should happen or how it should work before the parties sit down. The big news and the important news is, there seems to be agreement on this conference. And I'll tell you, people all around the world are hoping that this proves to be true. We don't want to miss this opportunity for peace.

#### *POW's/MIA's*

*Q.* Sir, you were shot down and you know what it's like. And if you had been captured and they had not come after you, it would have been pretty bad, wouldn't it? I wonder how you feel about the possibility that there are still alive people over there who were captured who might be in Cam-

bodia or Laos—

*The President.* Yes.

*Q.* —or Vietnam. And did you ask the Soviets about any prisoners they might have from past World Wars?

*The President.* Yes, we raised that with the Soviets. They've maintained before and I would expect maintain again that they know of no American prisoners. But look, you're talking to one who was almost taken prisoner, and I think the United States Government should run down every single lead. As General Scowcroft said the other day, and I back him fully, there's no hard evidence of prisoners being alive. And for those who are unscrupulously raising the hopes of families by fraud, that should be really condemned. You talk about something brutal to a family, that's about as cruel as you can do. However, if there's any hard evidence, it will be pursued and run to the ground. And our policy has always been based on the assumption that until we can account for every person missing that we have to run down these leads to prove that nobody is held.

But, Sarah [Sarah McClendon, McClendon News], I've got to be careful that I don't do what some have done and maliciously raise the hopes of families. And yet, I want to reassure those families our Government, our Defense Department, they're going to go the extra mile to find out if there's anything there. And if anybody has any hard evidence, please bring it forward.

So, you hit me on something that really I feel strongly about in my heart.

Rita [Rita Beamish, Associated Press]?

#### *'92 Election*

*Q.* Mr. President, tomorrow you've summoned your top political advisers to Camp David to talk about the reelection campaign in 1992. Does this mean that you've made the decision to run again?

*The President.* No. No firm decision in that regard. But I'm going away next week for a vacation, and I'm very happy about that, incidentally. And before I went I wanted to get some advisers together to talk about 1992. But there will be no decisions as to organization; there will be no decision as to issues. There will be no firm

decisions. For me, it's a listening session. I wanted to get it out of the way before I go up to Maine.

It's not inclusive, incidentally. Most of the people that will be there will be from around the Washington area. And of course, as you look down the road at a possible 1992 race, there are people all over this country to whom I owe the very fact I'm standing here who won't be there. So, it's that kind of a listening session. And the last thing I want to do is project a sense of arrogance or unconcern about the tough task that lies ahead if I decide to be a candidate, and this is a good way to start a little more formal listening project. But that's about all.

Do you want a followup to that?

*Q.* Yes. Mrs. Bush has raised some personal concerns. She said she supports whatever you want to do. But can you foresee anything that might make you decide not to run?

*The President.* No. I'll be honest: The only thing would be a health problem, and I don't have one right now. But I mean, it wouldn't be fair to the American people to ask to be reelected, knowing that you, in your heart of hearts, might feel you couldn't finish the job. But I don't feel that way. I think the doctors whom report regularly, it seems to me—[laughter]—I'm very sorry about that. That's a third dog and we've already got two. I don't know what she's doing here. Where were we? I was answering a serious—oh, the health. [Laughter] My memory. [Laughter]

Well, look, if you had a dog run across in front of you like that—health is good, and Barbara leveled with people the other day. I've tried to level with them. I would not masquerade or hide on a question of that significance. And frankly, Rita, that's about the only thing I can think of that would make me change my mind. Sometimes I feel, let's go, all right, let's join forces—particularly when I listen to some of the charges that take place by the Democrats who now seem to have a concerted policy, and that policy is to tear down the President. Otherwise very nice Senators—[laughter]—now reverting to out-of-character attacks; they really are.

You look at the people that are going

ballistic out there and they're not that kind of guy, but they've got a game plan now. So, sometimes I feel the juices start flowing. But it's a little early for that. I haven't even been on vacation yet. Wait until I come back all ready to charge.

Yeah, Charles [Charles Bierbauer, Cable News Network].

### *Iraq*

*Q.* Mr. President, you talk about a continuing need to replace the leadership in Iraq. Did you and Mr. Gorbachev discuss this? This is one element we haven't heard of your discussions. And to what degree do you still have Soviet support in dealing with Iraq?

*The President.* I think the Soviets are as interested as anybody else in seeing Iraq comply fully with the United Nations resolutions. I did have a chance to discuss at the meeting we had outside of Moscow the feelings that I've expressed here and that I've expressed before about the need to change Iraq's leadership, the fact that there will not be normalized relations with the United States, anyway, as long as Saddam Hussein is in power.

But I want to keep repeating, Charles, this: Look, the argument isn't with the people of Iraq; the argument isn't with the other leaders in Iraq. The argument is with Saddam Hussein. If the military talked him into stepping aside and getting out of there, I'd give them a real break as far as U.S. policy goes. I'd start over and say: All right, now you prove to us that you want to live within the family of nations peacefully. You show me now that you're going to comply with these resolutions, and we're going to give you every benefit of the doubt. So, the argument still is with Saddam Hussein, and I don't know of one single defender that he has anywhere around the world anymore.

*Q.* Well, does Mr. Gorbachev agree with you that he must go, and did you contemplate any steps—

*The President.* Well, I don't know that. I don't want to put words in his mouth about whether he agrees or not, but you asked whether we had a chance to discuss it, and we sure had a chance. He gave me every chance to tell him how strongly I feel about

it.

Q. So, what do you do next?

*The President.* That's the third question, and we don't know. It's a good question, though. What we do is keep pressing for full implementation of these resolutions. Look, it's not all negative. There has been some compliance. I continue to feel, based on good evidence, that they are hiding information, that they are begrudgingly giving up information, and so I would call upon them to be far more cooperative than they've been.

#### *Middle East Peace Talks*

Q. Mr. President, on the Palestinians, what is the latest with Jim Baker and how he's resolving the issue with the Palestinians?

*The President.* Well, I would just leave that for him to make an announcement at the appropriate time. There's some sensitive negotiations going on. It would not be helpful for me to talk about formulas, what the U.S. is trying to do on all of this. We're involved in a process of real diplomacy here, and I should have said at the outset that I'm just not going to go into details of that nature.

#### *The Economy*

Q. Mr. President, new unemployment figures out today show the jobless rate remaining high. In light of that, are you willing to extend unemployment benefits, as the Senate has suggested, and more broadly, what do you intend to do about the economy?

*The President.* Let me say to the American people I was delighted to see the unemployment come down from 7 to 6.8 percent. Still too high, but moving in the right direction. So, the bill—I don't have a bill on my desk yet. Senator Dole had a very good approach. The last thing we want to do is break the budget agreement and spend outside to increase the deficit. I do not want to see higher interest rates that would have a devastating effect on this economy, and that's what would result if we go and pass a lot of legislation that busts the budget agreement. So, wait until I see what the House does and what legislation comes this way. But I like the Dole approach; I sup-

port him for that.

I don't read the unemployment news as anything but very good news for the American people.

Q. Do you think lower interest rates are needed at this point?

*The President.* Well, I've always been a low interest rate man, but I don't want to make this a clarion call, standing here at this moment for the Fed to reduce the rates—short-term rates. But I must say, I think inflation has been pretty well under control. I'd still like to see it lower, of course. But I want jobs and I want growth. And I think the people that are out of work that could have a job if the economy was more robust. So, you ask me, do I lean in favor of lower or higher rates. That would be a very easy question, and I'd say lower. But I want to wait and see now how this unemployment news is received by the markets. But basically, I think we can afford to have lower rates. I want to keep the economy growing.

Yes, two over here in the front.

#### *HIV Policy*

Q. Mr. President, do you favor maintaining that 4-year ban on immigration for those contaminated with the HIV virus?

*The President.* I'm sorry, I have not had a chance to talk to the key administration officials on that, which would be the people at NIH and the HHS Secretary. There's been some movement on it since I've been gone, but I just am not prepared to announce our policy firmly at this time.

#### *Women in Combat*

Q. Congress yesterday lifted the ban on restriction of women in combat. Are you in favor of that?

*The President.* Well, again, I don't want to dodge behind my absence, but I don't think it did on all combat assignments, as I see it.

Q. —for pilots.

*The President.* Well, I think there are some darn good women pilots out there, and I have no particular hangups on that. But I want to see—I want to hear from the Secretary of Defense, the members of the Joint Chiefs on all of these things. That's the way you make prudent decisions around

here. Sometimes it's considered a little overly cautious, but I think on something of this nature I really want to hear, certainly, from General Powell and Secretary Cheney.

#### *Middle East Peace Talks*

*Q.* Mr. President, do you consider East Jerusalem to be occupied territory subject to the U.N. resolution?

*The President.* Hey, listen, you must have missed what I said earlier here about trying to get something going. This is no time to go into contentious issues, representational issues. The policy of the United States is clear. But what we've got to do now is be this catalyst to get people talking. And for me to go into issues of that nature at this point, I'm simply not going to do that.

We've got a couple more. Marlin is frantic here.

#### *Cuba*

*Q.* At the summit, did you ask President Gorbachev to cut off military assistance to Cuba, and if so, what did he tell you?

*The President.* I had an opportunity to tell him that one way the Soviet Union would have vastly improved receptivity here would be to do exactly that. It's a bit of an anomaly as the Soviet Union is moving toward democracy and freedom and for political participation to have one sore thumb sticking out in this hemisphere, a sore thumb that is being financed by the Soviet Union. They do say, and I think with some merit, that they have significantly reduced their contributions to Cuba. But look, I'd love to see them eliminated, and he gave me every chance in the world to express my position on that.

#### *Iraq*

*Q.* Did Gorbachev give you any type of commitment on whether or not he would be in favor of resuming use of force against Iraq if Iraq doesn't comply with uncovering all of those nuclear weapons?

*The President.* I think without going into some confidential talks, to paraphrase, I think he's hopeful that that wouldn't even be necessary, that Iraq would comply. I'm not as relaxed on it.

#### *Northern Territories*

*Q.* Mr. President, did you raise the Kuril Island issue? If so, what was Mr. Gorbachev's response?

*The President.* The Northern Territories?

*Q.* Yes.

*The President.* Yes, it was raised publicly and privately. I wasn't pushing for some answer; I was saying that we support the Japanese position, and I think he understands that.

#### *Civil Rights*

*Q.* Mr. President, what are your specific objections to Senator Danforth's civil rights compromise?

*The President.* I haven't seen Jack Danforth's last position. I will say that I thought the letter I sent up answered the one condition that he told me existed, the one difference that existed. When he came in here, he said there's one difference. And I had hoped that the answer that I sent to him, based on the Attorney General's opinions, would answer it. Apparently it has not done that. But look, we'll keep talking about this, and I salute Jack Danforth. In the first place, I respect him; in the second place, I know he's coming at this as a matter of conscience. I think he also knows that I want to get a civil rights bill. And I don't want to miss this opportunity to say how grateful all of us are who strongly support this good man, Clarence Thomas, how grateful we are to Jack Danforth for his key leadership role. There's not many Senators up there that have more respect.

But I'll keep talking about this civil rights matter with him. We've got some time now. As I say, I thought I had replied to what he said was the one problem. It boils down to something like education—what kind of educational requirements an employer can put on. And Jack was worried that if you have an entry-level job—you know, say a cleaning-up job somewhere—that you shouldn't deny a man work because of requiring a high school diploma for that. And I thought that what we did in our letter was to make clear to him that that's not what our interpretation of the legislation would do and that there's ways to waive that in the legislative history so that



you can have entry-level jobs that do not require education.

Having said that, I want to see excellence in education. I want to see more people get high school diplomas. I want to see more people have an incentive to get a better education. And that's why the approach that we've been taking, I think, was a good one.

But, again, I can't fault Jack Danforth's integrity, his honor, and I will look carefully at his response, which apparently is on its way down here.

### *The Economy*

*Q.* Mr. President, the initial market response has been one of concern to the unemployment figures—concern that perhaps the recovery has been shaky and that the decline is essentially a reflection of Americans giving up hope, not even applying for unemployment.

*The President.* Not even what?

*Q.* Applying for unemployment.

*The President.* Well, if they aren't even applying for unemployment and they're entitled to it, then I don't think we need further unemployment benefits. What I do think is that the economy is recovering and it's moving forward. And if they're not even applying for the benefits that are already there, I wouldn't argue that that's a sign of desperation. I would argue that that's a sign that they might think things are getting better, or otherwise, they would apply.

*Q.* Sir, some of those people—the length that they're entitled for unemployment just ran out.

*The President.* I think some people are hurting and hurting badly, and that's why I like the Dole approach that does take care of some extension of these benefits. But it couples it with fiscal integrity. And that's what I think is needed.

### *BCCI Investigation*

*Q.* Mr. President, it was revealed this week that the CIA knew as early as 1986 that BCCI had acquired illegal ownership of the First American Bank and that they told other Government agencies, but not apparently the Federal Reserve Board. Doesn't this raise serious questions about Government determination to bring this bank

within the law?

*The President.* May I ask just as a matter of fact where was it revealed, because I again have been gone. If it was revealed this week, I've been out of the country. But what revelation are we referring to? Was there some testimony to that effect?

*Q.* No, this was a memo, a CIA working paper that was declassified by Senator Kerry as part of his hearings.

*The President.* Well, I'll have to look at it to see. But I think there's a lot of second-guessing and hindsight going on in this matter. It's an egregious matter of breach of public trust in the sense that this bank apparently was doing very bad things. But I've seen motives assigned to various people that I'm not prepared to accept at this point. And I really shouldn't get into that question until I know exactly what the charge is, which I don't know.

I do know this, that some are trying to use this matter to be against my nominee to head the CIA, Bob Gates. And I will resist that every way possible because I repeat my full confidence in his honor and his integrity. And that's where it is, and that's where it's going to be all year long until the Senate does what it should have done, in my view, some time ago, and that's approve him to be Director.

*Q.* Would you regard this as a serious matter, if it turned out—

*The President.* I do regard the whole thing as a very serious matter. A lot of people are going to be hurt in this matter—depositors, honest depositors. And so, I view the whole thing as a serious matter.

*Q.* Can I just finish? If it turned out the Government agencies were aware of this but didn't pass this information on to the Federal Reserve Bank, would that be a serious matter?

*The President.* Well, I think if people were absolutely certain of the fraud and cheating of people, that information should go in proper channels to whoever's responsible. Yes, I would view that as something that's—

Yes, two more over here. These two women in the front here seem very eager.

*Domestic Affairs*

*Q.* Let me just ask you about—there are a lot of Americans who are unemployed or jobless or just kind of struggling to get by and who see you traveling around and talking about aid to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and so forth, and see, perhaps incorrectly, feel and argue that you seem to be paying more attention and more concern to people outside the country. And this is a cry, as you know, that those not so nice Senators may be adding on to. But I wonder, are you concerned about this perception? Is this something that you'll be—

*The President.* No, I'm not in the least concerned. You see, I think people are interested in the START agreement. I think people around this country want to see their children grow up in a world that has less concern about blowing each other up in the world. So, I think people are very much concerned. Yes, they've got economic problems, but I think people are saying, "I think it's good that America is taking the lead in trying to bring about better relations with the Soviet Union who we used to always be enemies with." I think American people are saying, "Good heavens, if the United States can be a catalyst for peace in the Middle East, this is good."

Now, if the charge was made that that's the only thing I'm interested in, and they can manage to sell that through nice guys being told to say bad things, I would be concerned. But listen, we haven't begun to fight on that front. We've got excellent programs. And the only way, when the other party controls the Congress, is to defeat some of their lousy ideas and then keep saying to the American people: Have your Congressman try the President's ideas.

Civil rights is a very good example. Some of our education initiatives are a very good example. Our housing initiatives are a very good example. So, please, American people—let me look over this way—please, do not listen to the charges by frantic Democrats who are trying to say we don't have a domestic policy when we have a very good one. Give it a chance. Let the President's programs come up, and let's have some support for what he was elected to do, not do it on the basis of a concerted

liberal Democratic attack on the President.

And I am not going to lose interest in world peace, and I don't think the American people want me to. And so, we are fully engaged, and wait until you see me come back after August, after I'm rested up a little, to take on these fellows who are very nice, very pleasant—all go down to Pamela Harriman's farm down here, the bastion of democracy, and come back and tell me that we don't have a domestic program. Come on. Lighten up out there. We've got a good one.

Yes, John [John Cochran, NBC News], last question.

*Q.* Where are you—

*The President.* No, we had one over here too, didn't we? No, go ahead to him and then we'll come back.

*'92 Election*

*Q.* Are you going to meet with your advisers this week? And where do you think you're vulnerable politically? Some of your people talk about the Democrats may try to pass a health care plan and you'll get hurt on that, or they may try a soak-the-rich scheme. What are you worried about? You're a pretty good political analyst yourself; you're going to bring something to the discussion—

*The President.* You know why I'm laughing, John? I remember the campaign. Please tell us your weaknesses. Please tell us why you can't make it. It's like those questions that came up during the Iraq war, you remember, on "Saturday Night Live": Please give us the code words so when we invade the beaches we'll know where not to go. Please tell us the exact missile sites that you have, so that we can share this with the American people. [Laughter]

Hey, I've got plenty of problems. And I do a lot of things wrong, and I'm going to try to do better. But we've got a good domestic agenda. We will have a lot more to say about this in the fall. We need more farsighted people like me in Congress, I might add, that will give our ideas a chance.

*Q.* Are you going to run for Congress?

*Q.* You should have stayed there, but you didn't.

*The President.* I mean it. I really hope that we can get more people out there that look at these issues the way I did. The American people elected me to do certain things, and they see a Congress that is frustratingly negative on everything. And so, that's why I'm getting fired up thinking about it, getting a little ahead of where I want to be now. But we've got a good message and it will get out there. But I'll be darned, John, if I'm going to help you by saying, hey, here's my real weakness.

*Q.* —Democrats most vulnerable? Pick two issues the Democrats are most vulnerable on.

*The President.* The economy and world affairs, both.

Last one.

#### *Latin America*

*Q.* Vice President Quayle is going to South America very soon. Now, you just met with Gorbachev, and you talked about Cuba. What about the rest of Latin America? Where does it fit in all this global new order?

*The President.* Very good question, and it gets me back to John's question. Did you finish the question?

*Q.* Well, also I wanted to know if you are going to Mexico this year or are you going to meet with President Salinas this year?

*The President.* I want to meet with him as much as possible. But you played right into my hand on this one. [Laughter] I happen to think that the American people think it is outstanding that we now have a policy toward Central and Latin America and South America that is forward-looking. It's more than rhetoric: the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative, the CBI, and the Brady approach. All of these things are positive, and we have better relations with an almost democratic hemisphere than we've ever had. And I like to think that the United States had a lot to do with encouraging the democratic movements south of our border.

You see, I don't look at the Mexican free trade agreement, for example, as something that's just going to benefit Mexico. I think it fits into what John was asking about, a domestic program. I think it's going to mean jobs for the working men and women of this country.

And so, these things interact. But look, if I send a signal that we're neglecting Latin America, I would say this to you right now, what I tell the leaders: Please understand that is not true. And the fact Dan Quayle is going down there is a very important thing. Bob Mosbacher's going there. And what they're doing is talking about how we can further enhance and work with them on their economic recoveries.

*Q.* But did you talk to Mr. Gorbachev about this, and what is the result of that conversation?

*The President.* I didn't talk to him about each individual country, but I did have a chance to—I'm not sure it was with Gorbachev—point out how interested we are in this whole hemisphere being democratic. That point was made when the Cuban discussion came up. But I didn't go into the Brady plan or the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative with each of these other countries—to which we are firmly committed. So, I can't say that was a major subject because it doesn't interact with the bilateral, with the Soviet interest so much.

But I did say this: We're very grateful to you for your help with the solution to the Nicaraguan question. And he understood exactly what I meant, just as I showed some interest in Africa and thanked him for their role in Namibia and in Angola, and saying let's work together to eliminate apartheid in South Africa. So, that was the way the questions of South America were touched and on other global matters.

But listen, thanks. I hope you all get a little chance for a vacation. I'll be here for—go to Camp David today. I'll be back—I'm not trying to be like Dana Carvey here—[laughter]—but I'm going to be here Monday and Tuesday. And then I'll come back. Maybe we'll have another little seance before I leave. And then I'm history for a few weeks. And I will try to do a few domestic events out of Maine, traveling a little bit. Probably have some meetings. I'm anticipating a visit from a foreign leader up there. And so, I'll be working some, but I don't want to mislead the American people. As far as I'm concerned, it's going to be a vacation. I think I've earned it, like a lot of Americans, and I'm looking forward to it.

And it will not be denied.

*President's Health*

*Q.* How are you feeling, Mr. President?

*The President.* Ten—ten out of ten. And how do I know? I just got a clean bill of health this morning from Dr. Lee and company. I really feel good. I get a little tired. Look, I'm 67. I get a little tired on a trip like this. But I slept well last night, and I'm ready to go. I mean, I'm very blessed with all this. So, there's no hangups. All this politics, it's got plenty of time to fall into place. And as I say, health—I don't want to mislead anyone, but right now I feel like a million bucks.

*'92 Election*

*Q.* When do you think you will announce on whether you're going to run again?

*The President.* Well, I want to get some opinion from all of these gurus with whom I'll be surrounded here.

*Q.* What's your feeling about it?

*The President.* Gut feeling? Well—

*Q.* January? Earlier?

*The President.* Well, I can't even remember what my predecessors did, and so I certainly don't want to prejudge that. Maybe January. I don't know. It's just—please don't write "Maybe January" down—maybe February, maybe March. [*Laughter*] I don't know. But I want to do what's best, not just for the President and Vice President but what will help us do what I'm asking for here, get more support in the United States Congress. And I don't know yet the answer to that. That's way ahead of the political power curve.

Thank you all very much.

*Note: The President's 97th news conference began at 12:34 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In the news conference, he referred to the following persons: Pamela Harriman, a Democratic Party fundraiser; President Carlos Salinas de Gortari of Mexico; Dana Carvey, a comedian who did an impersonation of President Bush; and Burton J. Lee III, Physician to the President.*

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Health *August 2, 1991*

As the President mentioned in his press conference today, he had a routine examination this morning by his personal physician, Dr. Burton Lee. Dr. Lee reports that the President is in excellent health. There are no changes in the President's medication.

The President continues to recover from Grave's disease, and his treatment and response are normal. The President maintains a vigorous and healthy physical regimen. His work habits are normal and reflect his good health.

## Nomination of Arnold Lee Kanter To Be an Under Secretary of State *August 2, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Arnold Lee Kanter, of Virginia, to be Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs. He would succeed Robert Michael Kimmitt.

Currently Dr. Kanter serves as Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs and Senior Director for Defense Policy and Arms Control at the National Security Council at the White House in

Washington, DC. Prior to this he served as Director of the National Security Strategies Program and as Associate Director of the International Security and Defense Program, 1985–1989. Dr. Kanter served at the Department of State as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Politico-Military Affairs, Deputy to the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, and Director of

the Office of Policy Analysis in the Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs.

Dr. Kanter graduated from the University of Michigan (B.A., 1966) and Yale University (M.Phil., 1969, and Ph.D., 1975). He was born February 27, 1945, in Chicago, IL. Dr. Kanter is married, has two children, and resides in McLean, VA.

## Nomination of Jo Ann Krukar Webb To Be an Assistant Secretary of Veterans Affairs

*August 2, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Jo Ann Krukar Webb, of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of Veterans Affairs for Policy and Planning. She would succeed Allen B. Clark, Jr.

Since 1989 Ms. Webb has served as Director of the National Cemetery System in the Department of Veterans Affairs in Washington, DC. Prior to this she served as

a health care consultant for ACTION.

Ms. Webb graduated from Pennsylvania State University (B.S., 1970) and George Washington University (M.H.A., 1978). She was born June 30, 1948, in Ford City, PA. Ms. Webb served in the U.S. Army, 1968–1976. She is married and resides in Falls Church, VA.

## Nomination of Edward Joseph Mazur To Be Controller of the Office of Federal Financial Management

*August 2, 1991*

The President nominated Edward Joseph Mazur, of Virginia, to be Controller of the Office of Federal Financial Management, Office of Management and Budget. The Controller is a new position established by the Chief Financial Officers Act of 1990.

Since 1980 Mr. Mazur has served as the State comptroller of the Commonwealth of Virginia. In addition, Mr. Mazur serves as

cochairman of the State/Federal cash management reform task force, 1983–present.

Mr. Mazur graduated from the University of Connecticut (B.S., 1964) and the University of Pennsylvania Wharton School (M.B.A., 1968). He was born September 24, 1942, in New Haven, CT. Mr. Mazur is married, has three children, and resides in Richmond, VA.

## Nomination of Gary C. Byrne To Be a Member of the Farm Credit Administration Board

*August 2, 1991*

The President has nominated Gary C. Byrne, of California, to be a member of the Farm Credit Administration Board for the term expiring May 21, 1996. He would succeed Marvin Duncan.

Currently Dr. Byrne serves as Administrator of the Rural Electrification Administration at the Department of Agriculture. Prior to this he served as chairman, presi-

dent, and chief executive officer of the Bank of Alex Brown in Sacramento, CA.

Dr. Byrne graduated from the University of Redlands (B.A., 1965) and the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill (Ph.D., 1969). He was born May 1, 1942, in Upland, CA. Dr. Byrne is married, has two children, and resides in Washington, DC.

## Statement on the Supreme Court Nomination of Clarence Thomas

*August 5, 1991*

Judge Clarence Thomas, accompanied by Senator Jack Danforth, has met individually with almost 60 Members of the Senate. Fred McClure, our Director of Legislative Affairs, informs me that these visits have gone very well.

Judge Thomas has attracted the support of a broad spectrum of people from across America. With the overwhelming support that is now showing up for Judge Thomas, in measurable ways, not only in the minori-

ty communities but across the board, you can see that he is much closer to the mainstream of America than some of the groups that are opposing him.

I look forward to having the hearings begin on September 10 on my nomination of Judge Thomas. The American people are going to see, and the Senate will confirm, that Judge Thomas is the right person to earn the title "Mr. Justice."

## Letter to Congressional Leaders Transmitting a Report on Hungarian Emigration Policy

*August 5, 1991*

*Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)*

In January 1991 I determined and reported to the Congress that Hungary continues to meet the emigration criteria of the Jackson-Vanik amendment to, and section 409 of, the Trade Act of 1974.

As required by law, I am submitting an updated formal report to the Congress concerning emigration laws and policies of the Republic of Hungary. You will find that the report indicates continued Hungarian com-

pliance with U.S. and international standards in the areas of emigration and human rights policy.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

*Note: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Dan Quayle, President of the Senate.*

## Letter to Congressional Leaders Reporting on the National Emergency With Respect to Export Controls

August 5, 1991

*Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)*

1. On April 23, 1991, consistent with the requirements of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 *et seq.*) ("IEEPA"), I reported to the Congress on the exercise of export control authority under Executive Order No. 12730 of September 30, 1990. In that order, I declared a national emergency under the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 *et seq.*) to deal with the threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States caused by the lapse of the Export Administration Act of 1979, as amended (50 U.S.C. 2401 *et seq.*).

2. Section 401(c) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1641(c)) requires that the President, within 90 days after the end of each 6-month period following a declaration of a national emergency, report to the Congress on the total expenditures directly attributable to that declaration. This report, covering the 6-month period from September 30, 1990, to March 31, 1991, is submitted in accordance with that requirement.

3. The expenses incurred by the Federal Government in the 6-month period from September 30, 1990, to March 31, 1991, that are directly attributable to the exercise

of authorities conferred by the declaration of a national emergency with respect to export controls were largely centered in the Department of Commerce. Expenditures by the Department of Commerce are estimated at \$19,797,000, most of which represent wage and salary costs for Federal personnel. Personnel costs were largely centered in the Bureau of Export Administration.

4. The unrestricted access of foreign parties to U.S. goods, technology, and technical data and the existence of certain boycott practices of foreign nations, in light of the expiration of the Export Administration Act of 1979, continue to constitute an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States. I shall continue to exercise the powers at my disposal to retain the export control system, including the anti-boycott provisions, and will continue to report periodically to the Congress.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

*Note: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Dan Quayle, President of the Senate.*

## Letter to Congressional Leaders Transmitting the Annual Report on Nuclear Nonproliferation

August 5, 1991

*Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)*

I have reviewed the activities of the United States Government departments and agencies during calendar year 1990 related to preventing nuclear proliferation, and I am pleased to submit my annual report pursuant to section 601(a) of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act of 1978 (Public Law 95-242, 22 U.S.C. 3281(a)).

As the report demonstrates, the United

States continued its efforts during 1990 to prevent the spread of nuclear explosives to additional countries. The events of the past year underline the importance of these efforts to preserving our national security by reducing the risk of war and increasing international stability. I am determined to build on the achievements cited in this report and to work with the Congress toward our common goal: a safer and more

secure future for all humankind.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

*Note: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Dan Quayle, President of the Senate.*

## Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the All-American Cities Awards

August 6, 1991

Please be seated and thank you. You're probably clapping for this fantastic weather. [Laughter] Isn't it marvelous.

Let me just thank the Members of Congress who are with me today and thank them for their interest. A couple of them were former mayors, so they know something about what it's like to be on the firing line. But Dick Lugar and Mike McNulty, Ben Cardin, Bob McEwen are with us. And I want to particularly single out the representatives of our finest cities. I see my friend Henry Cisneros over here. He'll have something to do later on, part of the program. Wayne Hedien also, who's the chairman and CEO of Allstate.

You know often people ask why we ought to be optimistic about our Nation's future. You hear a lot of complaints, and there are a lot of problems, but I think there is reason to be optimistic. Look at any of the 10 cities that are appropriately being honored here today, and listen to the stories of small cities like Gothenburg, Nebraska, population 3,000, and of big cities like Baltimore. Hear these stories and you'll hear the heartbeat of this country. And you'll share our unshakable optimism in the future of this great land because there is no finer resource in this world, as these cities prove, than the people, American people. Mayor Michael Harmless of Greencastle, Indiana, put it best: "Our people made the difference." And he means people who rejected pessimism and apathy in favor of optimism and engagement.

Today we salute the 1991 All-American Cities that join a roster of honor of over 400 other chosen since 1949. These communities recognize the truth that William Jennings Bryan expressed nearly 100 years ago.

"Destiny is not a matter of chance," he said, "it's a matter of choice. It's not a thing to be waited for; it's a thing to be achieved."

Well, these communities have lessons to teach us all. And they do not wait for government to take the initiative. They recognize that government can solve some but not all the problems. And they realize that communities can claim and shape their own destinies. These communities prove the power of partnership. Across this country citizens, government, business, and volunteer groups are cooperating to confront community issues together. These communities recognize the responsibilities of citizenship, as Teddy Roosevelt admonished Americans to be actors, not merely critics. And the central theme of all these stories is the unlimited power and promise of voluntary service to others. These communities show us the strength of the American character, people helping one another without expecting any financial compensation for themselves. And today we call them Points of Light. But they've been the heart of our Nation for over 200 years.

And some of their projects focused on youth, like Gadsden, Alabama's motivational Quest for Excellence, or Baltimore's mentoring program called Project Raise. To fight crime, Austin, Texas, inaugurated Youth at Risk, and Winchester-Frederick County in Virginia set up a teen center to foster a drug-free environment. In Albany, New York, community groups, businesses, and social services, these social service agencies, came up with the Albany Plan to battle drug abuse through prevention, education, enforcement, and of course, treatment.



Some communities launched an urban renaissance. In New Jersey, Newark residents devised plans to revitalize the downtown area and thus restore the neighborhoods. And Greensboro, North Carolina, citizens created a public-private partnership called Visions to reinvigorate their city. A few communities fought for their very survival. Greencastle, Indiana, lost 40 percent of its jobs—imagine this, 40 percent of its jobs—when a major national corporation moved out. So, residents got together and introduced a creative economic development initiative to attract new industries.

Gothenburg, Nebraska, fought for its future after the agricultural depression, revitalizing the Gothenburg Improvement Company. Inspired by the slogan “vision is the art of seeing things invisible,” volunteers have recruited new jobs for residents, making their vision a reality.

A three-time winner, Dayton, Ohio, took aim at three critical issues: protecting water, battling drugs, and providing affordable housing. Citizens, the private sector,

and city government all joined forces showing how diverse segments of the city can combine their many gifts and resources to make a difference. As Mayor Rick Blase of Gothenburg says, “Any problem you face is insurmountable if faced alone. But together Americans can do anything.”

A centuries-old inscription on a church in Sussex, England, summarizes what these communities here in this country have done: “A vision without a task is but a dream. A task without a vision is drudgery. But a vision with a task is the hope of the world.”

So, thanks to all of you and all out here for giving us hope, for showing us the way. And may God bless this great land we share. And now we’ll get on with these presentations. Thank you very, very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 9:19 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Henry Cisneros, chairman of the board of the National Civic League.*

## Remarks at a Kickoff Ceremony for the Eighth Annual National Night Out Against Crime in Arlington, Virginia

August 6, 1991

Thank you, Dick, Mr. Attorney General, thank you very much. To Judge Bonner, my respects. And I’m just delighted to be here. To Matt Peskin, the director of the National Association of Town Watch, I was glad to have met him and glad that he’s here. And we’ve got other key members of our law enforcement team here today. I can’t see him, but I’m told Carol Hallett’s out there, the U.S. Customs Commissioner; Mike Moore of the Marshals; Steve Higgins, the Director of ATF; Peter Nunez, the Assistant Treasury Secretary for Law Enforcement; and Maurice Turner, who is our nominee, and I’m proud to say that, for the Bureau of Justice Assistance.

This is my first visit to the DEA headquarters, this one, and certainly, I’m told, the first visit of a President to come to DEA headquarters, this one where some of

America’s biggest heroes work every single day. I know quite a few DEA agents have joined us this morning along with a class of the DC Metro Police, the recruits there, the DEA Basic Agent Class 81. And let’s thank them also for the courageous work they’re doing. I am also pleased that so many local neighborhood Town Watch activists could join us here today.

And I really wanted to say that you deserve our thanks for your courageous and selfless work, too. And it’s also great to see these kids here in the front, the young kids, I’m told, from the District. I’m delighted to have them here, and I understand one of them is going to come up and help us screw in this light bulb in a little bit.

What a pleasure it is to join with you this morning for the kickoff ceremony of the eighth annual National Night Out. I admit I

told the staff that participating in the Night Out ceremony did not mean they get the morning off ceremony—[laughter]—although several are with me and delighted to be here.

This evening, 23 million people in 50 States, the U.S. territories, and military bases all over the world will say good-bye to crime. And they'll turn on these outside lights, sit on porches, and visit with their neighbors and the local police officials. And they're going to host block parties and cookouts and parades and contests. And they'll organize the most effective crime-fighting force known to anyone, and that is communities that care.

We want to turn back the clock in this area to the good old days when all the kids knew the cop on the beat, when people looked out for their neighbors, and when we felt safe in our own communities. Too many times today, as Dick pointed out, neighbors and police are perfect strangers. The communities don't come together. And the result: Too many crimes go unobserved or unreported; too many criminals go free.

We have a chance to change all that. And tonight will be the biggest Night Out ever, 8,300 communities, I'm told. Nearly every American major city will join in. Hundreds of suburban and rural communities will join the festivities.

In Minneapolis, last year's biggest Night Out city, concerned citizens will gather at over 700 block parties. At the Minneapolis youth kickoff dance, more than 1,000 young people will give crime the twist, the pretzel, and the bump. And in Memphis, people will rejoice at a mock funeral community watch groups there have organized to bury crime. In New Orleans, it's a Mardi Gras-style jazz festival for crime that will promote the day when criminals will sing the blues.

And in Buffalo, New York, police agencies and government officials from the United States and Canada will join in a Hands Across the Border ceremony while crime fighters aboard the U.S.S. *Little Rock* say bon voyage to crime. Forest Hills, Texas, will host an Old West Shoot-Out against the bad guys in the black hats. And the 7276 U.S. Air Base Group in Crete, Greece, will sponsor a Spot the Burglar contest.

In cities and towns across America and at our military bases overseas, law-abiding citizens want criminals to know that there are more of us than them. And neighborhood watch programs and other community patrols will serve notice that we plan to deploy our most powerful weapons against drugs and crime, our eyes and our ears.

The fight against crime in many ways is a fight to rebuild the institutions from which America has always drawn its strength, families and schools and neighborhoods and places of worship. And our administration believes in building a rule of law by emphasizing the values and virtues that make our land great.

Our comprehensive crime bill would strengthen the relationship between law enforcement officials at the local, State, and Federal levels. And right now that legislation is up on Capitol Hill, and I'd like to have a comprehensive crime bill that I can sign into the law by the end of this year. And we're going to keep pushing for that end. I think the American people want such legislation. Sometimes you hear of my lack of interest in domestic affairs. Well, here's a good example of something they can move on right now and should have been enacted a long, long time ago.

And we've proposed reforms that let local prosecutors and judges do their job. And they're the ones who know how to fight crime in your community, not some so-called expert back here in Washington, DC. And what we need are more police officers, prosecutors, and judges who understand the rule of law.

Our nominee for the U.S. Supreme Court, let me just say a word about him, Judge Clarence Thomas. He not only has lived the values that we hold dear, he's promoted them through his distinguished career in public service. And his personal story—when you meet him you can't help but be impressed, in my case, deeply moved. It impresses everybody, everybody that's fair and openminded. And I nominated him because he has the brains, he has the record, and he has the personal decency that Americans should expect in a Justice of the Supreme Court, a fidelity to the Constitution and the rule of law.

Judge Thomas has tremendous support from a broad section, a cross-section of America. And that across-the-board support includes minority communities, overwhelmingly supported in minority communities, I might add, and is now manifesting itself in measurable ways. So, when you hear about opposition to Judge Thomas from one beltway group or another, it's clear that they are simply out of touch with mainstream America.

Look at today's piece in the Washington Post by Margaret Bush Wilson, a former chairman of the NAACP's national board of directors for 9 years. She was chairman of the board for 9 years, and she's known Judge Thomas for 17 years, known him personally. In supporting the judge, she said, "I know that as a Supreme Court Justice, Clarence Thomas will continue to defend and protect the rights of the needy. He does not permit anyone to think for him, and he is intellectually honest." Maybe some of these groups out there could take a lesson from that distinguished civil rights advocate and look at the facts and the record instead of engaging in ideological attacks.

As we talk today about values and about taking responsibility for building a better future, Clarence Thomas comes to mind. He certainly exemplifies the very attitudes we want all Americans to adopt as they build better, safer communities.

You also understand the front lines: reporting suspicious activities, identifying these drug dealers, even closing down crack

houses. And you play a critical role in building a better future for this Nation. I salute you for your faith in America and your hope in a better tomorrow for our children. It was very good for me to walk by this lobby and see those shields of those who have given their lives in your line of work, standing up against crime to the benefit of all Americans. It brought home to me once again, as previous awards ceremonies have, how indebted I am and how indebted this country is to those of you who served in that manner on the front line. Don't sit at the head table, not the heroes receiving the awards, but out there day in and day out trying to make things a little better, a little safer for these kids that are here today and others like them all across the country.

So, in addition to saluting this program, I want to tell you from the heart I am very, very grateful to everybody that serves at DEA, the other groups that I mentioned here, or those that are going into police work. You have my confidence, and you have my gratitude. So, it's a fitting way to start this light bulb ceremony by me just saying from the bottom of my heart, thank you very, very much. And may God bless the United States. Thank you.

*Note: The President spoke at 11:10 a.m. in the auditorium at the Drug Enforcement Administration. In his opening remarks, he referred to Attorney General Dick Thornburgh and Robert C. Bonner, Administrator of the Drug Enforcement Administration.*

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Soviet-United States Trade Agreement

August 6, 1991

The President sent to the Congress on August 2 the U.S.-Soviet trade agreement for its approval as he said he would do during the Moscow summit. The agreement provides for reciprocal most-favored-nation tariff treatment.

The President stated in his transmittal letter to the Congress that the trade agreement, which will extend MFN to the

U.S.S.R. and the Baltic States, in no way alters the long-standing policy of the U.S. of not recognizing the forcible incorporation of the Baltic States of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia into the U.S.S.R. or our support for their legitimate rights.

The administration has decided to supplement the extension of MFN to the U.S.S.R. and the Baltic States with special provisions

for the Baltic States. First, we will begin accounting for Baltic origin products separately from those originating elsewhere in the U.S.S.R. for trade statistical purposes.

Second, we will also offer to the Baltic Governments technical assistance in trade development and export promotion to improve our trade relations with them.

## Exchange With Reporters Aboard Air Force One

August 6, 1991

*The President.* This is my pre-vacation goodwill stop here.

### Hostage Situation

*Q.* Hear anything on the hostages? On the deal?

*The President.* Haven't heard an official word at all. Seen those hopes get raised over and over again, and—

*Q.* Have you had a lot of communications with various different countries that seem to have raised your hopes?

*The President.* No, I'm not saying that. I'm just saying all this public attention to it, which comes in cycles, it seems to me, in waves. And I do not want to make any statement of any kind that will contribute to the concern of the families involved. So, we'll leave it there. If something happens, so much the better. The story will come out on what the United States, you know, has done on the question of connecting countries. But it is just totally counterproductive to raise the hopes of families. This has happened over and over again, only to have them destroyed. I've told the American people that we're doing everything we can, but I simply do not want to get into any details here at this point for that very reason.

*Q.* Is there any reason why the whole chemistry would have changed at this point and these hostages—

*The President.* Well, I can think of a lot of reasons, but you could have thought of the same reasons years ago in terms of better relations with one or another. Don't try to get me to do what I don't want to do here because it really is unfair on the human dimension to these families. It really is.

*Q.* Have you talked to Perez de Cuellar?

*The President.* We're in touch with—and have been consistently for a long period of

time about these matters. And I'm simply not going to contribute to the speculation until we're sure of something. It's not fair to the families.

Had a good meeting with, debrief with Jim Baker at lunch. Brent, John Sununu, and I met with him. He's very tired, obviously, but as you know there were predictions months ago that we'd never be this far. And so I salute him for what he's doing, what he's tried to do—those leaders around the world with whom he's met and with whom I've been in contact. And let's just hope that the whole process goes forward. It's very, very important for world peace.

### Middle East Peace Conference

*Q.* Does it look like the PLO, though, is now kind of pulling back after making—

*The President.* Well, one spokesman did. But Jim was not altogether discouraged. There's an awful lot of sentiment amongst Palestinians everywhere, amongst certainly the Arab countries, wanting this peace process to go forward. So, let's hope that reason prevails and that all sides keep leaning forward; that's what's needed now.

I don't know. Again, it's hard to quantify your feelings as to whether it's all going to come together or not, but I'm much more optimistic now than I was a month ago, put it that way.

### President's Vacation

*Q.* Are you glad to be out of here?

*The President.* I'm out—yes, just couldn't be more pleased.

### Resignation of FDIC Chairman William Seidman

*Q.* Do you have any comments on Mr. Seidman's resignation?

*The President.* No. I think it was—except

that I think he's done a very good job, and I don't think it's unexpected. I think the term expires, and I think he's indicated some time ago that he was willing to stay until around this period of time. I just saw the letter.

Q. Are you considering Mr. Taylor to replace—

*The President.* I'm not—I just saw his letter. So we're not speculating. The fix is not on.

Q. Hadn't you indicated at one time that you'd like to see him—

*The President.* Well, we'll start over and take a hard look. There will be some names coming my way. But I don't—well, I guess, if there's a letter of resignation made, it may be they send them up here. We have a whole system for those things, so I don't want to get ahead of where we are. There's no firm decision.

#### *Iran-Contra Investigation*

Q. Any reaction on the Iran-*contra* investigation by Congress?

*The President.* No, just so it's fair. As I've said before, if they've got some evidence and it's hard evidence and it's not just based on outrageously flimsy sources, fine. I've told you my opinion about the charges that were made against me about being in Paris, or being anywhere, and I've told you a flat denial with any knowledge, direct or indirect. So, I'd like to think that this will be done responsibly and certainly will approach it in that way. But I hope it's just not, as Bob Michel said, a wild goose chase. You know, when you're dealing with flimsy evidence and people who are less than reliable in terms of their backgrounds, you've got to be very careful. But if they've got something and they can get to the bottom of this and prove it one way or another, so much the better. But if it's simply something else as we approach a political season,

that wouldn't be good.

But I have no reason to question Speaker Foley on this.

Q. Any thoughts on the timing of this, though, coming into the campaign year?

*The President.* No, I don't—no, just let them go forward. Unless—the American people are going to be saying, "What have you got? What's your evidence? Who are your sources? How firm is it? Is it political or not?" I'm sure that Foley and Mitchell do not intend to conduct a political trial of some sort here. But the people are going to be saying, "What's your evidence? What's the hard evidence here?" But I've said before, hey, if you've got something, go forward and fully investigate. And in the process I've defended myself against a lot of scurrilous, scandalous rumors. And I'll be prepared to do that all along the way.

#### *Hostage Situation*

Q. Have we had any corroboration at all from the British or the Syrians, for that matter, on this Tehran Times article?

*The President.* I'm not sure I know which article you're talking about.

Q. I'm talking about the article related to the hostages.

*The President.* I can't, again, comment any further on it. But I think everybody is extraordinarily interested in this and hoping for something. But again, I don't want to contribute to that.

I'd better get down there and sit down. I'm glad you guys are with us.

*Note: The exchange took place in the afternoon while the President was en route to Kennebunkport, ME. In the exchange, the following persons were referred to: United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar and William Taylor, Director of the Division of Banking Supervision and Regulation of the Federal Reserve System.*

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Supreme Court Nomination of Clarence Thomas

*August 7, 1991*

Judge Thomas has diverse and broad-based support across the country, including in minority communities. His record is distinguished and demonstrates his lifelong commitment to the rule of law and fidelity to the Constitution.

The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights' action today ignores this record and reflects their liberal political agenda. This

predictable opposition simply shows again that they are out of touch with mainstream America.

We look forward to the September hearings where we are confident that Judge Thomas' outstanding record, experience, and extraordinary background will show once and for all why he will make an exemplary Justice of the Supreme Court.

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Release of British Hostage John McCarthy

*August 8, 1991*

President Bush is pleased by the release today of John McCarthy by his captors in Lebanon. Rumors persist of the release of an American hostage, but we still have no direct information that such a release will occur. While we are happy for the family of Mr. McCarthy, we reiterate our appeal that all hostages be released immediately, safely, and unconditionally.

We remain in touch with our Ambassador in Lebanon and other officials in the region through diplomatic channels. Our State De-

partment Reception Team left Washington last evening and is now in Wiesbaden, Germany. We will contact the British Government to obtain any information that Mr. McCarthy has regarding the condition of American hostages with whom he was held in tragic captivity in Lebanon. We are in frequent contact with the families of the American hostages, and our thoughts and prayers are with them. We continue to hope and pray that all hostages will be released.

## Letter on the Resignation of Attorney General Dick Thornburgh

*August 9, 1991*

*Dear Dick:*

It is with mixed emotions that I accept your resignation as Attorney General effective as of the close of business on Thursday, August 15, 1991.

Your departure from the Cabinet will be a great loss. As America's chief law enforcement officer, you have been relentless and unwavering in your pursuit of all those who would prey upon our society, from the violent offender, to the international drug traf-

ficker; from the organized crime boss, to the environmental polluter; from the savings and loan thief, to the corrupt public official. At the same time, you have provided crucial and courageous leadership on a host of difficult issues, from efforts to enact our civil rights and crime bills, to protecting the Executive Branch against incursions on our constitutional authority.

Most important, during the last three years, when I had a tough call to make, I

knew I could rely on your sound judgment and advice. That is, after all, the most important tribute that a client can pay to his lawyer. So, as you leave the Cabinet, know that you carry with you the utmost thanks of your client for a job well done.

In returning to your home state of Pennsylvania, however, you provide our Party with the strongest possible candidate in the special election to fill the seat left vacant by the tragic death of Senator John Heinz. And come next year, I will be looking forward to working with "Senator Dick Thornburgh" on the many important issues that our Nation faces.

Barbara joins me in extending to you and Ginny and your family all our best wishes. Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

*Dear Mr. President:*

As you know, I earlier expressed to you my intention to seek the Republican nomination for the United States Senate seat from Pennsylvania left vacant by the tragic death of our mutual friend, Senator John Heinz.

As you also know, there was a very real question about whether the election to fill that seat would be held this year or at any time before 1994. That question appears to have been resolved this week by a federal court in Pennsylvania.

Accordingly, I am tendering to you my resignation as Attorney General effective as of the close of business on Thursday, August 15, 1991.

I cannot begin to express to you how fulfilling and rewarding my service as a

member of your Cabinet has been. With your strong support, the Department of Justice has led a stepped-up law enforcement effort against international drug traffickers and money launderers, organized crime, white collar criminals, environmental polluters, and those who would deprive our citizens of their civil rights and the advantages of free market competition. Much of our success in these endeavors has been due to the day-in, day-out efforts of the many dedicated employees of this Department, but your leadership and strong support have been crucial and invaluable.

Ginny and I are both also most appreciative of your efforts in securing passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act, which I believe to be the most important civil rights legislation signed into law in the last 25 years.

On a more personal note, we will always treasure the warm friendship which you and Barbara have shown toward our family. The many personal kindnesses extended to us during the past three years have added immeasurably to the pride we feel in having served your Administration and our nation during these challenging and exciting times.

I hope to continue to have the opportunity to work with you during the months and years ahead in the service of our country. Until then, I extend my best wishes for further success to you and to my Cabinet colleagues.

Sincerely,

DICK THORNBURGH

*Note: The letters were made available by the Office of the Press Secretary but were not issued as White House press releases.*

## Statement on Wetlands Preservation August 9, 1991

I am announcing today a comprehensive plan for improving the protection of the Nation's wetlands. Wetlands serve an important role in flood control; they help filter wastes from water; they provide an impor-

tant habitat and breeding ground for fish, birds, and animals; and they are an important recreational resource.

The plan seeks to balance two important objectives: the protection, restoration, and

creation of wetlands and the need for sustained economic growth and development.

The three-part plan is designed to slow and eventually stop the net loss of wetlands and takes a significant step toward the President's goal of no net loss of wetlands. It will:

1. Strengthen wetlands acquisition programs and other efforts to protect wetlands;

2. Revise the interagency manual defining wetlands to ensure that it is workable; and
3. Improve and streamline the current wetlands regulatory system.

*Note: The proposed revision of the interagency manual referred to in this Presidential statement was published in the Federal Register of August 14, 1991.*

## Excerpt of a Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Middle East Hostage Situation and China *August 10, 1991*

We have seen news reports about the release of American hostages, and we remain hopeful that one or more hostages will be released soon. We are, of course, trying to obtain more information.

The Revolutionary Justice Organization has apparently told the press that it will release a hostage within 72 hours. Past communications and photographs issued in the name of that group have stated that it holds Joseph Cicippio and Edward Tracy. We have no direct information concerning this statement. We continue to receive reports from diplomatic sources that a captive release will occur.

We reiterate that now is the time for all hostages and others held outside of the legal system in the region to be released immediately, unconditionally, and safely for hu-

manitarian reasons. We call on all governments with influence to make this happen.

Our reception team remains in Wiesbaden [Germany] on standby status, and we continue to maintain contacts with the families of all hostages.

We understand that China has announced it intends to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. This is something that we have been seeking for a long time. We welcome this development, and we look forward to early ratification by China of the treaty.

*Note: Material from this statement that pertained to the President's daily schedule in Kennebunkport, ME, has been included in the Digest of Other White House Announcements.*

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Release of American Hostage Edward Tracy *August 11, 1991*

The Syrian Foreign Ministry has informed the U.S. Embassy in Damascus that Edward Austin Tracy has been released by his captors in Lebanon and has been taken into custody of Syrian officials in Damascus. President Bush is gratified that Edward Tracy has been released and shares the happiness of all Americans for him and his

family.

The President was advised by Deputy National Security Adviser Robert Gates at 7 a.m. that American hostage Edward Tracy had been released and was in Damascus. The Syrian Government had notified the U.S. Embassy Chargé at about 3 a.m. that a release was imminent. The President was



notified that a release was expected soon.

Just before 7 a.m., the U.S. Embassy was informed that Mr. Tracy is in the Foreign

Ministry in Damascus. We understand that the U.S. Chargé, John Craig, is now on his way to the Foreign Ministry.

## Exchange With Reporters in Kennebunkport, Maine, Following the Release of American Hostage Edward Tracy

August 11, 1991

*The President.* Let me just read a brief statement, if I might, because I know that all Americans are gratified today by the release of Edward Tracy from captivity in Lebanon. We share in the happiness of Mr. Tracy's family for his release, but we know the anguish of the families who still have relatives in captivity. And I want them to know that we continue to press for the freedom of their loved ones.

I just talked to Mrs. Doris Tracy and to Ed Tracy's sister, Maria Lambert, over in Vermont, and they, of course, are experiencing the joy and happiness that any family would. They too are praying for the release of the others.

And I'd like to express our appreciation to the Government of Iran which used its influence with the Lebanese groups involved in order to gain the unconditional release of these hostages. And our thanks also go out to the Governments of Syria and Lebanon, both of which have facilitated this release.

And at the same time, our satisfaction is necessarily tempered by the fact that these other hostages are still held. We call upon the governments with influence on this issue to build on this positive move and work for the release of all hostages regardless of their nationality and for an accounting of those who may have died while in captivity. And so, again, I think our whole country rejoices, but we still have much apprehension and much to be prayerful about on this Sunday, August 11th.

*Q.* Mr. President, why do you think these hostages have been released in recent days? And do you think this could be the beginning of the end of this crisis?

*The President.* Well, we don't know exactly why they were released. Some are tying

it to the peace process. Maybe if that's true, so much the better. But the fact is that this man has now been released, and we're simply now focusing on future releases. I just can't answer that question definitively.

*Q.* Does this bode well, though, for the others, sir?

*The President.* Well, I would hope so, and I certainly don't think there's anything contrawise in it. I mean, I think it's got to be positive news for all.

*Q.* You've given thanks to Iran, to Syria, and to Lebanon. Is it perhaps time for Israel to do something specific?

*The President.* Jim [Jim Miklaszewski, NBC News], I've said that all countries holding hostages ought to release them—people that are not held under procedures of law but have been taken hostage. I just hope that we soon wake up in this world and recognize that holding hostages is a counterproductive way to make a statement of policy or for any other reason.

*Q.* Well, sir, excuse me, but if you're responding to this question on Israel, are you saying that Israel is holding hostages?

*The President.* I'm just saying I just defined for you what hostage-holding is.

*Q.* Are you saying that Israel should release the Shiite prisoners that it holds?

*The President.* I'm saying everybody that is held as a hostage should be released by every country, whichever it is.

*Q.* Mr. President, you've mentioned the help from Iran and Syria. What kind of good will would you be now willing to extend to them for the good will that they've shown? And also, can you give us anything further on exactly what kind of help they've provided and how much—

*The President.* I don't think it's a question of extending good will. Other Americans

are being held against their will. Others from different countries are being held against their will. So, we want to see them all released. So, I've just said that we are grateful for the release of this one hostage, but there's much left to be done, unfortunately.

*Q.* So, you're saying that you really don't expect any change or improvement in relations with Syria and Iran until all the hostages are out?

*The President.* I think the hostage question is one question between these countries, and there are many other questions between these countries. But we view this as a very positive step. But I don't think we owe anybody anything when Americans are being held against their will and then one is released and others are still in captivity. What I don't want to do is flamboyantly and inadvertently set something back here if the process is going to go forward. I don't want to do that. But on the other hand, I simply will keep repeating that there will not be, there can't be totally normalized relations as long as people are held against their will.

Now, the Iranians will say that they're not holding these people, and indeed I think they have been helpful here. But to be really helpful, we'd see the release of all these Americans and the Brits and everybody else.

Again, I appeal to hostage-holders, wherever they may be, to release the hostages.

*Q.* Have you talked to Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar since his meeting with McCarthy, and have you talked to the Israeli leaders about this—

*The President.* No, I've not talked to any of them.

*Q.* Will you be talking to the Israeli leaders about McCarthy's letter? McCarthy says that in the letter is this request for the 400 Arab prisoners to be released from Israel.

*The President.* I imagine that we'll be in touch with Israel through the proper channels, but I haven't talked to any of the people you ask about. They know our position. Having been reiterated here, I hope that it's heard loud and clear around the world.

*Q.* Have you heard yet what is in the letter?

*The President.* I haven't heard the details of it at all, no.

*Q.* Sir, do you have any indications or rumors from diplomatic sources that the process will go on in the next few hours or days?

*The President.* Well, again, there are rumors. There continue to be rumors. But I think everyone that's been trolling around here for the last few days know that I've been expressing real word of caution as they first focused on one family, then another family. And there's a certain cruelty to this process.

Having said that, I am pleased that Mr. Tracy has been released.

*Q.* Mr. President, just a followup on that. Do you have any reason to believe that these two hostage releases that we've seen, and three if you count the Frenchman, is this part of a process that's going to keep going forward?

*The President.* I don't know, Rita [Rita Beamish, Associated Press]. I simply don't know the answer to that. Do you remember when, oh, it seems like years ago, hostages were released, everyone's hopes were up that this would signal the beginning of the end. And it has failed to materialize. So, I think we've got to be a little cautious on that. But perhaps, given the peace activity in the world, there's more of an incentive to get this hostage question behind the various countries that do have influence with those that are holding the hostages. I think the release of this Frenchman shows that when countries and different factions come together, something can happen. In other words, a real cry went up to get this man released, and sure enough, he was.

So, let's hope that all of this comes together and our citizens will be released and the others as well. I keep thinking on this Sunday of Terry Waite, a man of faith who went to, I'd say, do the Lord's work and was taken prisoner.

*Q.* Sir, is it correct then to say that there's been an unprecedented degree of cooperation in all this?

*The President.* I think there's been new-found cooperation, but again, the results are not much different yet than what happened when other hostages were released.

Q. Are you receiving any reports now, sir, of any other possible pending releases within the next—

*The President.* Well, only rumors. That's all we're living with these days. And again, I just do not want to be a part of playing the rumor game and getting the hopes up of the families both here and abroad. But all we're dealing with at this juncture are rumors.

Q. Well, are those rumors that—

*The President.* A couple more, and then I've got to go to church.

Q. Whether they are called prisoners or hostages that Israel is holding, would you endorse their release now?

*The President.* I'd love to see all people held against their will released. And by that, I mean those who are taken as hostages. Now, if somebody is taken for legitimate legal purposes, that's something else again. But yes, to the degree they fit the description, I'd like to see every country release them, and I'd like to see the whole world turn away from holding hostages.

You know, we went through a spate of hijackings as a way to express one's political disapproval. And there was a little condonation of this: "Well, you have to understand where these people are coming from and what their reasons are." And somehow the world has come together against that. I'm not saying it'll ever happen, but I think people recognize that putting innocents at risk is not the way one makes a political statement. So, let's hope that the world comes together now against taking hostages and kidnaping people and pulling them away from their homes to hold them hostage for some political goal, whatever it is.

A couple more, and then I really do have to run.

Q. The Revolutionary Justice Organization said that the reason that they released Mr. Tracy was because of positive indicators, developments, and progress in the negotiations that are going on to release the people that they want freed, presumably those held by Israel. Can you shed any light on the status of those negotiations, and particularly, does Israel seem to be bending, perhaps, on releasing those PLO prisoners?

*The President.* We can't shed any light on it, but let's hope progress is made on all

fronts in releasing these people. But I can't help you with any details. I know a little more than I'm saying, but nothing that would have a positive effect on seeing people released. But it is so important that these people are released from prison.

Q. Is the U.S. taking new steps today, different steps today in light of the McCarthy release and the Tracy release?

*The President.* Well, there's not many steps we can take. Obviously, we're in touch with people wherever we get a lead, and that does include the U.N. officials. And once in a while we have a suggestion from some of them as to what we might do, different people, and we try to follow up. And we have been doing—but we've been doing this for years.

So again, I don't want to say the next move is up to the United States of America. It raises the hopes of families, only regrettable to have them lowered down.

But let's hope that the process will go forward. I do think that there's an overall climate internationally now that permits, or put it this way, that would encourage hostage holders to set aside some of their alleged reasons for holding people or their grievances in order to permit them to release them. And by that, I'm talking about I hope that this peace process will go forward. There's some connection here; there's no question about that. You talk to some of the hostages that came out in the past, and they will tell you that that's what was on the mind of many of their captors, the long-standing question of the Palestinian people and all of this.

So, I think if there's any overall kind of blanket reason to be optimistic, it might be that people around the world see that there's a good chance that ancient enemies will sit down and talk peace. And perhaps that is encouraging this forward motion; I certainly hope that's the case. I hope that that would be a clear by-product of these preliminary discussions that Secretary Baker and others have been having around the world.

But again, I don't want to make too direct a linkage because I just can't prove that. Some are saying, "We'll release A, B, and C if you'll release D, E, and F." And so

it's not all caught up in the peace process, but it's an encouraging umbrella, I think.

Well, thank you all. See you in church, I'm sure.

Please—and incidentally, this is—we've finished with all—you are more than welcome to come to this little church that means so much to us for history purposes only. That was the church in which my mother and dad were married, that all of us were baptized, and my grandmother worshiped about the time the church was built. So, it's very special, and I hope you enjoy it.

Thanks.

*Note: The exchange began at 9:31 a.m. at the President's home on Walker's Point. The following persons were referred to: Mr. Tracy's wife, Doris; former British hostage John McCarthy, who delivered a letter from the Islamic Jihad to the United Nations Secretary-General; former French hostage Jérôme Leyraud; and British hostage Terry Waite. Part of this exchange could not be verified because the tape was incomplete.*

## Exchange With Reporters in Kennebunkport, Maine, on the Middle East Hostage Situation

August 13, 1991

*The President.* The only thing I've got on my mind is I just wanted to say that I talked to Javier Perez de Cuellar today, the Secretary-General of the United Nations. I don't think I needed to say this, but I told him that we fully support his efforts. He and his team are running down every possible avenue. He has my full support in everything he's trying to do. I caught him in Geneva; he's still working the problem in Geneva.

I asked him whether he was optimistic and all. He said, well, perhaps a little bit more reason to be hopeful, but no specifics that I can share with anyone. But it was a good conversation, and I really do think that we ought to be grateful to the way the U.N. operates under his leadership at a time like this.

*Q.* Sir, do you have anything from the Israelis on the prospects for releasing Sheik Obeid?

*The President.* No, there wasn't anything at all from them. I noticed that they are very interested in getting back their own, having accounted their own military, and I can certainly sympathize with that. I wasn't perhaps overly clear on that the other day, but when I spoke about people being taken for political reasons, I still feel strongly that everybody ought to release those.

But then we've seen that there are some

that are held in Germany that are violent breakers of the law. There are some soldiers unaccounted for, and all that should be cleared up, certainly. But those that are in jails convicted of terrorist acts, hijacking planes, bombings, clearly they've got to pay the price. But it's these political kidnappings and hostage-takings where I hope people will all go ahead and release them.

*Q.* So, are the soldiers in that category?

*The President.* Well, there's a full accounting that's required, and I can certainly understand Israel's desire to have a full accounting for those people, absolutely.

*Q.* Is the United States putting any pressure on Israel to go in the same direction?

*The President.* No, no pressure. We can't pressure anybody. But we keep repeating our policy. And I still repeat that I don't want to get the hopes up of families. I think that's still the tragedy in all of this.

*Q.* But do you find yourself, sir, now more optimistic after talking with him?

*The President.* Well, not particularly over yesterday, for example, but I think he feels there's enough movement going on in various quarters that there's reason to have more optimism. I just hate to raise the stakes on our side by expressing greater optimism because I've seen too many families hurt.

*Q.* Would you discourage them from ne-

gotiating on behalf of the prisoners?

*The President.* He's doing his level-best to act as an honest intermediary and taking messages back and forth and trying his level-best, and I support that fully.

*Q.* If he negotiates, that's okay with you?

*The President.* We stay with the United States policy. And he is trying to facilitate the release, and I salute him 100 percent for what he's trying to do.

*Q.* He indicated that the release of those seven, or the accounting for those seven Israeli military guys, that that seems to be really the main sticking point. And he said that if that could be solved, then the hostage situation could be solved; not a direct quote, but it seems to be what he's saying.

*The President.* I think when military people are unaccounted for, whether they're MIA's in Vietnam or whether they're Israeli soldiers presumably held somewhere else, there should be a full accounting. And I certainly share Israel's concern, just as I expect all countries share our concern about MIA's that are not accounted for.

*Q.* Just to be clear on this business of negotiating, are you saying that you would not tell Mr. Perez de Cuellar not to negotiate—

*The President.* He's free to do whatever he wants to do, and the other parties are as well.

*Q.* Have you received any clarification of the letter?

*The President.* And I support him in what he's trying to do.

*Q.* —of the letter he—

*The President.* I've seen the letter, yes, eight pages of it. In fact, I looked at it this morning.

*Q.* As I understand it, they were trying to get clarification of the meaning—

*The President.* Well, there hasn't been anything since this morning that I know of in terms of clarification. You mean in terms of people that are held all over the world

kind of thing?

*Q.* All over the world, yes.

*The President.* That needs clarification.

*Q.* Is there anything new since yesterday? Marlin told us that there were some positive aspects to it. Does it seem like that this letter shows more hope than we've had in the past because of—

*The President.* Well, maybe the fact that some of these groups are even discussing a hostage release is important. But I can't tell you that, having looked at that letter and read an analysis put together for me by the National Security Council people, that I see any reason to be extraordinarily hopeful because of that long letter.

So, it's still murky, and it's still ugly business. But I am very pleased that we have a Secretary-General, that the United Nations does, that's willing to go the extra mile. And he's sure trying hard, and maybe it'll have some results. I certainly hope so. I know the American people all do.

*Q.* Did he give you any indication of he hopes to have it settled within a week, or any kind of a—

*The President.* No, he didn't have any timeframe on it, Rita [Rita Beamish, Associated Press]. That's a good question. And there was no kind of, "Well, if I find out something by 24 hours or 48, then it would lead to something else." There was none of that.

*Q.* Are you certain that all the groups that are holding hostages are represented in whatever the U.N. talks are?

*The President.* No. I think some of it is so shadowy you're never really sure.

Well, thank you all very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 6:10 a.m. on the course at the Cape Arundel Golf Club in Kennebunkport, ME. In his remarks, he referred to Sheik Abdul Karim Obeid, Moslem cleric and Hezbollah leader held by Israel.*

## Nomination of William Taylor To Be a Member and Chairperson of the Board of Directors of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation

*August 13, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate William Taylor, of Illinois, to be a member and Chairperson of the Board of Directors of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation for a term expiring February 28, 1993. He would succeed L. William Seidman.

Currently Mr. Taylor serves as staff director of the Division of Banking Supervision and Regulation at the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve Bank in Washington, DC. He served as a bank examiner with the Federal Reserve Bank in Chicago, IL, 1961–

1968; and as vice president in charge of lending with the Upper Avenue Bank in Chicago, IL, 1968–1972. From 1972 to 1976, he served as vice president and manager of James W. Rouse and Co., a real estate development and banking firm in Chicago, IL.

Mr. Taylor graduated from Cornell College (B.A., 1961). He was born June 24, 1939, in Chicago, IL. Mr. Taylor is married, has three children, and resides in Oakton, VA.

## Letter to Congressional Leaders Transmitting the 1991 National Security Strategy Report

*August 13, 1991*

*Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)*

In accordance with section 603 of the Goldwater-Nichols Department of Defense Reorganization Act of 1986 (Public Law 99–433; 50 U.S.C. 404a), I hereby transmit the annual report on the National Security Strategy of the United States, 1991.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

*Note: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Dan Quayle, President of the Senate.*

## Statement on the 1991 National Security Strategy Report

*August 13, 1991*

Today I signed and forwarded to Congress the National Security Strategy Report for 1991. This report comes at a rare moment in history. Seldom if ever have we been offered such an opportunity: to build a new international system in accordance with our own values and ideals. The cold war has at long last released its grip on world events. Democracy is coming to East-

ern Europe. The Gulf war helped create an unprecedented consensus that aggressive force must not be used to settle disputes and that if it is, the international community will respond. More so than ever before, we have seen the United Nations play the role dreamed of by its founders. The United States and Soviet Union have signed a treaty that for the first time significantly

reduces their strategic nuclear arsenals. Yet, for all these national and international triumphs, the world remains a volatile place with ethnic antagonisms, national rivalries, religious tensions, spreading armaments, personal ambitions, and lingering authoritarianism. Our national security strategy reflects the significant achievements, sobering realities, and important opportunities that now confront us.

This report emphasizes the enduring political, economic, and military foundations of our national strategy, yet acknowledges the mandate for change in implementing elements of that strategy. While addressing our strategic relationship with the Soviet Union as an inescapable priority, we will work with our allies to respond to new political challenges, taking into account a more internally oriented and less threatening Soviet Union. While contributing to global stability as only America can, we will shift our focus to regional threats and peaceful engagement. While reducing nu-

clear and conventional force levels on the Continent, we will work with our NATO allies to foster reconciliation, security, and democracy in a Europe whole and free. And while providing adequately for our defense, our economic well-being will remain the foundation of our long-term strength.

Our response to strategic challenges has always been shaped by what we are as a people, for our values are the link between our past and our future, between our domestic life and our foreign policy, between our power and our purpose. Our responsibility as a Nation remains not only to protect our citizens and our interests but also to help create a new world in which our fundamental ideals not only survive but flourish. That is the essence of our national security strategy.

I look to this report to be the foundation for a productive, nonpartisan, national dialog as we continue to develop and articulate a strategic approach that will guide us safely into the 21st century.

## Remarks at the Annual Convention of the National Fraternal Order of Police in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

August 14, 1991

Thank you all. And Dewey, thank you for that very generous introduction. The Government has a good relationship with this outstanding organization. Many of you have been to the White House; many more I hope will come. But I want to thank your president for the introduction and for his leadership.

I want to, of course, salute the Attorney General, Dick Thornburgh, so well-known to everybody, not just in Pittsburgh but across this country, for the job he's done for law enforcement. I want to thank the members of the Fraternal Order of Police, ladies and gentlemen. I want to thank all of you, all 3,000 of you, for the warmth of that greeting. Now I know how Barry Bonds and Bobby Bonilla feel over at Three Rivers Stadium. [Laughter] I don't think so many great defenders have gathered in Pittsburgh since the last reunion of the Steelers'

Super Bowl teams. [Laughter] So, welcome.

A couple of years ago, 2 years ago, I was scheduled to address you. I couldn't because of the tragic death of an American hostage. Maybe you all remember him; I certainly do: Colonel Rich Higgins. Today, I am delighted to be here at a time when hostages are being released from the Middle East.

This is a very difficult time, let's face it, for the families of those still held hostage. For years they've endured that cruel water torture, you might say, of occasional vague promises followed by crushing disappointment. They've seen their loved ones used as political puppets, but they haven't been able to identify the puppeteers.

We cannot tell, I wish I could tell you, but we cannot tell what lies ahead. But this administration will never rest until every hostage is free to rejoin his loved ones and

return to the America that loves them.

I think it's appropriate to say that I want to once again express my strong support to Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar of the United Nations for his continuing efforts to free all the hostages. They're doing a good job there and trying hard, and we support him 100 percent.

And I look out over this crowd, and I expect many fought in the war preceding Desert Storm. And I might say to those who did serve in Vietnam, while we're talking about accounting for people: We will do everything to our level-best to account for every single MIA in the Vietnam area.

I'm here today because, as in the Middle East, our entire administration opposes chaos and lawlessness, and stands shoulder-to-shoulder with those who strive for law and order. And Dewey, once again, thank you for your kind words.

As you well know, there are no magic, one-step solutions to the complex problems of crime and drugs. In some cases, education, employment, career counseling, these things sometimes can help turn prisoners into productive citizens. And we recognize that. Drug rehabilitation can direct ex-drug users toward useful lives. But sometimes these means simply don't work. And we must remember that the first obligation of a penal system is to punish those who break our laws.

Today, I want to discuss ways in which we can help free America from the fear of crime and drugs, and in the process thank those of you in this organization who have had a constructive input into the legislation that I want to talk about. Frankly, I am proud of our domestic agenda, our administration's domestic agenda. We have strong initiatives in child care and clean air and homeownership and energy and transportation and other areas as well. But I'm especially proud of our war on crime.

Our outgoing Attorney General, with me here today, Dick Thornburgh, has played a tremendous role in this fight. And he's taken his job as America's chief law enforcement officer very seriously. Relentlessly, tenaciously, he's pursued those who prey on our society. Dick, on behalf of all Americans I want to thank you in this, your hometown of Pittsburgh, for your superb service

to our country as Attorney General. Leaving politics aside, this Nation owes you a real vote of gratitude.

We come here armed with some good news. Last year the percentage of American households affected by crime fell to an estimated 24 percent, the lowest rate since the Federal Government introduced this indicator in 1975. But as good as that may sound, it is hard to celebrate the fact that nearly one in every four households feels the touch of crime each year. So today let's talk about building an America even more deeply committed to the values that make law and order possible.

One good step in my view would be to ensure that Clarence Thomas becomes the next Justice on the United States Supreme Court. This man knows, Clarence Thomas knows, as Teddy Roosevelt said, that America will not be a good place for any of us until it is a good place for all of us to live in. He has lived the values that we hold dear: duty, decency, and personal responsibility. And he's promoted those values through his career in public service. I don't know how many saw the announcement I made up in Maine with Clarence by my side when I announced this appointment, but his personal story cannot help but move people, inspire them.

I nominated Judge Thomas because he has the brains and the background and the character to promote fidelity to the Constitution and to uphold our commitment to equal opportunity. I ask you to help support those values by urging the Senate to confirm Clarence Thomas as our next Supreme Court Justice.

Values, values is what we're talking about. It's what drives you in your careers. We can't underestimate the importance of these values since, as you know, police cannot maintain the peace without the help, the support, and the respect of the people they serve.

When you deal with crime's victims and its perpetrators, you know that our citizens want and deserve to feel safe, to live in communities in which they are safe. But no one should underestimate the difficulty of bringing order to streets decimated by lawlessness and chaos.



First, our administration is committed to rewarding good police work. By the end of this year, we will have 50 percent more Federal prosecutors than in 1988. We're on our way to doubling the capacity of the Federal prisons. That will help us house more than 2,500 dangerous criminals convicted since 1989 under tough Federal laws that require a mandatory 5-year sentence for using a gun in a violent crime or a drug trafficking offense.

We've acted to curb potential furlough abuse. Under Dick Thornburgh, and I salute him for this, we've tightened the furlough review process for inmates, further restricting the already limited furlough opportunities for Federal offenders. In April of 1989 the furlough rate was 1.2 per 100 inmates. This April it'll be less than half of that. And of course, no furloughs are granted for anyone serving a sentence of life without parole. There will be no letup. Furlough is a privilege, and it's not a right.

And again with the help of many here, our administration has acted to punish hardened criminals, what you all call career criminals, under the Federal Armed Criminal Career Act. You shouldn't have to endure the frustration of watching a seasoned criminal walk free because we didn't have the facilities or the prosecutors or the will to take the law and our law enforcement officers seriously. We would like every State to have tough laws to deal with violent criminals. But we're not waiting for those who don't.

Project Triggerlock, started just in April, already has produced 850 indictments against persons for firearm offenses. Together, we've seized criminals' assets, using them to fund law enforcement and building new prisons. More than \$700 million of the assets seized have been returned to State and local law enforcement agencies for use in fighting crime. You talk about poetic justice; that's it. And it's long overdue.

But this is just a beginning, and you know it. You're out there on the front lines. You know it better than I do. We have a very good chance this year of passing our administration's comprehensive package to combat violent crime. Nearly two and a half years ago I announced our Violent Crime Act legislation, asking Congress to back up

our law enforcement officials with laws that are fair, fast, and final. That package starts with a commonsense proposition: Don't send police into battle wearing handcuffs.

And so, we proposed stiff penalties for criminals using semiautomatic weapons, an improved exclusionary rule, and habeas corpus reforms. These proposals—and if you haven't seen them, take a look at them—these proposals tell criminals: You will serve the time. They also tell police and law-abiding citizens: We will reclaim our neighborhoods and streets. Our package also says: Let's give our law officers the respect they deserve, in part by imposing the death penalty on those who kill a law enforcement officer. Our proposals impose tough punishment on drug kingpins who threaten a Federal witness or a juror or a judge.

We want a good faith exception to the exclusionary rule. There's no reason, none at all, that good police officers should be penalized and criminals freed because a judge or lawyer bungled a search warrant. We want habeas corpus reform that will prevent criminals and lawyers from using technicalities to gum up our justice system.

In short, the time has come to show less compassion for the architects of crime and more compassion for its victims. And you all know it: No group suffers more from violent crime than the poor, a group most heavily victimized by lawlessness.

Working with Congress, we reauthorized the 1984 Victims of Crime Act and boosted its annual Victims Compensation and Assistance Fund to \$150 million. These dollars came not from taxpayers but from criminals' fines and penalties. After all, crime shouldn't pay; let the criminals pay it for a change. And that's what happens as we try to support these victims of crime.

We stepped up efforts to implement the Victim-Witness Protection Act and the new Victims' Rights and Restitution Act. And let me note how our Violent Crime Control Act of 1991 gives further aid to innocent victims of crime. It includes new protections for witnesses and abused kids. It provides rules that make it easier to prosecute those who commit sexual violence against women and children. It imposes mandatory HIV testing of accused sex offenders, and it

preme Court decision in *INS v. Chadha*, 462 U.S. 919 (1983). I reiterate that the inclusion of such provisions is inappropriate.

Several provisions in the Act requiring the disclosure of certain information to the Congress raise constitutional concerns. These provisions cannot be construed to detract from the President's constitutional authority to withhold information the disclosure of which could significantly impair foreign relations, the national security, the deliberative processes of the Executive, or the performance of the Executive's constitutional duties.

I believe that the Act's definition of "covert action" is unnecessary. In determining whether particular military activities constitute covert actions, I shall continue to bear in mind the historic missions of the

Armed Forces to protect the United States and its interests, influence foreign capabilities and intentions, and conduct activities preparatory to the execution of operations.

I am confident that this Act will lay to rest disputes that in the past have arisen between some Members of Congress and the executive branch, and I look forward to continued cooperation with the Intelligence Committees.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
August 14, 1991.

*Note: H.R. 1455, approved August 14, was assigned Public Law No. 102-88. This statement was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on August 15.*

## Exchange With Reporters in Kennebunkport, Maine

August 15, 1991

*The President.* Good morning, everybody, bright and early.

### Hostage Situation

*Q.* Any hopeful signs on the hostage situation?

*The President.* Nothing overnight. Just talked to the Sit Room, and I think Perez de Cuellar just left Geneva. But we haven't gotten a last-minute report; coming. So, there's nothing, no new developments overnight at all.

### President's Health

*Q.* What happened to your arm, sir?

*The President.* Donated a little blood to the cause.

*Q.* Where? Here in town?

*The President.* No, no. The nurse took it out.

*Q.* On purpose? [*Laughter*]

*The President.* No, they check me about once a month on that blood withdrawal.

*Q.* What are you doing instead of running these days?

*The President.* I ran yesterday, 2 miles.

*Q.* Did you?

*The President.* Yes.

*Q.* Where?

*The President.* On the place. Yes.

*Q.* And you're running how often?

*The President.* About once a week. And then I'm playing tennis out there and playing golf here, which isn't a lot of exercise, except for the amount of swings I'm taking.

*Q.* Are you using a Stairmaster or anything like that?

*The President.* No, I've run. I use one at home, but I ran 20 minutes yesterday which is 2 miles.

*Q.* You're not cutting back on that on doctors' orders, are you?

*The President.* No, no. I'm cutting back on it because I'm playing a lot of tennis and a lot of other stuff, getting up early around here. Cast for 45 minutes yesterday steadily which was fantastic fishing. So, it's a mixed program.

*Q.* What was the blood test for?

*The President.* They just take it out of here and test it every month or so.

*Q.* Just routine?

*The President.* Yes, just to see the balance on the thyroid. I'm still taking thyroid stuff and will be, I guess, for the rest of my life.

### Hostage Situation

*Q.* Are you pleased with Israel's response and the way they're proceeding?

*The President.* It sounds like flexibility on all sides. But again, Rita [Rita Beamish, Associated Press], it's pure speculation this morning because there isn't any news overnight that we know of.

*Q.* Do you think we're settling into—Perez de Cuellar seems to indicate maybe a little bit of, I don't know, a holding pattern or just maybe having to settle in for—

*The President.* Well, when I talked to him a couple of days ago, he expressed cautious optimism, and I don't know that there's any reason to change that assessment.

*Q.* You said that this would now be a time for secret negotiations. Who is taking part in these secret negotiations?

*The President.* Well, if it's secret, we wouldn't know, would we?

*Q.* But I thought you might know.

*The President.* If it's a big secret, we wouldn't. Well, I might. But I think the ball is largely in the constructive hands of Perez de Cuellar and his team now which is good because the U.N., having performed very well during the Desert Storm period and prior to that, I think has a certain new respect level. And certainly the Secretary-General seems to have the confidence of all parties. So, that's the major chance now for more release.

*Q.* Have you talked to him?

*Q.* Are you concerned at all, sir, that with Perez de Cuellar negotiating with these hostage-takers that it might have the effect of doing what the United States has always not wanted to do, and that is to make hostages seem more valuable because it gets the attention of the world community?

*The President.* I don't think if it's being

handled this way, there's any chance of that at all. Our position is well-known, and I think others have had different policies on that. You've seen in the past where Israel, anxious to account for every single one of its fighting people, fighting men who've been taken prisoner from time to time, have been willing to engage in prisoner swaps, and so indeed—

*Q.* You have no problem with that?

*The President.* None at all. I don't see that there's anything that would diminish our policy at all, in all of this. In fact, I'm just hopeful that it will result in the release of our people.

*Q.* Have you talked to him since—

*The President.* No, not since I talked to him a couple of days ago.

### Golf Game

*Q.* Are you going to use Big Bertha?

*The President.* I'm going to unleash it out here, yes. Keep your head down there and left arm straight and bring it on through, and the results are startling. By that, I mean wet.

*Q.* Wet?

*The President.* It's not very wet, not the way I use it.

*Q.* Where's Mrs. Bush?

*The President.* She's recovering from her round of yesterday. That's subject to further interpretation by the Secretary-General, which means she stunk and doesn't want to play today. [Laughter] No, rephrase that: She didn't have her finest outing yesterday. [Laughter]

*Note: The exchange began at 6:14 a.m. on the course at the Cape Arundel Golf Club in Kennebunkport, ME. In the exchange, a reporter referred to Big Bertha, one of the President's golf clubs.*

## Statement on Signing the Energy and Water Development Appropriations Act, 1992 August 17, 1991

I have today signed into law H.R. 2427, the "Energy and Water Development Ap-

propriations Act, 1992." This Act provides funds for the water resources development

activities of the Army Corps of Engineers and the Department of the Interior's Bureau of Reclamation. In addition, the Act provides funding for the Department of Energy. Various related independent agencies such as the Appalachian Regional Commission, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, and the Tennessee Valley Authority are also funded by this Act.

The funding in this Act will help make important investments in research and development for general science and energy supply, environmental restoration and waste disposal, and water resources development. I am concerned, however, about the longer-term distribution of funds between scientific research and development of national significance and water projects of more local benefit. Funding for water projects is increased above the Administration's request by \$132 million, while the Administration's request for General Science and Research Activities is reduced by \$76 million.

Sections 304 and 506 of the Act raise constitutional concerns. Section 304 would direct the Secretary of Energy, "to the fullest extent possible," to ensure that 10 percent of the funds for the Superconducting Super Collider go to various institutions that are defined by their racial composition. To the extent that important governmental ob-

jectives are not clearly identified as the basis for such designations, they may raise constitutional concerns. I therefore direct the Secretary, as part of his obligation to implement section 304 "to the fullest extent possible," to administer the section in a constitutional manner.

Section 506 of the Act provides that none of the funds appropriated by this or any other legislation may be used to conduct studies concerning "the possibility of changing from the currently required 'at cost' to a 'market rate' or any other noncost-based method for the pricing of hydroelectric power" by Federal power authorities. Article II, section 3, of the Constitution grants the President authority to recommend to the Congress any legislative measures considered "necessary and expedient." Accordingly, in keeping with the well-settled obligation to construe ambiguous statutory provisions to avoid constitutional questions, I will interpret section 506 so as not to infringe on the Executive's authority to conduct studies that might assist in the evaluation and preparation of such measures.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
August 17, 1991.

*Note: H.R. 2427, approved August 17, was assigned Public Law No. 102-104.*

## Statement on Signing the Emergency Unemployment Compensation Act of 1991

August 17, 1991

Today I am signing H.R. 3201, the "Emergency Unemployment Compensation Act of 1991." This bill would authorize \$4.5 billion primarily for a Federal program of emergency unemployment compensation that would bypass the discipline of the Bipartisan Budget Agreement. H.R. 3201 specifies that this new program and other provisions of the bill will not take effect unless I designate the associated spending as an emergency under the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act

of 1985, as amended. For the following reasons, I will not designate the direct spending and the appropriations authorized in H.R. 3201 as an emergency.

The Administration, the Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, and most private forecasters believe that the recession has ended and that a recovery appears to be under way. Recent official figures show that the GNP for the second quarter of this year actually increased. Last month's drop in the unem-

ployment rate is another encouraging sign. Although the unemployment rate may continue to react with a lag, it should decline further with the economic growth that is forecast for the rest of this year.

By historical standards, the current unemployment rate would not be cause for "emergency" action to trigger additional benefits above and beyond those provided by current law. When the Congress last created a temporary Federal supplemental compensation program in 1982, the unemployment rate exceeded 10 percent—much higher than the current rate of 6.8 percent. When that program was allowed to expire in 1985, unemployment was still higher than the current rate.

While it is not a satisfactory substitute for a job, I am gratified that the present unemployment compensation system—including its provisions for extended benefits—is providing \$25.4 billion in payments to the unemployed this fiscal year. The present system will continue to provide benefits for those who are eligible.

Under current circumstances, an emergency designation could be counterproductive. It could signal the abandonment of the fiscal discipline of the 1990 budget agreement. This would have a negative effect on financial markets, could jeopardize the recovery, and thus might *increase* unemployment just when the projected recovery would otherwise have been *decreasing* unemployment.

In addition to the problem with the "emergency" designation, the Administration believes that the revised program of unemployment compensation authorized by H.R. 3201 is poorly designed and unnecessarily expensive, and could lead to slower reemployment. The new program would create four tiers of benefits providing from 4 to 20 weeks of compensation. Experience suggests that such a complex, cumbersome

system would result in benefit delays, payment inaccuracies, and escalating administrative costs.

H.R. 3201 would expand "emergency" unemployment benefits to every State, even those with relatively low unemployment. It would abandon the measure of unemployment that has historically been used to trigger extended benefits and would substitute an overly broad measure that does not reflect the target group to be served: insured workers. Further, States could shift costs from the current Extended Benefit program, where the States pay 50 percent of the costs, to the new program, under which the Federal Government would assume 100 percent of the costs.

For all these reasons, the unemployment compensation program in H.R. 3201 is not an effective response to current economic conditions.

Of course, I am deeply concerned about those who have lost their jobs during the recession and am anxious to see them return to work at the earliest possible date.

To that end, it is essential that we take responsible actions to assure that the economic recovery and its associated job-creation continue and strengthen. With that objective in view, I urge the Congress to enact measures that will increase the Nation's competitiveness, productivity, and growth. At the same time, I am determined that we must continue to support the hard-won reforms to assure budget discipline and must avoid any measures that might threaten the prospects of continued economic recovery and job-creation.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
8-17-91

*Note: H.R. 3201, approved August 17, was assigned Public Law No. 102-107.*

## Memorandum of Disapproval for the District of Columbia Appropriations Bill for Fiscal Year 1992

August 17, 1991

I am withholding my approval of H.R. 2699, a bill providing appropriations for fiscal year 1992 for the District of Columbia.

While I do not object to the underlying legislation and the funding the bill would provide, language concerning the use of funds provided by the bill for abortion is unacceptable. I have stated my intention to veto any bill that does not contain language that prohibits the use of all congressionally appropriated funds to pay for abortions other than those in which the life of the mother would be endangered if the fetus were carried to term. The limitation I propose is identical to the one included in the District of Columbia Appropriations Acts for FY 1989, FY 1990, and FY 1991.

H.R. 2699 would place such a limitation on the use of Federal funds to pay for abortion, but would permit congressionally appropriated local funds to be used for abortions on demand with no restriction whatsoever. As a matter of law, the use of local funds in the District of Columbia must be approved by the Congress and the President through enactment of an appropriation act. Under these circumstances, the failure of H.R. 2699 to prohibit the use of

all funds appropriated by the bill to pay for abortion, except in the limited circumstances mentioned above, is unacceptable.

From the outset of my Administration, I have repeatedly stated my deep personal concern about the tragedy in America of abortion on demand. As a Nation, we must protect the unborn. H.R. 2699 does not provide such protection. I am, therefore, withholding my approval of H.R. 2699.

The adjournment of the Congress has prevented my return of H.R. 2699 within the meaning of Article I, section 7, clause 2, of the Constitution. Accordingly, my withholding of approval from the bill precludes its becoming law. *The Pocket Veto Case*, 279 U.S. 655 (1929). Because of the questions raised in opinions issued by the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit, I am sending H.R. 2699 with my objections to the Clerk of the House of Representatives.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
8-17-91

*Note: The President's last day for action on this bill was August 17.*

## Exchange With Reporters in Kennebunkport, Maine

August 18, 1991

### *Hostage Situation*

**Q.** Mr. President, there's been a real lull in the hostage situation. Are you concerned that there's a loss of momentum here?

**The President.** Well, I've expressed my views. We ought not to get the hopes of people up. The Secretary-General doesn't seem that concerned about this lull, and so you don't want to dash hopes either. But the last comments I saw from him in the reporting cable were that he was not all

that pessimistic and that it was going to take a little more time. But there has been nothing new, Jim [Jim Miklaszewski, NBC News], that I have seen overnight that would make me change the assessment that I've been on for a while.

**Q.** Is it true that the Iranian Government is really taking the lead in solving this question?

**The President.** I don't think alone. I mean, I think they've tried to be, certainly, more constructive. I mentioned the other

day an appreciation to them for their role in facilitating the release of Tracy. So, I think there's a feeling that they would like to get this matter behind them. But again, I want to stop there because there's much more that needs to be done by all the parties that have influence over the hostage-holders.

*Q.* I guess the New York Times is saying today that the President of Iran actually is personally involved and that his government has won over the dissident factions that were blocking the release of the hostages.

*The President.* I can't confirm that, but certainly that would be constructive. And there's a feeling around the world that it's time to end all this. And I think it's that general feeling that is helpful. I said the other day that I think the prospect of a peace in the Middle East might have been conducive to all this. I hope it has. But still, we've got a long way to go before that's all worked out.

### *Terrorism*

*Q.* On that vein, there's a Republican task force that says the administration is ignoring a new potential terrorist threat from the Middle East.

*The President.* Well, I hadn't read anything other than the report about what that task force said, and I don't think there's any such—I mean, if that's what they said, I'd have to speak to them because I don't think we're ignoring a terrorist threat. We're always concerned about terrorism, but if they have some constructive suggestions as to how to protect American citizens against the threat of terrorists, I'll avidly read that report.

But I didn't read it, Jim, that we were ignoring the threat, and so I want to be fair to the authors of it. I saw a quote by Congressman McCollum, who is a very reasonable Congressman, a very bright and intelligent person. And so, before commenting on the question, on the hypothesis, I'd want to talk to him about it.

*Q.* Is there a new potential threat for terrorism and retaliation for the Gulf war?

*The President.* Well, there's always a threat of terrorism or retaliation. But Saddam Hussein has been so thoroughly dis-

credited that I don't think there would be anything other than some reckless renegade terrorists that would try to exact retribution. He was roundly condemned in the Arab world; we won't forget that.

### *Hostage Situation*

*Q.* Will the Israelis be forthcoming on the hostage situation as part of the—

*The President.* You know, I think they've got a very good case when they say, "Look, we want our military accounted for." That's fair. It's a reasonable request. And I gather that the discussion that the Secretary-General had with the Israeli representative went pretty well, and I thought they were quite forthcoming. But I would just encourage all parties to be as forthcoming as they possibly can. But surely, worldwide opinion would say it's reasonable to want to know about your navigator or the pilots or whatever it was that were unaccounted for.

Look at the agony we're going through long after the Vietnam war is over, running down every lead. And incidentally, the delegation that went over under the auspices of the Defense Department ran into a fraud, ran into a case of pure fraud, raising the hopes of the American people with phony pictures and a great hue and cry on every media outlet because of the hope that somebody would be free, only to find that the person that they were put in touch with admitted to a fraud. And that is the reason I've been trying to downplay all this a little bit.

### *Protesters in Kennebunkport*

*Q.* There are some people from Operation Rescue here. Are you planning to meet with them?

*The President.* No. I'm trying to get a vacation here. We've had requests to meet with people from all over, all different causes. I'm sure they'll understand. If I did meet with them I'd say, "Hey, please abide with the law, don't violate a judge's order, and stay within the law." And I'd say that to ACT UP when they come up here or to any other demonstrators.

I empathize with the out-of-work demonstrators even though some of them were the organizers and had good jobs. But look,

they've got a point. They want to demonstrate. They want to peacefully express their concerns to the President about unemployment benefits. I understand that. And they behaved properly, and they did their thing. I don't think, from what I've heard, there was much inconvenience to the people in the town, which does concern me.

So, it depends how people conduct themselves. No, I'm not going to have any meetings here. I'm trying to avoid that. I'm meeting with the Governors by satellite this afternoon, however, an exception that will prove the rule. And then we'll have some others. I think we're going to have some of

our people from Washington up here in the next few days.

Anyway, I better go to church.

*Note: The exchange began at 9:45 a.m. at St. Ann's Episcopal Church. In the exchange, the following were referred to: former American hostage Edward Tracy; President Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani of Iran; Operation Rescue, an antiabortion activist organization; and ACT UP (AIDS Coalition To Unleash Power) an activist organization seeking additional funding for AIDS research. Following the exchange, the President attended morning services at the church.*

## Teleconference Remarks to the National Governors' Association August 18, 1991

*The President.* Well, Booth, thank you very much for that kind introduction. Let me also say hello to the Speaker, Tom Foley, who's come back home to his State to welcome the Governors to the Emerald City. My thanks to all of you for letting me come by in this manner, come in by satellite.

Booth, I know as NGA chairman for the past year you've been frequently doing that bicoastal redeye. So, I need to loan you this satellite here. It is the quickest way to travel coast-to-coast; smooth ride, we hope, and no jet lag.

This year's gathering is marked, obviously, by the sadness at the passing of one of your own, I want to say our own, a past chairman of NGA, Governor Richard Snelling. Barbara and I join all of you in expressing our sympathy to the Snelling family, to Dick's wife, Barbara, and their children. Everyone who ever worked with Dick, of every political stripe, knew him to be a man of character and deep commitment. He will be missed by the people of Vermont and by Americans everywhere who value that high standard that he set for the business we're all in, public service.

This is a perfect forum to highlight several issues of urgent concern to all of us. So,

let's start with transportation. In just 43 days, the Federal Government's authority to fund highway and transit projects will expire. We need a new 5-year Federal reauthorization bill to maintain and improve our infrastructure.

In just a few hours from now, I'm told, you'll hear from Sam Skinner. I've asked Sam to work with the Congress to redouble our efforts to produce a reauthorization bill acceptable to all parties. All levels of government must do more to meet our transportation needs. That's why I've proposed a 39-percent increase in the Federal share for highway spending. But let me be clear: I will veto any bill that includes an increase in the gasoline tax. The clock is ticking. I urge the NGA to help keep the pressure on, to join me and the Congress to pass this critical bill.

Anyone who knows the NGA knows you've come to Seattle to get things done. Over the past several years, we've forged a partnership between the Federal Government and the States. That partnership has begun to achieve great things in education. Now, we must join forces on the tough issue of health care. Booth, you've led the NGA's task force on health care in crafting a policy on health care reform. There are good sto-



ries in the paper about that today. Your draft policy calls for comprehensive State reforms. It outlines how the Federal Government can encourage innovation. If the NGA adopts such a policy, we want to work with you. We'll do our best to remove Federal obstacles to State-designed solutions.

Health care and transportation are just two of the many issues of our agenda that affect every aspect of American life. But we must face other challenges: Making our economy stronger; our streets safe; battling drugs; building a Nation united in its desire to secure peace, prosperity, and opportunity for all Americans.

Today, let me just focus on education and to commend you on the work you've done this year to improve learning in America. It's been nearly 2 years since we met in Charlottesville. There, following in the footsteps of America's truly education President, Thomas Jefferson, we committed ourselves to the "Jeffersonian Compact." That compact led us to establish six national education goals and launched the Nation on a decade-long crusade to improve our schools.

This march toward excellence has many dimensions. In the 2 years since the education summit, two key principles behind our national goals now drive the forces of reform. I'm talking about high expectations and a focus on results.

Some, and I can understand this, but some dismissed our goals as too ambitious. But you and I know if we wanted dramatic improvement, we had to set our sights higher. Improved performance begins with high expectations. In the future, our students will have to meet or exceed objective, world-class standards. I believe that every child can learn, regardless of background or disability. We want all students to succeed.

Since Charlottesville, a second key principle has shaped our approach to education reform. We must focus on results, build a performance-based education system. Our work with the National Council on Standards and Testing, chaired by Carroll Campbell and Roy Romer, will result in a system of American achievement tests to help us mark our progress. No longer will we measure educational success by the dollars we pour into the process. We'll measure success by the caliber of students our schools

produce.

We'll start measuring performance this fall when we release the first national education report card. We won't see the report card until September, but let's not kid ourselves about the news. We know right now that our schools aren't making the grade. That's why your support in addressing this critical problem is so very important.

Today, I'd like to announce that I will be addressing the state of our Nation's education here in Maine on September 3d, as our school season begins. I'm glad Governor Jock McKernan, the new chairman of the Education Commission of the States, will be with us, as I plan to make this the first in a series of such reports.

I also plan to address our Nation's schoolchildren on October 1st. And if I might, I'd like to suggest and ask that each of you do the same in your State.

Our summit in Charlottesville focused on results. And now, through the hard work of the National Education Goals Panel, we need to reestablish phase one of the voluntary national testing system. I call it the American Achievement Test. We need this to be ready for the 1993 school year, and we'll continue to work closely with you, the Governors, in meeting this deadline.

Tomorrow Lamar, your former colleague and now mine, Lamar Alexander, will speak to you about America 2000, our plan to restructure, literally reinvent America's schools. America 2000 challenges us to do more than tinker with the existing system. It challenges us to mount a national crusade: One that draws its energy from the American people's desire for change; one that enlists and engages parents, corporate and community leaders; one that makes us use the talents, drive, and desire of everyone who has a stake in America's schools. That's why America 2000 deserves the full support of every Governor.

Incidentally—and it really was very important to us, to me, in getting perspective here—some time ago, Barbara and I traveled to Grand Junction, Colorado, to help launch Colorado 2000, a program for which Governor Romer deserves enormous credit. And thousands of people were ready to join this crusade. What struck me the most was

the passion that these people shared, the passion that comes from glimpsing the world of possibilities open to every child.

That passion must spark this great crusade in every State. When I announced America 2000, I said there can be no renaissance without revolution. Well, I'm pleased to tell you today that, State by State, community by community, and school by school, that revolution has begun.

Two hundred years ago, Thomas Jefferson called education the keystone of the arch of the American experiment. Education stands as our most enduring legacy, vital to our economic strength, fundamental to our democratic institutions. Education speaks to us, always, as the dream that shapes America's destiny.

Now, as Booth said, we're going to have some give-and-take here. And I really am anxious to hear about your work in Seattle; what's going on in your States. And thank you, Booth. As they say on TV, "Back to you."

*Governor Gardner.* Thank you, Mr. President, for your comments. We have several members here that are looking forward to dialoging with you. I'll just start it off on a light note. I know you're interested in domestic affairs. I have a circumstance where my wife is just picking up golf. Believe it or not, it's true. And if you have any suggestions or comments I might make about her game?

*The President.* Don't say what I said about Barbara's game. I learned the hard way on that one. I've been vindicated actually, because it was she that said she stunk, not me. But I would suggest kind and gentle comments, Booth, and wish her well. *[Laughter]*

*Governor Gardner.* I'll pass that on to her.

I'd like to now call on Governor Ashcroft.

*Governor Ashcroft.* Mr. President, thank you very much for communicating with us again. Our opportunity to work with you has been most pleasing, particularly your coming to our meetings, hosting the education summit, and being willing to have an open door to us. In particular, I want to thank you for your commitment on the transportation issues.

We do need to reinforce our commitment to infrastructure, but our policy of the NGA

calls for States to retain taxing capacity. And I think additional Federal tax would eliminate my ability to raise the right resources at the State level to match Federal resources that would come under a new reauthorized bill. And obviously, it should be a reconstructed bill in my judgment, and I think you're on the right track there. So, I want to thank you for your commitment to protect us from counterproductive Federal intrusion into an important State revenue source on the gas tax.

On a personal note, I've written to all the Governors here about my fondness for Clarence Thomas, with whom I shared an office for 16 months. And you get to know a person pretty well in 16 months sharing the same room with him. I think he's a great nominee, and I hope he has a chance to demonstrate that greatness on the Court.

*The President.* I think he will. And I know there's been some honest debate on that one. But you know, I don't know if you can see behind me the little tiny former tool shed, I think, and it was standing right here. I must say I got all choked up when I heard Clarence talk about his background. And he did it from the heart; there's no phoniness here. I honestly believe that he'll be a great Justice, and at this juncture I feel he will be confirmed. You might talk to Tom Foley, who's always very fair in these matters, although it's the Senate's business, and get his view. But I think he'll get a shot. I think he'll be given a chance to serve on this Court, and I think he will acquit himself.

It's funny that Missourians, who know him best, seem to be, in a rather nonpartisan or bipartisan matter, the strongest for him. And so, I appreciate your words about him. He's quite a guy, quite a guy.

*Governor Romer.* Mr. President, Carroll Campbell will report in a moment on the Goals Panel. I want to give you an update on the Council on Standards and Assessment. We met last Thursday and made four decisions that I think are significant.

First, as a council we decided that we would recommend to Congress and to the Goals Panel an achievement system, not one test but an assessment system where we'd take advantage of the best that the

States have now going and develop it as a total system and not just a Federal test.

The second recommendation is that we work with clusters of States, that each State not proceed alone but they try to group and use some combined efforts to save money and to get the job done better and quicker.

Third, we recommend that we begin at the 4th grade and work toward the 8th and the 12th, rather than reverse; and to begin in the year '93-'94, which is in keeping with your suggested timetable.

The fourth decision we made was to begin with the subject matter of reading, writing, and arithmetic because those are the most available to us in a quality form by '93-'94.

And I just wanted to give you that update because it was a lot of action and we did it, I think, expeditiously.

The one other comment I'd like to share with you, Mr. President, is that a number of Governors view the standards and assessment like two pieces of bread on a sandwich, and they're both very important. We do need to set standards, and we do need to assess how well we do. But inside those two pieces of bread we need to fill that sandwich. In other words, we need to cause those students to be able to reach those high achievement levels. And inside that sandwich we need to have obviously better teacher education. We've got to have better instructional materials, textbooks, and other matters. We've got to have better management of the school and substantial reform of the school system.

And so, I think some of my colleagues wanted to share with you, we need your help not just in setting the standards and in holding our feet to the fire on assessment, but we need your help to fill the middle of that sandwich. Because many of us are having to go back to our taxpayers—you know, I know Governor Wilson in California did, and many of us are having to go back to our taxpayers and say, "You've got to put some things on the table to help us get this job done." You can help reinforce that message at a local level. And I just want to share that with you.

*The President.* Well, Roy, thanks. And talk to Lamar in a little more detail about this,

and let us see what we can do. Let me just, without filibustering here—when you did that statewide program after I saw you with these participants from towns and cities across Colorado, did you run into any resistance to the concept of testing at all?

*Governor Romer.* No, there's apprehension about testing, but there's not resistance. I think what they're concerned about is that they may have a heavy load laid on them. And say, "You're going to hold our feet to the fire, but you're not going to give us the resource or the reform to get there." And I think we need to do both.

*The President.* Okay. I think there's been some resistance, but I don't think it's unmanageable, particularly if we're able to do what you say here. But anyway, thanks.

*Governor Campbell.* Mr. President, how are you?

*The President.* Good, Carroll.

*Governor Campbell.* We have been working very, very diligently trying to get ready to give you a report on the Nation on September 30th. And we'll have a lot of information at that time, and it's going to give us a better idea of where we stand. We do not yet know exactly how to measure goal three. But Roy Romer has been leading the measurement effort. And I've served on that panel with him, and he's making great progress. And we think that we will have the things in '93-'94 that are necessary, particularly in the 4th grade.

Let me say this: People want to know what we're really testing. We set standards, and then we have to know how to measure against those standards. And it's my belief that the system is going to respond. You made the comment just a moment ago that things are happening all over America. They are. In every State, people are striving to meet the goals on their own. And that's what our effort's about, is to try to stimulate the system to meet these goals. But we need your constant, your sustained effort on this subject and your continued speaking-out to remind and challenge this Nation because I think that the Nation is ready to respond. And through your leadership, I think it will respond.

*The President.* Well, I plan to do that, and if I didn't, Lamar would kill me. And he's

pretty much of a taskmaster, but we will be spending a lot of time on it. I think in terms of total commitment of Presidential time, there's been a fair amount so far. But I just keep seeing the need to do more and more, and supplementing what not only the Department is doing under Lamar and David Kearns and some really vital new leadership but also what the Governors are.

So, I will participate, and I will do my level-best. And talk to Tom again. We're going to need help with Congress on how we get some of these initiatives, that I know most Governors support, passed through the Congress. But I sense a spirit of real cooperation now, and I really know I have to do as much as I possibly can in doing exactly what you've said. So, thanks for the suggestion.

*Governor Roberts.* Mr. President, I had the opportunity last February at the Governors' convention to talk to John Sununu on two issues that I raised a question with him on, the issue of energy conservation and particularly as it related to the issue of mass transit. Mr. Sununu, at that time, referred me to the about-to-be-released national energy policy which followed our conference by a couple of days.

With all due respect, Mr. President, I was disappointed in the energy policy, particularly as it related to issues of conservation, which I thought the policy was somewhat devoid of, and as it really pushed on the issue of mass transit in growing city environments that are really being clogged and environmentally affected by the lack of mass transit.

I think my question to you today would be: How is this country going to move to be less dependent on foreign oil unless we move aggressively on the issue of mass transit in city areas of this Nation? And I think the flip side of that coin would be: How can we become more environmentally sound in this country if policies continue, to the degree that I think they are now, to make choices that cause the pollution of air and that encourage the offshore drilling, or at least the pressures toward that in States like mine, basically don't encourage American people to save those resources and don't really encourage us to conserve the resources of this country?

*The President.* Well, of course, Governor, I would disagree with your hypothesis. I think that our energy program does have good, sound conservation measures in it. I think our transportation program—I hope it will be helpful in helping unclog the systems here.

But you talk about becoming independent from foreign oil, and then you say no offshore drilling. I don't know whether you realize how much of our domestic oil comes from offshore drilling. It's not off of Oregon, but it's like closing a military base. Everybody wants to close military bases, but they want to close them in the other guy's district or the other guy's State. You want to see the United States independent, and there is no way that you can project energy independence without continuing to, in a sound environmental way, use hydrocarbons.

So, I think, take a hard look at it, analyze it, talk to Jim Watkins, and then let me know specifically where you think it falls short. But your State has some problems that I am very sympathetic to and I know you're trying to sort out.

You started off saying you wanted to mention the environment. I find myself torn between what are extremes sometimes, but are really a choice between environment and people working. And that may be an oversimplification, but there's an awful lot of people in your State and a lot of people in the State I'm sitting in right now who feel that maybe we're leaning too far over on the side of environment.

So, I just want to say I am committed. I think I know something about the energy business. I think we are making headway. This reformulated gasoline for cars, I think we're doing well there. I don't want to shut down the auto industry. I don't want to impose these rigid CAFE [Corporate Average Fuel Economy] standards. Some environmentalists say that's the answer, to conserve. I tell you, we are concerned about jobs, and I just don't want to go to the extreme.

But look, I accept your constructive comments or criticism, if you will. And we'll take a look every way we can to see that we're doing our level-best. But I would

enlist your help and your suggestions from your State as to what I should tell the people that write in that are getting thrown out of work by some of the extreme positions in the environmental mode. So, please help us on that one.

I don't think you and I are far apart on it. I did a little homework here, but maybe we are. But it's a tough one out there. I'm talking about the endangered species—I'm off of the energy thing a little bit. But we've got to find our way, and we've got to do it without throwing an awful lot of people out of work. And yet, I think our clean air bill was a major step forward. I think we've got other environmental initiatives that I think can help in this regard.

But look, this country cannot instantly turn to Sun and wind and solve all our problems. Someday maybe we can do that, and I think we've got some good research money in our program to do that.

But let's keep talking about it. Let's keep in dialog on it because, look, I'm not saying we've got all the answers, but I do think we have a pretty well-balanced energy program. It's being attacked from both sides, so it must have something to recommend it.

*Governor Roberts.* Thank you, Mr. President.

*Governor Weld.* Mr. President, we in Massachusetts are very excited about the North American free trade agreement that you are negotiating with Canada and Mexico. We think it's going to enable us to increase our production and our exports and create a lot of jobs, and we think it's going to be good for the country to be part of a 600-million-person market so we can compete with Europe starting in 1992.

Some people, as you know, have criticized the agreement because of environmental problems in Mexico and wage rates in the other countries. I know that you have dealt personally with both President Salinas and Prime Minister Mulroney on these issues. Can you tell us, so that we can help to persuade our people, based on your personal work with them, on what basis we can say that we envision that so far from costing us jobs or hurting our economy, this agreement is going to be a real stimulus and lead to job creation in the American States?

*The President.* I can. And first, the guy

sitting not too far from you is my monitor—I'm looking down now instead of at you, looking to see where the Speaker is. I expect he's off to your right; I don't know. But in any event, he can tell you that if we bring back a trade agreement negotiated with Mexico that is not considerate of the disparity in wages or does something to exacerbate those differences and does not produce environmental change, why, that bill won't pass. The agreement won't pass. All we got was the right to negotiate on the so-called Fast Track. And so, there's some checks and balances that I think properly lie in the United States Congress.

But some felt in the debate, Governor, that we shouldn't do anything with Mexico along these lines until Mexico had cleaned up its environment and stopped polluting the rivers and brought themselves up roughly to the standard area where we are. It was my feeling and the feelings of the majority in the Congress that we ought to go ahead now, get the Fast Track, negotiate, and hopefully, through expanded trade, Mexico would gain the wherewithal to do much more in the way of environment.

But you put it on a personal basis. Carlos Salinas is committed unlike any previous President, I think Tom will confirm this, to improving the environment for his people. And again, at the risk of being not only repetitious but maybe perhaps emotional about it, when he told me that the school kids in Mexico painted in the sky at night, in their classes, first-grade classes, with no stars and no moon, and he said, "My ambition is to have those children paint in the stars and the moon because they can see them so clearly every night." And I think most people that have followed it will tell you he's moving in that direction. He is a new breed, a young aggressive leader, and I think in the environment he will do exactly what we're talking about.

In terms of labor disparity, it is my belief that increased trade will raise wage standards in Mexico, rather than drag them down. It's isolation and it's degradation and it's excessive poverty that keeps the wage rates disproportionately low. And I think there's plenty of examples to prove it. But you're on to the two key points of this

agreement. And we will do our level-best to hammer out a very sound one.

And you know, on this one, we had difference with many of the trade unions. They just differed and felt that, look, this is going to export jobs. I think it's going to increase jobs in the United States because of the vigorous increase in exports that we'll see.

So, there's some big problems out there. I've got confidence in our negotiators. And I have great confidence in President Salinas of Mexico. And we will do our level-best to bring to Tom Foley and the others an agreement that does take care of the two areas which are the two most significant areas of debate in this FTA with Mexico.

But I agree with you, it's a good, important step that's been taken by the Congress and the administration, and now we've got to flesh it out.

I might say parenthetically, and I'd ask for the Governors' support on this one: Help us, with your European friends and your sister cities and whoever it is, get this trade agreement going for the GATT. The big, broad picture of booming international trade depends on a successful conclusion to the Uruguay round. And we're still having enormous difficulty with Europe, particularly on agriculture. And so, a lot of you go over there with trade missions, a lot of you know those leaders. And please, at every turn, emphasize the need to move forward with agricultural reform because if we don't get that, there will not be a successful conclusion to the Uruguay round. I wouldn't be a part of it, and I wouldn't ask that Tom Foley and the leaders in the Senate be asked to vote on a treaty that leaves agriculture sitting off on the side.

So, we need the help of every American leader to convince these European, particularly Europe, European leaders that the best way to help undeveloped countries, the best way to guarantee an increase in the world economy is to get a successful conclusion to the GATT round. So it's FTA with Mexico, but it's also the Uruguay round.

Governor Weld. Thank you, Mr. Presi-

dent. Tom Foley, as you spied on your monitor, is here to my right—

*The President.* Now I see him.

Governor Weld. —and he sends you his greetings. And we all thank you on behalf of all the Governors for being with us today.

*The President.* Well, do you want a little recreational report for Governor McKernan, and Governor Weld can eat his heart out? I don't know if Governor Gregg is there. I think my cousin caught a 14-pound bluefish today. It's about to rain like hell on us here, it looks like, because we may catch some of Carroll Campbell's business, or maybe it's in North Carolina, but I'm worried a little bit about the hurricane.

But I appreciate your willingness to entertain my appearance in this manner. It's a good way to do it.

Tom, I'm looking forward to seeing you and Heather when the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom is here, and I hope the regional Governors will be able to join us. I use this unusual invitational method to say to the new Governor of Vermont, if he's there, he's most welcome to come over. But I'm enjoying this rest and I expect, like all of you feel, you should take a little R&R. So, I'm not faking it. It's not a business trip. Thank you so much, and thanks for letting me come over this way.

*Note: The President spoke at 4:03 p.m. from his home on Walker's Point in Kennebunkport, ME, with the meeting in Seattle, WA. The following Governors participated in the teleconference: Booth Gardner of Washington, John D. Ashcroft of Missouri, Roy R. Romer of Colorado, Carroll A. Campbell of South Carolina, Barbara Roberts of Oregon, and William F. Weld of Massachusetts. During the teleconference, the following persons were referred to: Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and his wife, Heather; Gov. John R. McKernan, Jr., of Maine; Gov. Pete Wilson of California; Prime Minister Brian Mulroney of Canada; Gov. Judd Gregg of New Hampshire; and Gov. Howard Dean of Vermont.*

## Statement by Deputy Press Secretary Popadiuk on the Attempted Coup in the Soviet Union

*August 19, 1991*

We are aware of the press reports concerning President Gorbachev. We have no details at this time. The President was informed by General Scowcroft. We are continuing to seek details.

*Note: The statement referred to press reports of a coup against President Mikhail Gorbachev of the Soviet Union.*

## Remarks on the Attempted Coup in the Soviet Union and an Exchange With Reporters in Kennebunkport, Maine

*August 19, 1991*

*The President.* Let me make a few comments about these momentous and stunning events. While we're still watching the situation unfold, and it still is unfolding, all is not clear. It seems clearer all the time that, contrary to official statements out of Moscow, that this move was extra-constitutional, outside of the constitutional provisions for governmental change. Clearly, it's a disturbing development; there's no question about that. And it could have serious consequences for the Soviet society and in Soviet relations with other countries including the United States.

President Gorbachev is clearly an historic figure, one who's led the Soviet Union toward reform domestically and toward a constructive and cooperative role in the international arena. And it's important to keep in mind the enormous changes that have taken place towards openness, towards reform, changes in Eastern Europe, the newfound cooperation with the United States and others in the Gulf, and many other areas. There's a whole new era of cooperation, and we don't want to see that change, obviously. Gorbachev's contributions have laid a foundation for progress that I am convinced the people in the Soviet Union want to see continue.

This morning I've been in touch with other world leaders. I just hung up from talking to Chancellor Kohl; I talked to President Mitterrand; I talked to Prime Minister John Major. I'm sure I'll be talking

to others today. I talked to the Secretary of State, and I talked to our DCM in Moscow, who incidentally tells me that all of our people there are safe and all are properly accounted for. I say that to reassure any families that are involved. Their information there, as you can imagine, is probably as sketchy as the rest of the world's at this time.

So, what we'll do is follow the events very carefully as they unfold in order to determine the appropriate response that we, in consultation with our allies, should make. And we expect that the Soviet Union will live up fully to its international obligations. And clearly, any commitments that are outstanding on the part of the West will be judged and acted on in accordance with that statement that the Soviet Government must live up to its obligations. Obviously, the West is not going to retreat from its principles of reform, openness, commitment to democracy.

And there's a lot at stake here. I don't know whether to take heart or not from Yanayev's statement that this does not mean turning back the reforms, but there was such a statement made by him. So, the situation is still quite murky inside the Soviet Union.

Have the notes here of my calls from, the calls I made to Kohl, Mitterrand, and Major. And I think it's fair to say that all of us are in total agreement with what I've said, with

what John Major has said. President Mitterrand will be talking to the French television in a few hours, I'm told. And so, I think at this point what we do is simply watch the situation unfold, and we state and restate our principles. And we'll see where matters go. It's all still unfolding.

Yes.

*Soviet Union*

*Q.* Mr. President, you know Yanayev. You mentioned you met him at the airport the last time you were in Moscow. What do you make of him? What does your gut tell you about him?

*The President.* Well, my gut instinct was that he has a certain commitment to reform. The book on it so far has been something to the contrary. But I think it's not he that is calling the shots. And you see some of the other individuals involved; they have been real hard-liners. One of the reasons that we have conducted our policy the way we have is to encourage reform and democracy. And I've said over and over again that we did not want to see a coup backed by the KGB and the military. And apparently that is what is underway.

I think it's also important to know that coups can fail. They can take over at first, and then they run up against the will of the people. So, it's too early to say, but let's hope that Yanayev, when he made his statement, was speaking from conviction, his statement being that this will not mean setting back, as I understand it, setting back reform and commitment to go forward.

*Q.* Mr. President—

*The President.* Let me finish. We've got a followup over here.

*Q.* Have you or will you try to reach Gorbachev, Yanayev, or Yeltsin?

*The President.* Well, I have not called them yet. John Major placed a call, and I believe was told that the lines were down or that it was impossible to get through to them. But we may try to do that.

All this stuff is unfolding. It's just happened. And we will take a calm approach to it, but a firm stand based on principle.

*Q.* Mr. President, have U.S. forces been placed in any heightened alert because of this?

*The President.* No.

*Q.* And do you plan to cut short your vacation because of this?

*The President.* Well, I will do what's necessary and what I think will be helpful in making clear the United States position. And I'm not interested in show business, not interested in make-work. I am interested in following this based on the principles that we hold dear, and I will follow it very, very closely. Whether I go back to Washington or not is yet to be decided. If I thought it would help in any way, I would do that. As you know, we have very good communications. We're in touch with everybody here, both by secure line and by unsecure, just open lines.

So, it's a little early to say what I'll be doing, but you can rest assured I will do what is in the best interest of United States foreign policy.

*Q.* Has the United States detected any heightened alert on the part of Soviet forces in Central Europe or in the Soviet Union?

*The President.* Well, I don't think there have been any changes there, but certainly we've seen heightened use of Soviet force in Moscow and outside which concern us.

*Q.* What do you believe the motivation is, sir, behind the coup? Why did they remove him?

*The President.* We don't know that. We don't know that. Clearly, some of the hard-liners have been concerned about the rapidity of reform. They've been concerned about the demise of the Communist Party per se. And I think they've also been concerned about the Soviet economy. But on a coup of this manner, you never know what's going to happen. I think Gorbachev was as surprised as anybody, obviously. And let's just remain open on this as to whether it's going to succeed or not. We're seeing the first returns, you might say, coming in. But the people's commitment to reform and democracy and openness is very profound. And I think it's awful early to say that those changes are reversible.

I'm inclined to believe that when people understand freedom and taste freedom, and see democracy in action, that they're not going to want to change. And you have, of course, the whole force in conviction of the



Russian Republic and what happened through its elections. And so, it's still early; it's very early to have a lot of final answers.

*Q.* Mr. President, do you actually know who's in charge right now, and more particularly, who's in charge of the Soviet nuclear arsenal? Is that a great concern?

*The President.* Well, I don't imagine there's been any changes in that. And we don't know who's in charge, except that they say Mr. Yanayev is in charge.

*Q.* Has his government, or whatever it is, attempted to contact the United States in any way at this point?

*The President.* So far, no. But we may contact them. But I don't want to do anything that we would give approval to these extra-constitutional, outside-the-constitution changes that have taken place.

*Q.* Are you going to stop the process of economic cooperation that's been unfolding in recent months with the Soviets?

*The President.* I think things will be on hold. If we're going to set back democracy, set back reform, obviously not only the United States but Europe will put things on hold as well. There's a lot at stake in all of this, and certainly I wouldn't go forward with aid or assistance when you have this kind of extra-constitutional action taken by a handful of people backed up by the military there. We know most of these people that are involved in all of this, and this is a fairly hard-line, a very hard-line group that have elected to take matters into their own hands. But what hasn't been heard from yet are the people of the Soviet Union.

*Q.* Mr. Yeltsin seems to have called for a general strike and protest. Do you support that?

*The President.* Well, we'll just see what happens on that.

*Q.* Mr. Yeltsin has said that the Russian Federation will not abide by the new decrees. Do you support that, sir?

*The President.* Well, I support what I've outlined here as our principles, and certainly I can understand where an elected leader like Mr. Yeltsin is coming from. One of the reasons his visit to the United States was so successful, and it was, and I've said it over and over again, is because he was elected by an overwhelming number of people in the largest Republic.

I think what he is doing is simply expressing the will of the people there to have these reforms and have democracy, the steps already taken to democracy, strengthened. I hope that people heed his call.

*Q.* Mr. President, in your conversations with Gorbachev a couple of weeks ago, did he give any suggestion that this was a possibility, and did U.S. intelligence detect any preparations for this?

*The President.* I don't know of any intelligence that predicted that there would be a coup at midnight U.S. time or whatever it was yesterday. There's always been a concern. I think if we go back, I think you would see that I've expressed concerns about the hard-liners taking over. But no, Gorbachev didn't mention that to me. And Gorbachev feels, and I expect he still feels this way, that the taste of democracy is such that people aren't going to regurgitate it, that they want it to go forward in spite of the very difficult economic times that are extant in the Soviet Union.

*Q.* Mr. President, what do you feel you could do at this point to affect events in the Soviet Union, if anything?

*The President.* There's very little we can do except to reiterate, in total cooperation with the European allies, our commitment to these principles of reform and openness and democratic change. And that's what we are going to continue to do. I've indicated that business will not be business as usual because we will not support economic aid programs, for example, if adherence to extra-constitutional means goes forward.

*Q.* Mr. President, you said the economic aid was on hold. What about the START treaty? Will you hold back on that as well?

*The President.* No. These treaties are in the interest of the United States clearly, and they have said that all treaties will be abided by. And that's good. We won't want to go back to the cold war days, and we're not going to do that. This is a very frustrating and unconstructive step. But we're not going to go back to that. We're not going to go back to seeing Europe as it used to be with Soviet forces all through Eastern Europe. So, we're not trying to go back to square one. What we're trying to do is say, let the situation clear up but adhere to cer-

tain fundamental principles.

*Q.* How can you be sure the hard-line government would honor these in terms of the treaty?

*The President.* Well, hard-line governments in the past adhered to certain treaties that were enacted, and so I don't think we need to raise that specter at this point. Obviously if they weren't adhering to the treaty, the treaties, the series of treaties, that would be a whole different ball game.

*Q.* Sir, can you tell us whether our Embassy has made any effort to get through there or whether there has been any official contact between our Government and theirs at any level that you know of?

*The President.* Right now I don't know. As I say, I talked to Jim Collins over there, and I think they're watching matters unfold. But whether they've talked to anybody in the hierarchy there, I simply don't know.

*Q.* Mr. President, the people who would seem most vulnerable at this point are probably the republican leaders. Is there anything that the U.S. or the West can do to help the Republics from being pulled back in by a military—

*The President.* There's very little we can do right now, except to reiterate what I've said here: that we will support those who adhere to these principles, democratic principles, and that includes reform and *perestroika* and *glasnost*, as they're referred to. But we are going to watch the situation unfold, and if we see ways to be helpful, of course, we will be. But we're dealing with a situation that, at best, is murky at this point and is very disturbing at this point.

*Q.* Sir, could you just give us a detail or two on when you learned of this, how late you stayed up on it, how early you got up?

*The President.* I learned about it last night around, what was it, Brent, 11:50 or 12 o'clock or something like that. And then I talked to the Situation Room early this morning, been talking to General Scowcroft from the early hours on, 5 o'clock on. And the question is, what can you do, Brit [Brit Hume, ABC News]? Is it show business, or should we really spell out these principles? And I know there's a lot of—I've heard some of the commentators telling me how I ought to conduct this business. But my

mind goes back to how it was a year ago in another very troubling international situation. So, we will follow it closely. We will conduct ourselves appropriately, be in touch with these foreign leaders, act with them to do whatever we can do to keep the reforms going forward.

And it's not a time for flamboyance or show business or posturing on the part of any country, certainly the United States. We have disproportionate responsibilities in handling these matters with confidence and a cool and, I think, informed way. And we're still gathering a great deal of information.

*Q.* Mr. President, our representation in Moscow is in transition right now. Is that causing a bit of a problem for Ambassador Matlock as well?

*The President.* No. No, it's causing none. The Embassy is in very firm hands, and I expect that Ambassador Strauss will hit the ground running when he gets over there.

*Q.* I'm sorry, sir, do you expect that he will continue to be sent—

*The President.* Well, as I say, if I have any announcements along those lines, or any other lines, I'll be sure to let you guys know right away because it's a matter of importance. But it just happened, as you know, a few hours ago, and a lot of wheels starting to turn.

*Q.* Mr. President, you said you don't want to go back to the cold war days. But at this point, do you feel that the Soviet Union may again be a threat to the United States?

*The President.* A threat in what sense?

*Q.* Military threat?

*The President.* I think we've always based our defense posture on the fact that Soviet missiles are aimed against the United States. One of the reasons I rejoiced in getting a strategic arms talk is that there will be fewer missiles aimed against the United States. But nobody in their fondest dreams has suggested that that is not a problem. We have other areas where we have divergent interests. Cuba is one of them.

I don't want to see us overstate things here so as to wipe out the progress that has been made in international cooperation on many fronts. And if you think there's some concerns here about this, try talking to the

Germans about it; they don't want to see the clock set back. Nor do the Eastern Europeans. And I don't think that will happen. But I don't want to, in the wake of a very unfortunate and bad series of events taking place, act like we're going to go back into a status quo ante, go back and encourage through reckless statements something to take place that would set the clock back to where it was before these changes under Gorbachev took place.

*Q.* Would your preferred course of action at this point be for a return of Gorbachev to power?

*The President.* Well, I've always felt that he represented the best opportunity to see reform go forward. He's been in a bit of a balancing act, as we all know. One of the reasons we supported him, two reasons: One, he was the President of the Soviet Union, and thus we conducted our business as we should through the President. But secondly, he represented enormous productive and fantastic change. And I think throwing him out in this manner is counterproductive, totally. And I'm sure that the Western European leaders agree with that.

So, if he were there, obviously, I think the world would be sighing with relief now. And they understand, I think, more clearly why we have been trying to keep our foreign policy based on the fact that he offered the best hope. But we have other democratic forces there now, and we want to give them the kind of support we can without being counterproductive.

*Q.* Mr. President, have you tried the hot line, and who's on the other end?

*The President.* No, we haven't tried the hot line. We're not going to overexcite the American people or the world. And so, we will conduct our diplomacy in a prudent fashion, not driven by excess, not driven by extreme.

*Q.* How do you see this situation affecting the prospects for a hostage release and prospects for a Middle East peace conference in October?

*The President.* Well, I don't know. But there was one area where we've been working very cooperatively with the Soviet Union. Foreign Minister Bessmertnykh has been extraordinarily constructive in that, and so was President Gorbachev. But it is

way too early. But here's an area where cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States was extraordinarily important and remains important. But as the situation unfolds, I don't know how this new leadership, if this coup is successful, are going to treat these matters. But I think it would be very counterproductive to have it go back to square one in the Middle East when we have an opportunity for a breakthrough and for peace. It's a good question, but it is way too early to give a definitive answer to it.

*Q.* Mr. President, do you have any back-channel intelligence on the whereabouts of Mr. Gorbachev?

*The President.* No.

*Q.* Mr. President, why do you say that using the hot line, attempting direct conduct, why do you suggest that might be some flamboyant kind of gesture?

*The President.* Because I think the hot line is—there's other ways to call, is one thing. Secondly, the hot line people connect with some kind of military problem between the Soviet Union and the United States. And do you think I want to suggest that to the American people or to the people in Europe? Absolutely not. And there's other ways to communicate other than the so-called hot line.

*Q.* Thank you.

*The President.* All right, you got it. Don't say we never give you any news up here.

*Q.* That's right. [Laughter] Guaranteed news.

### *Hurricane Bob*

*Q.* Are you worried about that hurricane that's bearing down on us?

*The President.* This afternoon—be coming in. Well, it's not the hurricane itself, we hope, but it looks like—here's our Coast Guard Commander; he can give you the latest. What is it? Commander Justice.

*Commander Justice.* The storm this afternoon: 30- to 60-knot sustained winds, gusts maybe to 70, and 4- to 7-foot tidal surge.

*Q.* Good boating weather? [Laughter]

*The President.* Boats are out.

*Brent Scowcroft.* It's golfing weather. [Laughter]

*Q.* —a storm like that here at Walker's

Point or would you be inclined to get out of here if something like that—

*The President.* This wouldn't scare us a bit.

*Q.* You're not recommending evacuating?  
*Q.* You're not?

*Q.* As of—based on what you know now, or—

*Commander Justice.* As of right now, we're not.

*Q.* Okay. Thank you.

*The President.* People in the Shawmut may want to reconsider. [Laughter]

*Note: The President spoke at 7:50 a.m. at his home on Walker's Point. In the exchange,*

*the following persons were referred to: Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany; President François Mitterrand of France; Prime Minister John Major of the United Kingdom; Jim Collins, Deputy Chief of Mission at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow; Vice President Gennady Yanayev of the Soviet Union; President Boris Yeltsin of Russia; Jack Matlock, former U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union; Robert S. Strauss, Ambassador-designate to the Soviet Union; Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, and Lt. Comdr. Wayne E. Justice, Coast Guard Aide to the President. Parts of this exchange could not be verified because the tape was incomplete.*

## Statement by Deputy Press Secretary Popadiuk on the Attempted Coup in the Soviet Union

August 19, 1991

President Bush met with his national security advisers this afternoon in the Roosevelt Room for an update on the situation in the Soviet Union. Attending were Governor Sununu, General Scowcroft, Deputy National Security Adviser Robert Gates, Acting Secretary of State Eagleburger, Acting Secretary of Defense Atwood, Deputy Secretary of the Treasury Robson, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Colin Powell, Deputy Director of Central Intelligence Kerr, and Arms Control and Disarmament Agency Director Lehman. In addition, representatives from the National Security Council, Treasury, and Department of Defense attended.

President Bush stated the seriousness of the situation and discussed the phone calls he has had with various world leaders. President Bush has called the President of the EC, Prime Minister Lubbers, Presidents Özal, Havel, and Walesa, and Prime Minister Antall. Earlier President Bush had spoken with Chancellor Kohl, President Mitterrand, and Prime Ministers Mulroney, Major, Andreotti, Kaifu, and González.

In the conversations with East European leaders, the irreversibility of the democratic process in Eastern Europe was emphasized.

President Bush agreed to stay in close touch with the East European leaders and pledged continuing U.S. support for the economic and political reform process in the region.

Soviet Ambassador Komplektov, at his request, met with Acting Secretary Eagleburger at noon at the State Department and this afternoon with Robert Gates at the White House. In his meeting with Mr. Gates, Ambassador Komplektov also presented a letter for President Bush from Soviet Vice President Yanayev.

*Note: The statement referred to Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers of The Netherlands, current President of the European Council; President Turgut Özal of Turkey; President Václav Havel of Czechoslovakia; President Lech Walesa of Poland; Prime Minister József Antall of Hungary; Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany; President François Mitterrand of France; Prime Minister Brian Mulroney of Canada; Prime Minister John Major of the United Kingdom; Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti of Italy; Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu of Japan; Prime Minister Felipe González Márquez of Spain; Soviet Ambassador to the United States*

Viktor Komplektov; and Vice President head of the State Committee for the State of  
Gennady Yanayev of the Soviet Union, Emergency during the attempted coup.

## Statement on the Attempted Coup in the Soviet Union *August 19, 1991*

We are deeply disturbed by the events of the last hours in the Soviet Union and condemn the unconstitutional resort to force. While the situation continues to evolve and information remains incomplete, the apparent unconstitutional removal of President Gorbachev, the declaration of a state of emergency, and the deployment of Soviet military forces in Moscow and other cities raise the most serious questions about the future course of the Soviet Union. This misguided and illegitimate effort bypasses both Soviet law and the will of the Soviet peoples.

Accordingly, we support President Yeltsin's call for "restoration of the legally elected organs of power and the reaffirmation of the post of USSR President M.S. Gorbachev."

Greater democracy and openness in Soviet society, including steps toward implementation of Soviet obligations under the Helsinki Final Act and the Charter of Paris, have made a crucial contribution to the welcome improvement in East-West relations during the past few years.

In these circumstances, U.S. policy will be based on the following guidelines:

- We believe the policies of reform in the Soviet Union must continue, including democratization, the process of peaceful reconciliation between the center and the Republics, and economic transformation;
- We support all constitutionally elected leaders and oppose the use of force or intimidation to suppress them or restrict their right to free speech;
- We oppose the use of force in the Baltic States or against any Republics to suppress or replace democratically elected governments;
- We call upon the Soviet Union to abide by its international treaties and commitments, including its commitments to respect basic human rights and democratic practices under the Helsinki Accords, and the Charter of Paris;
- We will avoid in every possible way actions that would lend legitimacy or support to this coup effort;
- We have no interest in a new cold war or in the exacerbation of East-West tensions;
- At the same time, we will not support economic aid programs if adherence to extra-constitutional means continues.

## The President's News Conference in Kennebunkport, Maine, on the Attempted Coup in the Soviet Union *August 20, 1991*

*The President.* The events in the Soviet Union continue to deeply concern the whole world. The unconstitutional seizure of power is an affront to the goals and aspirations that the Soviet peoples have been nurturing over the past years. This action also puts the Soviet Union at odds with the

world community and undermines the positive steps that have been undertaken to make the Soviet Union an integral and positive force in the world affairs.

I have this morning spoken with Boris Yeltsin, the freely elected leader of the Russian Republic, and I assured Mr. Yeltsin of

continued U.S. support for his goal of the restoration of Mr. Gorbachev as the constitutionally chosen leader. And I also shared with him the support that other world leaders voiced in my several conversations yesterday, conversations I had with those leaders in Eastern Europe and leaders in Western Europe as well, Prime Minister Kaifu; and I gave him that reassurance. Mr. Yeltsin is encouraged by the support of the Soviet people and their determination in the face of these trying circumstances. He expressed his gratitude for our support of him and President Gorbachev.

The situation concerning President Gorbachev's status is still unclear. And I've twice tried to reach him by phone, including within the last hour, but have so far been unsuccessful.

We continue to closely monitor this situation. Our new, and I might add, very able Ambassador to the Soviet Union, Robert Strauss, just sworn in, will be departing immediately for Moscow to take charge of our Embassy and to report to me on the situation that he finds in the Soviet Union. So, I'm asking him to go over there, get the lay of the land, establish what will be strong leadership—the Embassy, we've got a good team in place, but this man is in charge of this important mission—and then to return within the next several days to give me a full personal report on what he sees there. He will not be presenting his credentials on this trip. It's going to be a short trip. And I've said that this group assumed power extra-constitutionally.

In conclusion, I want to emphasize that we are going to monitor the situation closely and consider its ramifications throughout the entire world. And I've emphasized in my conversation with the Eastern European leaders that the democratic processes in their country cannot be reversed. Eastern Europe is important. And I've called three of the leaders, and I want to take this opportunity to assure them of our continued interest and the need to retain calm in those countries. And indeed, they were very grateful for the contact by the United States.

The United States will continue to support the economic and political reforms in their countries. And I will continue to seek

the advice and counsel of Eastern European leaders in the days ahead. And of course, the Secretary and I will be in close touch with the Western European leaders and others around the globe.

Because this is an ongoing process of consultations, we intend to maintain a more formal work schedule during the remainder of my stay in Maine. There will be a number of meetings with Government officials and private sector experts related to the events in the Soviet Union. There will be daily briefings on a formalized basis by my national security advisers, and I will be keeping in touch with Secretary Baker.

As you know, I will be receiving Prime Minister Mulroney and also Prime Minister Major and, of course, receiving Ambassador Strauss when he returns.

Secretary Baker will be leaving today for the NATO ministerial [meeting] that will be held in Brussels.

These difficult events in the Soviet Union I believe demonstrate the wisdom of our strong and continuous support for the process of reform and restructuring. We'll continue to support the democratic processes that have been set in motion in the Soviet Union. And most importantly, I know that the American people stand behind the people of the Soviet Union who are seeking more freedom and more opportunity in their society.

So, I'd like now to turn this podium over to Ambassador Strauss for a comment. And then Secretary Baker and I will be glad to take questions, or the Ambassador. And I have here, of course, our top national security team and Secretary Cheney, and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs is here, the Vice President. And if you want to direct questions to any of them, why, that would be fine, too. We're following all the situations on all fronts there, economic, military, whatever it is, very, very closely.

Bob.

*Ambassador Strauss.* Thank you, Mr. President. Let me just very briefly say that circumstances have changed rather dramatically since I accepted this assignment. It's a different world. Nevertheless, although circumstances have changed, as I've said, it seems to me that my mission re-

mains basically the same. And that is to go to Moscow to speak very clearly, speak very plainly, and if necessary with undiplomatic candor from time to time; to speak for you, Mr. President, and you, Mr. Secretary, and for the American people; and to speak for the principles of freedom and democracy and rule of law. And that I intend to do.

I thank you for this, I express my appreciation to you for the confidence you've shown in me, and I'll do my best to fulfill the job. Thank you, sir.

*The President.* Well, I'd be glad to entertain a few questions.

*Q.* Mr. President, is there any evidence, do you have any evidence that this coup might be on shaky ground in light of what you mentioned yesterday about sometimes coups fail and that possibly the opposition that's rallying around Yeltsin has any possibilities to turn it around? And what kind of support are you able, or will you give them other than verbal?

*The President.* Well, I said yesterday that some coups fail. The likelihood of this, it's hard to evaluate in this circumstance. However, there appears to be very strong support from the people in the Soviet Union for constitutional government, for democratic reform. And when you see the numbers turn out—President Yeltsin told me that he anticipated there were, he thought there were 100,000 people near his building when I talked to him a few minutes ago. He thinks that there will be strong support from the labor to his request that labor go out and don't produce until this matter is resolved. So, you don't take freedom away from people very easily. You don't set back democracy very easily. And I'd say that it is in the best interest of the Soviet Union in its relations with other countries if a constitutional government is promptly put back into operation there.

*Q.* Mr. President, what kind of support, though, are you going to give Yeltsin, or are you—just have to stay on the sidelines and offer verbal encouragement?

*The President.* Well, we're certainly going to offer encouragement in every way we can. And we're making very clear to the coup plotters and the coup people that there will not be normal relations with the United States as long as this illegal coup

remains in effect.

The Western Europeans have met, and they have come out with a statement along those lines. And I think, with the exception of a few renegade regimes around the world, we're seeing universal condemnation. So let's hope that that will bring these people to their senses.

I was just looking here at the statement from the EC decisions. And they have concluded that the CSCE human rights conference in Moscow should not go forward, and we will certainly back them in that. Technical assistance, they're following what I mentioned yesterday in holding back all of that. And they have some serious economic problems, and they need the help of the West, and they need the cooperation of Eastern Europe. And they're not going to get it under existing conditions.

*Q.* What happens now to the cosponsorship of the Middle East conference—will we do it alone—and other front-burner issues with the Soviet Union? And what was the gist of the letter from Yanayev?

*The President.* It's far too early to say what will happen to the Middle East conference. The whole world wants to see that succeed. The hopes for peace in the Middle East—and again, I credit Secretary Baker for his indefatigable efforts in putting together this peace process—the whole world wants to see it succeed. I hope that there will be no frustration to that on the part of the Soviet Union who have heretofore played a very constructive role in all of that.

But again, we are not in contact with Foreign Minister Bessmertnykh. We simply don't know what's going to happen.

What was the other part of your question?

*Q.* Would we go it alone?

*The President.* We will continue to fight for, continue to use our best efforts to bring peace to the Middle East, no matter what happens; of course we will. But let's face it, the Soviet Union heretofore has been constructive. They're important in the United Nations concept, and they're important on their own with the relations they have with some other countries.

It is ironic that only a handful of coun-

tries, predictably extreme countries, have supported what's happening in Moscow. I think of Libya, I think of Iraq, and I think of Cuba. These are renegades. These are people that have been swimming against the tide of democracy. The rest of the world appears to be very upset with this usurpation of power.

*Q.* Mr. President, in the past you've had differences with Chancellor Kohl over monetary aid to the Soviet Union. In your telephone conversation with him yesterday, did you say that it was imperative that they not give any money to the new regime?

*The President.* No. We worked out at the G-7 meeting an agreement with Chancellor Kohl that he fully supported. Germany has some special problems. Germany wants those Russian troops out of a unified Germany. We want the troops out of a unified Germany. But that was not discussed.

*Q.* Aside from Secretary Baker's trip to Brussels, is this situation such that you might want to see the European leaders meet together in a summit?

*The President.* Well, I'm not sure that that's the next step. We're in close contact with them. I talked to the G-7 leaders yesterday, including Ruud Lubbers, the Prime Minister of The Netherlands who is head of the EC now. And I'm not sure that a face-to-face meeting of the European leaders and the United States and Japan would be productive at this point. But I think the process of Jim going to NATO, his doing that, is a very important step.

Yes, these two over here.

*Q.* Mr. President, when you say that economic relations with the Soviet Union are now on hold, does that mean that you're actively going after suspending grain credits, for example, or delaying most-favored-nation status?

*The President.* We're just sitting here for a while leaving everything on hold, as I've said. We're reviewing all these matters, and it's way too early to say how each individual category is going to work out. It's simply—we've got to just take our time. We've got to be prudent, a word I think is applicable here. And I think we've got to be strong. I think the world is turning to the United States for leadership here, many countries. And I think the best thing to do now is to

put these matters on hold. We did this yesterday. As you've seen, the Europeans, Western Europeans, have followed suit. We don't want to hurt people anywhere in terms of starvation, things of that nature. But that's not the question right now. So, it's premature for me to say what agreements will go forward and what won't. I will always have in mind what is in the national interest of the United States, however.

*Q.* Mr. President, in light of your statement of yesterday, late yesterday afternoon, and in light of the fact that you're now denouncing the new regime in Moscow as illegitimate and unconstitutional, might you now or soon be considering granting to Lithuania and the other Baltic Republics, that are, after all, elected governments, the full recognition they have long demanded?

*The President.* Our position on the Baltic States has not changed. And if there's ever a change in the position, we'll let you know. As you all know, we have not ever recognized the forceable incorporation of the Baltic States into the Soviet Union. And that's where that matter is right now. But we are not giving up on the restoration of constitutional government in the Soviet Union itself. And so we'll leave that matter right there.

*Q.* If that fails, sir, what—

*The President.* I'm not going to go into any hypothesis. I don't want to give hope to the coup plotters by suggesting that it is going to fail.

Let's see who we have over here.

*Q.* Are you saying that if the coup succeeds and the Soviet government, this new Soviet government is in power a long time, that the U.S. still would not recognize the Soviet Union?

*The President.* You must have missed what I said to Brit [Brit Hume, ABC News]. I'm not going to go into anything that hypothetical. There's no point in trying to spell out way in advance of events what we might or might not do. And the main thing I want to do is see the restoration of constitutional government.

So, I'm sorry, I'm not going to take hypothetical questions or respond to questions of a hypothetical nature. I simply can't do



that.

*Q.* You're very definite in the short term about not recognizing them?

*The President.* I'm very definite in what I said in this statement, yes.

*Q.* Mr. President, have you heard from Mr. Yeltsin on the whereabouts or the well-being of Mr. Gorbachev? Or from anyone else, for that matter?

*The President.* Mr. Yeltsin told me that he tried to send emissaries to see Mr. Gorbachev, that those emissaries were unsuccessful because Mr. Gorbachev is being prevented from seeing people. As I say, I've tried to call him yesterday. I think Prime Minister Major tried the same thing. I tried again today. Mr. Gorbachev is the duly constituted leader of the Soviet Union. And we will continue to try.

The other thing that Yeltsin told me is, and I think he's said this publicly, that he feels that if this medical answer has any validity to it, that the World Health Organization should be permitted to see and examine Mr. Gorbachev. I can tell you that Yeltsin doesn't believe that, and I must tell you I don't believe it. But that is one of the canards being thrown out. It's really old-fashioned. But nevertheless, we will continue to try to stand with Mr. Gorbachev as Yeltsin is trying to do.

*Q.* Are you going to have to increase our stores of ammunition now, or are you going to leave more troops in Europe than you would have taken out?

*The President.* I'm not crossing any of those bridges now at all. I've mentioned the matter is where it stands. We're not moving any forces. Secretary Cheney and General Powell can respond to that when I finish if anyone wants to go further, but there's no—I'm not trying to elevate any chance of military confrontation. Nobody wants that, and I expect, I hope, that that's true of the coup plotters. It's certainly true of Eastern Europe, of Western Europe, and of the United States of America. And it's darn sure true of the people that elected Mr. Yeltsin, and it's true of the people that have supported constitutional reform in the Soviet Union which are vast majorities. So I'll leave it right there.

*Q.* Should the new Soviet regime be that concerned about American threats, consid-

ering it so far has been a bloodless coup and considering our response to the Tiananmen Square massacre?

*The President.* What was that again?

*Q.* Should the new Soviet regime be that concerned with American threats, considering so far it's been a bloodless coup?

*The President.* Who is threatening? Who is threatening?

*Q.* Well, you're not going to give them any diplomatic recognition at this point.

*The President.* I don't view that as a threat. I view that as a factual statement. That's not threatening at all. We are committed, nobody should be surprised that we remain committed to democratic reform and to constitutional government there. That means that Gorbachev, who was constitutionally installed, is in our view in power. You know, it's interesting that Yanayev is saying he looks forward to working with Gorbachev. It seems to me that gives a certain credibility to what I'm just saying.

I've raised the question, I hope not in a testy manner, about military confrontation because I think we want to cool that. This isn't a time to threaten militarily or to move forces around just to show machoism. That's not what's called for here. What's called for is diplomacy. What's called for is commitment to principle, backing those people who are committed to reform, backing the people in the Soviet Union and in the Republics.

*Q.* Mr. President—

*The President.* Right over here.

*Q.* Mr. President, you said that there are other democratic forces in the Soviet Union, that they may help. It seems that you wouldn't settle for anything but Gorbachev. But do you see other democratic forces emerging there that could play a very big role? Who are they? And also, do you trust them?

*The President.* There are plenty of people that are committed. Look at the mayor of Leningrad, for example. There are plenty of people who are committed to democracy and to reform there and in the Republics. I think one of the things that triggered this coup, the timing of the coup, was the fact that a union treaty was about to be signed which gave certain rights to these Repub-

lics.

So, believe me, there's thousands and millions of people that are committed to democratic reform. But why should I go into that question that might imply that we are turning our backs on the duly constituted leader? We're not going to do that.

*Q.* The present group seems to be trying to appeal to the people because they feel that they are hungry and they want food. Do you think that the London [economic] summit could have done something more financially?

*The President.* What they're trying to do is to say: "Look, we've got energy problems. We've got food problems. We've got health problems, and we, the unelected coup, are going to solve those problems." They can't do it without outside support. Mr. Yeltsin knows that. Mr. Gorbachev knows that. And these people will understand that. But what they're doing is trying to cloak their illegal move in the usurping power by saying to the people, "We're going to help you in these areas where you've been short-changed." That will not succeed. They're going to need to go forward with these reforms if the Soviet Union is going to fulfill its potential. So, that is a clear, obvious tactic they're using, but I don't think that people are going to buy into it.

I'm going to take two more after this, and then we've got to run.

*Q.* Mr. President, when you spoke with Yeltsin, did he give you any indication that he feared for his personal safety or that the Gorbachev family, Mrs. Gorbachev was in any way—was with her husband, away or—

*The President.* Yes. Nothing on the Gorbachev matter. Here was a man who was standing, Yeltsin, standing courageously against military force. And I told him that "We respect you. You've been duly elected here. We pray for you, and we hope that you're successful." And what he wants to see is the restoration of constitutional government. He wants to see the rights of the Republics, and he wants to see President Gorbachev restored to power. He didn't say he's afraid; he's a very courageous man. He says he's convinced that the people will stand with him, and well they should.

*Q.* Mr. President, for you or for Ambassa-

dor Strauss: When he gets there, with just whom will he be meeting?

*The President.* I'll leave that up to his good judgment, Charles [Charles Bierbauer, Cable News Network], because you know Moscow so well, and it's very hard to say with whom he will be meeting. The one thing I want him to do is establish his leadership in our Embassy, to consult with a highly professional staff there—one of whom is Mr. Collins who's the DCM to whom I talked yesterday—get the lay of the land from the ground. So, it's less reaching out to individual leaders, but I'll leave that to his good judgment and the judgment of the Secretary of State.

Last one. Owen [Owen Ullman, Knight-Ridder], and then we're going. I haven't seen you in a long time over here.

*Q.* If I could, a followup, sir. I'm trying to establish whether it's quicker for him to meet with Mr. Yanayev, for example?

*The President.* Well, we have no plans on that. And what we don't want to do is do anything that legitimizes this current regime or legitimizes what is clearly an illegal coup. And at this juncture, there are no plans for that. But again, this is a fast moving situation, and we'll have to wait and see what his judgment is when he gets there and what he and the Secretary decide.

Owen, and this is the last one.

*Q.* When you met with Mr. Gorbachev over the past month, did either of you in your conversations talk about the possibility of something like this happening or the possibility of even civil war in the Soviet Union?

*The President.* No. What was talked about on his part was the irreversibility of this change, the fact that constitutional government is there, elections are over the horizon and have taken place in the Republics, some of the Republics, and his conviction that the people are committed to reform and certainly to openness, *glasnost*, as well. And I've seen nothing in the last day or two that would compel him or me to alter that.

Now, that isn't to say that there's a formidable obstacle right now in the way. And that is eight people that have usurped unto themselves all the power and are trying to

take over by force, although Yanayev has said he looks forward to working with Mr. Gorbachev in the future.

So, there wasn't discussion of that. As you know, I think I have referred to—I know I have in our meetings—concerns that we conduct ourselves in such a way to minimize the chance of military takeovers. And that military takeover has taken place. But I believe that the policy that we've had into effect of supporting Gorbachev, as Yeltsin has been doing over the last few months, is the correct policy. I think it is the best hope for democracy, was the best hope for democracy and reform, and remains the best hope for democracy and reform.

You get hit from the left saying if you'd written out a better check, this wouldn't have happened. And I don't believe that for one single minute. And you get hit on the other side by people that are suggesting that if we hadn't been supportive of the duly constituted President of the Soviet Union, that things would have gone more swimmingly for democracy. I reject that. I don't believe there's any fact in that. And if there were, why was Boris Yeltsin, who was elected overwhelmingly, supportive as he was and continues to be of Mr. Gorbachev?

So, there it is. And as I say, we will be departing. I'm going to continue this vacation; I'm going to encourage our people to. But I don't want to be under any false color. It's going to be different now than it's been, maybe a little more like last year. What is it about August? [*Laughter*] But I will closely monitor this. We have extremely good communications up there, not only with our own key leaders, the Secretary of State, ambassadors, Secretary of Defense, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, our Chief of Staff, our national security team, the Vice President. Communications are excellent.

But I don't want to again mislead people. I'm going to be spending a little more time, maybe quite a bit more time, in various formal ways that you will see unveiled, in staying on top of this situation. But I don't want to panic. I don't want to send a signal, by sitting around the Oval Office here looking busy, that the American people should expect an instant satisfactory answer to this problem. I don't want to elevate hopes by succumbing to the whims of a few political

critics that suggest that the matter can be better done in another way.

It happened, same thing, last year, and I did it the way I thought was best. And I hope I will have the full support of the American people as we follow this very, very closely. But I want to redefine it because I said that this vacation was going to be all rest and no work. And now it's going to be changed somewhat even though I have been getting briefed.

We have tremendous press coverage up there, get our message out. We have excellent communications and contacts. And rather than elevate the hopes by churning around in here, I'm going to finish what I started out to do. And I will receive various visitors, and you'll be fascinated, I am sure, by who they are. And it will show you my commitment to staying right on top of this situation because people are looking to the United States for the leadership in this, disproportionately.

I might add this point. Neither the Ambassador here or the Secretary of State or the Secretary of Defense or the Vice President or the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs or my White House advisers want to see this turn into an East-West confrontation. And we're going to get pushed. If I answer some of these hypothetical questions, I could inadvertently move things into an East-West confrontation. And that's not what this is about.

Many changes, constructive changes, have taken place in the world as a result of Mr. Gorbachev's leadership, as a result of Mr. Yeltsin's election. Adherence to democracy, for example, in the latter case. And clearly all you have to do is look at Eastern Europe, you have to look at a united Germany, you have to look at cooperation in various areas around the world to know what I'm talking about.

So, what we don't want to do is inadvertently set back any of those changes that are very, very important to the United States and to the rest of the world, particularly to Eastern Europe. And so we will conduct ourselves less flamboyantly than some would have us do our business, but I think with the proper mixture of strength and conviction to these democratic principles.

Thank you all very much.

*Note: The President's 98th news conference began at 10:35 a.m. in the Rose Garden at*

*the White House. In the news conference, he referred to Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu of Japan.*

## Presidential Determination No. 91-48—Memorandum on Trade With Romania

August 17, 1991

*Memorandum for the Secretary of State*

*Subject: Determination under Subsection 402(c)(2)(A) of the Trade Act of 1974, as Amended—Romania*

Pursuant to subsection 402(c)(2)(A) of the Trade Act of 1974, as amended (the "Act") (19 U.S.C. 2432(c)(2)(A)), I determine that a waiver by Executive order of the application of subsections (a) and (b) of section 402 of the Act with respect to Romania will substantially promote the objectives of section 402.

You are authorized and directed to publish this determination in the *Federal Register*.

GEORGE BUSH

*[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 3:05 p.m., September 3, 1991]*

*Note: The memorandum was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on August 21. The Executive order is listed in Appendix E at the end of this volume.*

## Letter to Congressional Leaders on Trade With Romania

August 17, 1991

*Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)*

Pursuant to subsection 402(c)(2)(A) of the Trade Act of 1974, as amended (the "Act") (19 U.S.C. 2432(c)(2)(A)), I have determined that a waiver of the application of subsections (a) and (b) of section 402 of the Act with respect to Romania will substantially promote the objectives of section 402. A copy of that determination is enclosed. I have also received assurances with respect to the emigration practices of Romania required by subsection 402(c)(2)(B) of the Act. This letter constitutes the report to the Congress required by subsection 402(c)(2).

Pursuant to subsection 402(c)(2), I shall issue an Executive order waiving the application of subsections (a) and (b) of section 402 of the Act with respect to Romania.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

*Note: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Dan Quayle, President of the Senate. The letter was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on August 21. The Executive order is listed in Appendix E at the end of this volume.*

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on Trade With Romania *August 21, 1991*

The President has waived for Romania the emigration provisions of the Jackson-Vanik amendment to the Trade Act of 1974, reflecting the wide freedom of emigration which the citizens of Romania now enjoy. The President's decision responds to requests from leaders of Romania's democratic opposition, as well as from the Romanian Government, and will directly benefit the people of Romania as they face continuing economic hardship.

The Jackson-Vanik waiver will make Romania eligible to apply for credit guarantees for commercial imports of U.S. agricultural products. These would provide needed agricultural commodities beyond the more than \$120 million in U.S. food and other humanitarian assistance supplied in

fiscal years 1990 and 1991.

The waiver does not constitute restoration of most favored nation (MFN) tariff status, which Romania renounced in 1988. MFN status is a separate issue, which will be decided on the basis of further substantial progress toward a market economy and democratic pluralism, including the holding of free and fair local and parliamentary elections in the near future.

The President's decision also underscores the great importance the United States attaches to continued movement toward free markets and democracy throughout Central and Eastern Europe.

*Note: The related Executive order is listed in Appendix E at the end of this volume.*

## The President's News Conference in Kennebunkport, Maine, on the Attempted Coup in the Soviet Union *August 21, 1991*

*The President.* I wanted to report to the American people on some of the latest developments related to the situation in the Soviet Union.

I spoke at length this morning to President Boris Yeltsin. The call began at about 8:30 a.m. And I also talked to Ambassador Strauss, who is now in our Embassy in Moscow, in position. And I also talked, in the last 20 hours, to President Menem in Argentina, to Prime Minister Mulroney, Prime Minister Major. And I will continue these kinds of consultative calls.

President Yeltsin was clearly encouraged by the fact that he had survived another night in the Russian Parliament building without a major assault by the forces supporting this coup. He told me that tens of thousands of Muscovites had turned out to help guard the building from attack.

Yeltsin said he was encouraged by indications that more and more military units and their commanders were abandoning sup-

port of the coup. His building is still surrounded, however, and special troops, the *Spetsnaz*, are remaining loyal to the coup plotters. It is those troops who are moving to occupy additional sites in the Baltic States.

President Yeltsin said that the Russian Supreme Soviet had met and declared unanimously that the coup was illegal and without effect. And he also mentioned the importance of the next meeting of the Union Supreme Soviet, which will be held on August 26th. And they are, this is the way he put it, they are vigorously trying to line up support for that Supreme Soviet to declare this coup illegal.

President Yeltsin said he told the Supreme Soviet of the strong support being given by the United States to those resisting the illegal Emergency Committee activities and that the Supreme Soviet received the news very, very warmly.

There are at present, according to Yelt-

sin, flights of aircraft carrying his representatives, and also others with members of the Emergency Committee, on their way to the Crimea to meet with President Gorbachev. Obviously he doesn't have all the details on that, and I won't be able to fill you in on any details on that, either.

President Yeltsin said he was prepared for all contingencies. He thanked the United States profusely for its support, which was making an important difference, and asked that we continue to stay in touch with him, which we will do.

Ambassador Bob Strauss, who had just arrived, gave me a rundown on developments in Moscow which paralleled those of President Yeltsin, the reports he was getting there.

Overall, while the situation remains highly fluid and uncertain, I think it is safe to say that the situation appears somewhat more positive than in the earliest hours of this coup. So, I will stay in touch with President Yeltsin, hopefully at some point be able to contact President Gorbachev, which we still are unable to do. But I guess I would say to the American people these developments are positive.

*Q.* Mr. President, this hardly sounds like a declaration the coup is over. What can you tell us, based on your conversations with Yeltsin and any other information you've got, about the status of the coup plotters, whether the Emergency Committee is still in control there, and the whereabouts and the condition on President Gorbachev?

*The President.* We don't know. We have all kinds of rumors. We have all kinds of raw intelligence coming in. But, Norm [Norman Sandler, United Press International], I think it would be a big mistake to add to the rumor mill. We simply don't know. Yeltsin tells me that he thinks five of the coup leaders have left Moscow; but he, I think, would be the first to tell you that he is not totally certain on this. He also feels that Pavlov is in the hospital. But we can't confirm it, and therefore it just—there's so much rumor and speculation. I want to try here now to avoid that as best I can.

*Q.* Do you know who is in control of the Soviet military right now? And were there any Western diplomats on these planes that are supposedly headed for the Crimea to

meet with Gorbachev?

*The President.* Well, there were rumors about a flight that was taking some Western diplomats from the Embassies there. I talked to John Major about that, but there's no evidence that—when I talked to him, which was 15 minutes ago, there was no—in fact, he had confirmed that the plane had not left. And yet, rumors had it that they were on their way. So, he had just talked to his emissary, who was going to be on the airplane.

*Q.* Mr. President, have you tried to reach President Gorbachev since yesterday?

*The President.* I haven't tried a direct phone call to him personally, but I'll keep trying.

*Q.* If the Soviets survive this constitutional crisis, would you be more inclined to provide direct economic aid to their economy which will be in no better shape?

*The President.* We will look at it. The G-7 took action on that. We will continue to do what both Gorbachev and Yeltsin want, and that is to provide the kind of aid that the G-7 said they would provide. And we will certainly, if things work out in a satisfactory fashion, get back into the business of furthering the economic recovery, certainly.

*Q.* Mr. President, could you elaborate a little bit on what you said about these special forces troops? The impression seems to have been that these were troops that were leaving the city, that that was a positive sign. Is it your understanding—

*The President.* There are two different groups of them. One of them is the airborne forces, and I believe that the airborne commander has come over to the Yeltsin side and pulled his forces back. The other are *Spetsnaz* forces, which are the highly disciplined forces who answer to Defense Minister Yazov, and apparently they are still under command of Yazov, and they have not come over to the side of democracy and freedom.

*Q.* Is Yazov still there?

*Q.* So, Yazov is in charge, is still controlling the military?

*The President.* Well, it's very hard to tell. But according to Mr. Yeltsin, I've told you just exactly how it is working as of right

now.

*Q.* As far as you know, though, Yazov is still—

*The President.* I would say that, as far as what Mr. Yeltsin knows, which is what I know, that the defense is not over on the side of Mr. Yeltsin at this point.

*Q.* Mr. President?

*The President.* Yes, we're going to work our way right down here.

*Q.* Mr. President, with Boris Yeltsin anchoring democratic opposition to this coup, where does that leave him if things do in fact resolve themselves satisfactorily?

*The President.* It leaves the world looking at him as a very courageous individual, duly elected by the people, standing firmly and courageously for democracy and freedom, with enormous stature as a result of that.

*Q.* Would that change the U.S. approach toward Mr. Yeltsin in any way?

*The President.* The U.S. approach towards Mr. Yeltsin, as you know, is to be supportive of those who are elected. Ever since he's been elected he has received total support. And before he was elected he was received properly. But I must say in terms of the respect level, I will join others all around the world, not just politicians or elected leaders of countries, in saying that he has shown tremendous courage, and the people appear to be rallying behind him.

And as I said earlier on to some skepticism, 48 hours ago or more, that, look, all these coups don't succeed. And democracy, once unleashed, is a pretty powerful force. So, I think he will have a well-earned stature around the world that he might not have had—that he was on his way to having, but might not have fully achieved before all this happened, provided it works out the way certainly the United States wants it to work out. But it is too early to declare these matters over. I don't want to be a part of that.

*Q.* How about Mr. Gorbachev's position, sir?

*The President.* Well, who knows? I mean, we can't even get in touch with Mr. Gorbachev. But Yeltsin is strongly supporting him, and so are we. He was constitutionally empowered. And that's the point here. Every time I talk to Yeltsin, or both times I've talked to Yeltsin, he makes this point of

strong support for Gorbachev.

*Q.* Mr. President, are you planning any additional steps today, and have you given any additional instructions to Ambassador Strauss about what he should do?

*The President.* No, he will be in touch with me probably later today and in touch with the Secretary of State. I missed a call, I think, from Jim Baker a few minutes ago. But he's over in Brussels. He will have met with the NATO leaders. I expect we may see him up here tomorrow, and we can get a little more detail out of that one. But I don't know the exact details of the Strauss plans yet. He just got there. He's surveying the situation as I asked him to do, and developments are happening so fast that I'll just have to wait and see how the clock runs and what he has to say.

*Q.* Did President Yeltsin's reports on the activities of the special forces and other military units—are they mirrored by U.S. intelligence on the subject, or do we have any U.S. intelligence on those subjects?

*The President.* Well, we have the best intelligence in the world, and sometimes it can accurately predict things, and sometimes it can actually count the beans and tell us the things you're asking about. We have some evidence of force movements in the Baltic area, but I don't want to go beyond that.

*Q.* Mr. Bush, when you say that Yeltsin says there's a delegation from the Russian Republic en route to the Crimea hoping to see Gorbachev, what is your understanding of what they hope will happen? Do they want to bring him back to Moscow?

*The President.* Absolutely. They want him back in power.

*Q.* Do they think he'll be able to?

*The President.* He was constitutionally put into office, and they want to have the law fully observed. So, they would like to see that, and they would like to see him in there unhampered by the illegality of the coup.

*Q.* Can you give us any sense of whether they think that will be possible today, tomorrow? Any timeframe?

*The President.* No, I can't because he was understandably vague as to whether they would get to see Gorbachev. He gave me

the names of the people that were on the flight, which I'm not going to give because I think that should come from over there.

*Q.* Mr. President, given the way the world, if you will, is wired for sound and pictures, it's conceivable that Gorbachev is hearing you right now—

*The President.* I hope so.

*Q.* —or will. Since you can't get through to him on the phone, what would your message publicly be to him?

*The President.* I would say: Stay with your principles. Stay with your reforms. Stay with your commitment to democratic process and constitutional law. Stand shoulder-to-shoulder with Yeltsin, as you have been, in seeing the evolution of democracy and *perestroika* and *glasnost* in the Soviet Union. And knowing Gorbachev, I'm convinced he will. Knowing what the objectives of the coup plotters must be, I would expect they would be trying to get him to do something else.

*Q.* Sir, in your communications with the Soviet Union, have there been any assurances to the U.S. at any level that the Soviet nuclear arsenal is safeguarded, that someone can't get their finger on the button?

*The President.* We see no reason to be concerned about that. Our people are taking a hard look at that all the time.

*Q.* Sir, I know you were glad to hear Boris Yeltsin say that American support has been very helpful to him. But in fact, you've talked about the limited impact the U.S. can have, your aides talked even more starkly about how little impact the limited economic aid we have, cutting off cultural exchanges—is that the sort of thing that would have any impact on people, for these conservatives who are desperate to stay in power? Do you think you've any impact?

*The President.* Yes, I think—well, I would simply go by what Mr. Yeltsin says. And the statement I made yesterday, he was profuse in his gratitude for that. And it's not just the United States, but we are the United States of America and, thus, the disproportionately loud voice in matters of this nature.

But, John [John Mashek, Boston Globe], all I can tell you is what the man says. I'll tell you what I said to him. I said, "Now, would it be helpful to have another state-

ment along the lines of the ones I made yesterday?" And he said, he repeated, "Yes, yes, yes, it is very important." And so, you know, there's some people in this country from one side or another of the spectrum that we have that say you ought to be able to wave a wand and solve a problem of this nature in the city of Moscow instantly. That's not what you can do. But what you can do if you're President is put the full force of the American people, emotionally, morally, behind the democratic forces. And that's what I'm trying to do. And apparently according to Mr. Yeltsin at least, and I think others, that's what we should be trying to do.

*Q.* But sir, these are pretty hard-boiled characters—

*The President.* Yes, they are.

*Q.* —who plotted this coup, and moral pleas to them probably have very little impact. Do you think the fact that they fear this economic aid being cut off, not only by you but by the EC countries, do you think that's the sort of thing that has an impact possibly on—

*The President.* Well, I would think it would have, or I wouldn't have—you know, I would have done it anyway. But I think it would have. Yes, John, they've got economic problems. As you know, some of their first decrees where they were going to put food on the shelves and do something about medicine and do something about energy, but as they see the reality of the world, they are going to need the help of the outside world. And when they see the United States and they see the European foreign ministers coming together, all saying they're not going to have business as usual, I think it does make an impact. And so, that is one thing that can be done.

*Q.* Could it have caused the apparent split within the coup plotters?

*The President.* No, I think what caused the current split in the coup plotters, and this is pure conjecture, is some of them realizing sooner than others that they may have bitten off more than they can chew here. But time will tell on that one, and again, I don't want to be proclaiming this matter solved. I will say, once again, that I am pleased it is moving in the direction



that it appears to be moving.

But they've got a lot of troops. They've got a lot of force. They've got a lot of people that look at these matters in a very hard-line way. The one thing I don't want to do is inadvertently contribute to their will and their resolve. But I think some are flaking off because they think that they've gone about it wrong.

*Q.* Assuming that President Gorbachev does recover his authority, how will this affect his ability to keep the Soviet Union on a stable path? Will he be strengthened by it or weakened?

*The President.* I would say that—again, a little hypothetical for me to get into—given Yeltsin's support for him and given the respect with which he's held by leaders all around the world, and that has certainly not been diminished by this at all, he will still be a force to be reckoned with.

Again, they can sort out inside their own matters. But what will be filtered away, should Gorbachev be reinstated, as we hope he will be, what will be filtered out will be the fear of a rightwing military takeover because the people will see that the power of the people to stand up against this illegality is pretty good, pretty strong.

*Q.* So, in effect, that might indeed strengthen his hand to move in a—

*The President.* It's possible, but again, it's too hypothetical yet. We've got a big problem out there, and I'd want to try to keep it as factual as possible.

*Q.* Mr. President, when you were considering aid before the economic summit and other times, you had said you didn't want to give any serious aid until you saw credible reforms in place and the idea that it wouldn't go to waste. Does this delineation, the support of the people for Yeltsin and Gorbachev and the delineation of the progressives enhance their credibility? Do you now feel differently that you believe the reforms?

*The President.* I don't feel differently about their credibility. I never doubted the commitment to democracy or the commitment to *perestroika*, the commitment to reform. What has to happen, and what all of us addressed that problem in the G-7 summit was, what had to happen was certain things had to take place before you

send money.

But when you talk about economic support, we had put into effect in London, agreed on a program in London that was very acceptable to both Gorbachev and Yeltsin.

*Q.* Sir, you talked about the possibility of Mr. Gorbachev being reinstated. In this case, would you like to see popular Presidential elections in the Soviet Union?

*The President.* I think there will be, and I think those who are committed to democracy, as we are, strongly believe in that.

*Q.* Mr. President, given the character of the coup leaders, are you surprised they sort of went halfway with the coup and the incredible apparent disorganization of it?

*The President.* I think it's too early to decree how disorganized it is, but I think they underestimated the power of the people. They underestimated what a taste of democracy and freedom brings. Everyone recognizes that there were serious economic problems, and I think they felt, well, we'll come in there, promise food on the shelves and to solve these problems. And then they saw that overriding all of that was a commitment by many, many people in Russia, and in the Soviet Union entirely, to democracy, for democracy. So, I think there, if this coup fails, that will be the serious miscalculation.

*Q.* Mr. President, if Gorbachev returns or some other, what you view as a constitutional figure returns, would you urge them to deal more forthrightly and decisively with the KGB, the interior forces and the military—

*The President.* It is too early to sort that out, and I wouldn't be bold enough to give advice to Mr. Yeltsin and Mr. Gorbachev to how to treat with those matters.

*Q.* Mr. President, you mentioned that we have the best intelligence in the world. Since there was a degree of surprise in the coup, do we have a better idea now as to when this coup was organized or who was the ringleader? Do you have any one person that you're now saying—

*The President.* Not yet. And you know, I know a lot is expected of intelligence. But Mr. Gorbachev had pretty good intelligence. Mr. Yeltsin had pretty good intelli-

gence. And all the intelligence services around the world think they've got good intelligence, and I know we've got the best, and I would simply say, based on this experience, that there are some things you cannot accurately predict.

That wasn't your question. We don't yet know the genesis of all of this, and it'll be a while before anybody does.

*Q.* Mr. President, you are reluctant to declare the coup over, but some are suggesting if this coup does fail, it will actually mean an end to the hard-liners and help to jump start democracy in the Soviet Union. What's your own feeling?

*The President.* It is so clear to me that if this coup fails, democracy will take a gigantic leap forward because we will have seen its underpinnings. We will have seen its inherent strength. We will have seen that a courageous leader, standing up for a principle, can rally an enormous number of people behind him.

Obviously, some of the determination will be based on the view of Mr. Gorbachev, but it would surprise me very much if he didn't stay totally committed to this path of democratic change.

*Q.* But in your view, is this the last hurrah for the hard-liners?

*The President.* Well, we'd have to wait and see. If I said that, I'd be declaring this over, and it's not the role of the President of the United States. Let's let these matters develop there.

One, two, three, and four, and then I'm out of here. That's the last question.

*Q.* Mr. President, you said that Yeltsin has prepared for all contingencies. Does he think and do you think that there's still a possibility of a last-ditch military confrontation, and what does Yeltsin have at his disposal to hold up his end of such a confrontation?

*The President.* He made clear to me he doesn't think that the military threat is over. I think I stated that in the statement. But he was pleased, obviously, that the airborne troops had pulled back. But he made clear to me that he was not about to say that the threat is finished.

*Q.* What kind of forces does he have on his side, and is he prepared to fight?

*The President.* Well, they have some Rus-

sian forces, and he's got people on his side. He said, "tens of thousands" was the way he phrased it today.

*Q.* I'm wondering if you see any parallels between this situation and what we were going through last year at this time where the world unites to condemn an action in hopes of reversing it through sort of moral suasion. It seems to be going a little better this time than last year. But if perhaps you talk about this force as a democracy, is it really just the fact that the people inside the Soviet Union weren't going to accept this?

*The President.* Well, I don't see a parallel on the democratic question. I do see a moral parallel: The world rising up against aggression last year, the world supporting the forces of democracy. This time there's a little difference. But there's a similarity if you want to put in terms of good-versus-evil which some philosophers might think is a little oversimplistic, and I don't. I think here we have a question of what's good and what's bad. What's good is the commitment to constitutional law and democracy, and what is bad is use of muscle to try to overthrow it.

Last year, what was good was the fact that the world stood up against aggression: democratic countries, nondemocratic countries. And what was bad is you had a handful of aggressors who had thought they could bully and the bludgeon a neighbor.

So, there are some parallels, Karen [Karen Hosler, Baltimore Sun], but I think there are also some distinct differences.

*Q.* Is the major difference, though, the forces of democracy that are being unleashed in the Soviet Union?

*The President.* I think it's a very important distinction here because the battle last year was not over democratic rule in Kuwait, for example; it was over aggression. Do you reward aggression or not? Do you let aggression stand or not? So that it was a different question, a different moral question. Both issues have strong moral underpinnings.

*Q.* Mr. President, the American relationship with Mr. Yeltsin has been fairly awkward at times over the last couple of years. No matter what happens precisely now,

would you guess that the development in the last 3 days have changed that relationship forever, one way or another?

*The President.* In the first place, I think they were proper before the elections. Secondly, I think they properly improved dramatically after he was overwhelmingly elected by the people. That is a significant turning point for the way regimes all around the world, countries all around the world look at Mr. Yeltsin. And they have taken a quantum leap forward now by this man's displayed courage and by his commitment to democracy.

A followup?

*Q.* I was just going to say, have you found that in your personal relationship with him over the last couple of days that you've had an easier time talking with him? There has been some concern that he was somewhat erratic, somewhat flamboyant previously. Has that been a problem at any point in the last couple of days?

*The President.* I don't detect any less flamboyance. And in this instance, the flamboyance—[laughter]—the flamboyance is a very positive quality as you climb up there and encourage your people. But I don't see a turning point as a result of this. I mean, we had very cordial discussions as I think he, himself, confirmed in Moscow; I think he was accorded when he came to Washington as an elected leader. I think he felt, at least he said so, and I believe him, he felt that visit had gone very, very well.

So, I can't say to you, Jerry [Gerald Seib, Wall Street Journal], that there's been, in the personal contact way, been a dramatic change because I think as I have watched him in action as an elected leader his performance has been superb. And some were trying to make this long ago into a Gorbachev-versus-Yeltsin battle, for example. I think that the way Yeltsin has conducted

himself shows you that is not a Yeltsin-versus-Gorbachev battle. I don't think that Boris Yeltsin is sitting around thinking how do we dump Gorbachev. I think he is properly and with feeling expressing himself in total support of Mr. Gorbachev.

Last one.

*Q.* Yes, Mr. President, oil prices shoot up, and the markets have been unstable. Do you think that if the crisis should be very long, there could be a threat to the U.S. recovery?

*The President.* It's too hypothetical, but I think the answer is no. But you have to define "long" in something like that. But any time you have a conflagration of this magnitude, there are going to be some speculative losses. But the underpinning of the American economy is still pretty good, and so I wouldn't predict the kind of deleterious effect that the question, at least to me, implies.

I'm in trouble here. No, I'm out of here.

*Q.* Any hurricane damage at Walker's Point?

*Q.* Are you going to try to reach Gorbachev?

*The President.* We might give that another shot.

*Q.* Will you try to send anyone to see him?

*The President.* Come back tomorrow. I never knew what luxury you all were living in over here. [Laughter]

*Note: The President's 99th news conference began at 10:35 a.m. at the Shawmut Inn. In the news conference, the following persons were referred to: President Carlos Saúl Menem of Argentina; and Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov and Defense Minister Dmitri Yazov of the Soviet Union. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this news conference.*

## Exchange With Reporters in Kennebunkport, Maine, on the Attempted Coup in the Soviet Union August 21, 1991

*The President.* Well, I just wanted to report that at 12:19 p.m. I had a phone conversation with Mikhail Gorbachev, and it lasted about, what, 20 minutes I think. It was a good call. Gorbachev is still in the Crimea. He will return either tonight or tomorrow to Moscow. He tells me that things are under control. His first call, I believe, was with Boris Yeltsin.

He stated his sincere appreciation to the people of the United States and others around the world for their support for democracy and reform. He sounded in good physical condition; indeed his voice was buoyant. Barbara was with me, and we both asked him to convey our respects to Raisa, and he very kindly made references to his friendship with Barbara and me on a personal basis. But it was good. It was a good talk. It's a good development.

Now, he will be going back to Moscow and, hopefully, working with the Presidents of the Republic, Nazarbayev and Kravchuk, the Ukraine leader, staying with him. There's a good basis now for all of this.

So, we'll see what happens, but in his view the constitutional authorities are back in power, and democracy and freedom and reform have prevailed. That's his assessment; I hope that it's not ahead of where things stand in Moscow. I have not talked again to President Yeltsin, but he believes that Moiseyev has ordered the forces back to their bases. All in all, it's a very, very positive development.

*Q.* Did he discuss the circumstances surrounding his confinement?

*The President.* No. No, he didn't, except that his guards, he did say, stayed very loyal to him.

*Q.* Does that mean he was never under actual physical arrest there?

*The President.* I have no idea. I didn't go into all of that.

*Q.* Did you get any detail on the "ten-plus-one agreement," too? What's the status of that?

*The President.* No. We just got detail on

the fact that freedom and democracy have prevailed, and he's expressing his sincere appreciation to us.

*Q.* What is the main factor in the failure of the coup?

*Q.* Had he talked to people from the coup that assured him that the coup was over? Have they given him status as President?

*The President.* I don't know. I don't know. There are all kinds of wild rumors about what's happened to the people involved in the coup, but I don't want to go into that. Some of them may be accurate, and some may not. But he was anticipating some of them coming to see him; he said that to me. But whether that proves to be the case or not, I don't know.

*Q.* What do you consider the main factor in the failure of the coup?

*Q.* So, is he the President again? What's his status?

*Q.* —the coup is essentially over? This morning, you're a little—

*The President.* He feels that way.

*Q.* And did he say what happened in the last couple of hours that—

*The President.* No. Just the fact that he was elated, and it sounded like for the last hour he was back fulfilling his duties and calling the shots.

*Q.* What do you consider the main factor in the failure of the coup?

*The President.* The fact that they underestimated democracy and freedom, and that you can't put it back in a box. These totalitarian systems, you can't have them come out and take over. You can't put freedom and democracy back into a box and keep it contained, and that's what happened. And as a matter of fact, that's one of the things Gorbachev said, and certainly Yeltsin feels that way.

*Q.* Do you know anything about the suicide of Yazov?

*The President.* No.

*Q.* Did he know anything? Did he say anything?

*The President.* No. I talked to Jim Baker who had talked to, who was it Jimmy had talked to? Yanayev? No, not Yanayev; Yakovlev is who we had talked to. And Yakovlev had some information on that. But it's all—I don't want to repeat it, because I don't know whether it's true. There's too many rumors around out there.

*Q.* What did Gorbachev say about the origins of the coup, what the coup leaders are trying to accomplish?

*The President.* He didn't say any more than I've told you. I really, Norm [Norman Sandler, United Press International], have given you the main substance of this talk.

*Q.* He didn't say what he was told, or—

*The President.* We will obviously try to cooperate with the Soviet Union, back in constitutional hands, and with the Russian Republic, with respect for the way Boris Yeltsin has conducted himself, these other Republics that apparently have stood firm with the put-down of the coup and stood firm and loyal to the constitutionally authorized President, Gorbachev.

So, I think it's a very fine day. It's been an emotional day in a sense with these—being right in the middle of this history. And I think people know of my respect for Gorbachev, indeed, the way I feel about him. And I was just delighted to hear that he was fine, delighted that he appeared to be well.

*Q.* Did you call him, or did he call you?

*The President.* Well, we placed the call. It's a little unclear. I think it was in response to my call.

*Q.* Did President Gorbachev say that he intends to have popular elections, Presidential elections?

*The President.* No, we didn't go into any details like that.

*Q.* Did you encourage him to work with Mr. Yeltsin?

*The President.* Well, I think he is working with Mr. Yeltsin.

*Q.* Does this significantly change the U.S.-Soviet relationship?

*The President.* I think it's a good day for U.S.-Soviet relationship because I don't think that the fear that some of us have had, many people have had actually, about rightwing takeovers will no longer be as extant. They tried, and then they failed.

And democracy prevailed, and reform prevailed. That's what this is all about. So, I think that, I expect the relationship to be, if anything, even better. We've got to wait. We've got to sort out some internal problems. But I explained to him, as I've told Yeltsin, that we're ready to talk to the leaders of the Republic, and certainly we'll be ready to talk and deal with the President of the Soviet Union itself.

*Q.* Mr. President, just now on CNN's air, the President of Georgia said that this was all a plot inspired by Gorbachev himself. Now, whether that's true or not, what does that say to the state of the interethnic rivalry?

*The President.*—say to him he needs to get a little work done on the kind of statements he's making. I mean that's ridiculous. There's a man who has been also swimming against the tide, it seems to me, a little bit. And I don't want to go overboard on this, but he ought to get with it and understand what's happening around the world.

*Q.* Are you saying that—

*The President.* To suggest that President Gorbachev would plot to put the people of the Soviet Union through this kind of trauma and the rest of the world through it just makes absolutely no sense at all. Now, I haven't heard him say that, so I want to hedge it. You've told me he said it; I haven't heard it. So, I've got to be very careful I don't react to something that may not be true. I learned that one a long time ago. But if that's what the man said, I would just discount it 100 percent.

So anyway, I've got to go to work. Rita [Rita Beamish, Associated Press]?

*Q.* Are you confident, Mr. President, it's definitely over then? You're confident that the coup leaders—

*The President.* I'm just telling you what I know here. I have not talked to people in Moscow. I did talk to Jim Baker, and he's very upbeat from the contacts he's had. He had a long talk with Yakovlev a few minutes ago, who is confident that it's over. But it's not up to us to decree whether it's over or not. I'm telling you what these various leaders are saying about it. And it's a good day. It's a very good day.

*Q.* Any word on where the five plotters

have turned up?

*The President.* Well, no. I've read the same rumors you heard. But one of them turned up. But I haven't heard about the rest.

*Note: The exchange began at 1:15 p.m. at President Bush's home on Walker's Point. In the exchange, the following persons were referred to: President Nursultan A. Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan; Leonid M. Kravchuk, Chairman of the Ukraine's Supreme Soviet;*

*Mikhail A. Moiseyev, Chief of the General Staff of the Soviet Union; Defense Minister Dmitri Yazov of the Soviet Union; Aleksandr Yakovlev, former Politburo Member and former close aide to President Gorbachev; and President Zviad Gamsakhurdia of the Republic of Georgia. The "ten-plus-one agreement" was a treaty of union redefining the relationship between 10 Republics of the Soviet Union and the central government. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.*

## Exchange With Reporters in Kennebunkport, Maine August 22, 1991

*The President.* We're in the middle of our domestic briefing which will continue. We interrupted that to get briefed by Secretary Baker who has just returned from the ministerial abroad, the NATO ministerial, that went very, very well. He filled me in on his conversations with the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union itself and of the Russian Republic; he met with him, I believe. And of course, we are very pleased that constitutional government has been restored there.

On the domestic side, as I say, we're halfway through it. This is a follow-on to regularized domestic briefings that we hold in the White House with Director Darman and Mr. Roger Porter and our Chief of Staff, Andy Card, our deputy. We have those regularly, but this was an update. And we talked about our education program. We're really looking forward to the fall with Congress out now, trying to figure out how best to get congressional action on some of our programs: energy, transportation, education, the crime bill, many other agenda items that will be coming up in the fall.

So, it's a mixed day of both the domestic agenda and the foreign policy agenda which has, of course, been dominated by events in the Soviet Union. And I have not talked to any of the leaders today. I did talk last night, as I think Marlin may have released, to Prime Minister Kaifu of Japan. And of course, Japan has very special interests in relationship to the Soviet Union. And

he shared the emotion that we all felt as to developments over there.

So, that's an update for right now.

### *Attempted Coup in the Soviet Union*

*Q.* Mr. President, how do you judge Gorbachev's opening moves back in Moscow? He's put Moiseyev, a fairly hard-line person, in charge of the military.

*The President.* Well, he told me when he was in the Crimea that he had ordered Moiseyev to remove the forces, see that the forces move back, and I gather that has taken place. And it was Moiseyev with whom we finalized—on the military side, through the Soviet Union, helped finalize the START agreement. But "who's on first" over there is up to them. That's not something that the United States can say any more about.

*Q.* Mr. President, to what extent has Gorbachev himself been part of the problem? Not in the coup, necessarily, but after all he did hand-pick these eight leaders. And to what extent do you think Gorbachev himself has been responsible for the drag on reforms?

*The President.* I heard President Gorbachev say that he bore responsibility for the people that he put in and felt betrayed by some of them. And that's a matter—I think that said it all pretty well, Jim [Jim Miklaszewski, NBC News]. In terms of reforms, let's keep everything in perspective, and

let's recognize that not only is Eastern Europe free, Germany reunited, troops moving back and all of that, but that he launched a very ambitious program on *perestroika* and on *glasnost*. You never would have seen a press conference today had it not been for the initiatives that he took early on.

Now, with some of the harder-liners on the sidelines, clearly, that perhaps frees up President Gorbachev to work very closely with President Yeltsin to see that these reforms continue. The objectives of the United States, of course, are to see a market-oriented economy in the Soviet Union and also to see certainly a democratically held elections and democratic-oriented regime there.

So, I view the recent happenings as very positive in that regard, to further the economic reforms. I can tell you that I made a decision today to lift the hold that we have had on the various economic programs that I think will clearly benefit the Soviet Union. That's as of now taken care of.

Q. Well, now that the hard-liners, some of the hard-liners, have been brushed aside, do you look for Gorbachev to quicken the pace of reforms?

The President. Well, I haven't had an opportunity to discuss that with him. I haven't had an opportunity yet to discuss it with any of the Presidents in the Republics. But I would like to think that all elements in Moscow and in the various Parliaments would recognize that the best way to get economic support from the West is to adopt a genuine and far-reaching economic reform program. That has been on hold for some reasons which include a lack of a union treaty.

So, that's up to them. That's up to the Republics and the center, but they've got to get on with a treaty so that American entrepreneurs know who they're dealing with. You can't make a deal and then wonder whether you have to make it with two other entities. And that kind of problem would be eliminated if a good, solid union treaty were agreed between the Republics and the center.

Q. Mr. President, what do you hope Gorbachev does now in terms of independence for the Baltic Republics?

The President. You know, my position has been, in the first place, we still don't recognize the incorporation, and the Baltic flags do fly there in Washington, as you know. But I've long felt that the quicker independence can be granted to the Baltics, the better. And let's hope that out of this now we will see genuine negotiations between the Baltic States and the center to accomplish this end. I've talked to President Gorbachev about this before. I've talked to President Yeltsin about it as a matter of fact. So, perhaps recent events will speed the day when you have an agreed path set out for independence of these States.

In my view, that would do more to enhance good will in the United States than almost any other single thing that could be done.

Q. Mr. President, do you think that this is a situation where Gorbachev is going to feel more personally inclined to speed up the pace of reform or maybe just pressured by this new kind of loose alliance that he's going to have to forge with Yeltsin?

The President. Well, I've always felt that Gorbachev was committed to *perestroika*. And I've always felt that he was committed to openness. So, what pace it takes now, with the removal of some of the hardest-liners to whom Gorbachev had to pay some attention, I can't say. But I see nothing in here but good news in terms of speeding up the pace.

Q. Mr. President, would this be a good time for Mr. Gorbachev to rein in the army and KGB, put them under—

The President. I think he's already seen that just taken place on a factual basis. Those responsible for moving the forces—Defense Minister Yazov apparently is definitively out of the picture. Mr. Gorbachev appears to have put some trust in General Moiseyev—Moiseyev, I guess is the pronunciation—and he is a man that we've worked with. But that's a matter for Gorbachev to sort out, the center, as indeed Yeltsin pointed out yesterday, I believe. But we obviously will be looking for a regime that will move forward with these policies of diversification of defense industries.

We have had an opportunity in the past to express our concern about levels of de-

fense spending in the Soviet Union. And clearly I'd like to see a finalization now of the START agreement which has only some details left, but that was resisted up until close to the final breakthrough by some of the hardest-liners in Soviet defense.

So, in the whole defense area we've got to wait. It's up to them who the head of their defense department is and who will be the next Chief of Staff. But we will hold back a little on military-to-military contacts until we see this sort out and move briskly forward on the agreements that we've already reached. And as I say, on the economic front we will go forward with the program that we outlined, a program that both Gorbachev and Yeltsin seem to feel would be very beneficial to the Soviet Union.

*Q.* But nothing new on the economic front?

*The President.* I don't see anything new right now on that. We'll be talking to our European friends about this. But we agreed in London on a certain path, and if there's something that we could do that might further enhance economic recovery, we'll always be glad to take a look.

#### *Middle East Peace Process*

*Q.* Sir, where do you go from now on the Middle East issue? Are you in contact with Mr. Bessmertnykh? Is he completely out? What do you expect next?

*The President.* The Secretary of State has talked to Mr. Bessmertnykh. And let me just ask him to comment in a little more detail here on how he sees that developing. But I can tell you we will do everything we can to see this peace conference go forward. It is in the interest of the entire world. And through hard work by our Secretary of State and with cooperation of a lot of other entities, countries and entities, things have moved far beyond where many of the severest cynics thought it would be. And now with this turmoil in the Soviet Union hopefully behind us, and with the Soviet Union being important in all of this, I see nothing but an improved chance.

But Jim, I'd like you to comment on the next details if you would.

*Secretary Baker.* I did have an opportunity to talk by telephone with Minister Bess-

mertnykh when I was in Brussels, and I believe that the Soviet Union will be every bit as committed toward trying to create jointly with us and others an active and viable peace process in the Middle East as they were before. Some of you may have seen during the course of the coup where certain sources, a very limited number as the President has pointed out, praised the fact of the coup. Those sources have shown an uncanny ability in the past to back losers, and this is another example of that.

We believe that there's an opportunity here for a possibility for peace. It's an opportunity that may not come by again for a long time. And we would hope that all the countries in the region and the sources and entities would subscribe to that and would join with us in seeking to promote peace in the Middle East.

#### *Attempted Coup in the Soviet Union*

*Q.* What about the question about whether Bessmertnykh is in or out right now? There seems to be some doubt about what his role was, where he was during the course of the coup attempt—

*Secretary Baker.* When I spoke to him yesterday on the telephone, he was the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union. And picking up on what the President just said, the designation of their Cabinet officials is really a matter for them to determine. Having said that, I think it's our view that what has happened might well provide us with the opportunity to pursue an expanded agenda with the Soviet Union, an expanded agenda centered on reform.

*Q.* But Mr. President, isn't there some concern, I mean, there is some confusion or some uncertainty about what Bessmertnykh's role was. For example, he disappeared, and it was announced that he was going to be sick for 2 days.

*The President.* There's a lot less confusion than there was 2 days ago, isn't there?

*Q.* But it was announced that he was going to be sick for 2 days, and then he showed up a day later, once the coup was over.

*The President.* Well, let them sort that out. Does that come under the direct heading of the United States of America? Here's



a man that was constructive in the peace process. Here's a man that worked side by side with the Secretary of State to get something done. Now let them figure out if that's who they want to continue there. But we will deal with the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, and it's not for us to second-guess what happened in a complex situation. All I'm saying is: Things are an awful lot better today than when we were standing here, what was it, 48 hours ago.

*Q.* To clarify, the U.S. doesn't have any indication—

*Q.* Don't you have to approach the Soviet Union, though, for at least a brief period of time with a little more caution? Don't you have to figure out who it is you're dealing with and talking with?

*The President.* I said that, I think. Yes, Jim. But I don't think that means that—what I want to do is give instant support for the change that's taken place. And one way to do it is to lift the economic hold that we've had on a program that I think would benefit the recovery. I'm perfectly prepared, and I think the American people want to go forward. But absolutely, we don't know exactly how all this is going to sort out and who is going to be on first or who's going to be on second when it comes to staffing the bureaucracy inside the Soviet Union.

But again, that doesn't exactly come under the heading of our business. I would be a little resentful if somebody told me who I ought to have in my Cabinet from Moscow. And I think they'll sort that out. There's great pressures now between the center and between the Republics. And there's also a great accommodation between the center and the Republics. And so, let's just see how it works out and not try to put this on a personal basis as to who ought to be where. That's their business.

*Q.* Mr. President, hasn't Gorbachev's personal stature been permanently weakened by this? And can he rule now without the fear of another coup from some direction?

*The President.* I wouldn't say that his stature has been weakened by it. Here's a man who stood by his desire for reform and democracy. And he was seized and put under house arrest. And to say that that is a weakening performance, I don't know.

Now, if you ask me has Boris Yeltsin's stature been enhanced, the answer is clearly yes. But this jumping on Gorbachev, who was taken and held under house arrest with his wife and grandchild, I'm simply not going to be a part of that nor a part of second-guessing all that. They've got procedures there that they've now put into effect in terms of investigating all of this. What business, what possible good could come from the President of the United States trying to sort all that out? Let the system sort it out. All I know is that he was committed to reform, he had the support of Yeltsin, and he had the support of the President of the United States and every other leader around except Iraq, Cuba, and Libya. And that's good enough for me. We're on the right side of that one.

*Q.* He'll still have to rule with the threat of a coup over his head, another coup, possibly.

*The President.* Well, you must know more about this than I do. I just don't see the threat of another coup, but there might be one. I don't know. But I'd love to know what any observer would base that comment on right today.

*Q.* How can you go forward in your relation with the Soviet Union without choosing between Mr. Yeltsin and Gorbachev?

*The President.* We've done it pretty well so far, haven't we?

*Q.* Would it be helpful to have another meeting with Gorbachev in the near future to discuss accelerating the pace of reform?

*The President.* We'll probably be discussing Soviet Union matters with him. No question about it. But whether—is your question a head-on-head meeting?

*Q.* Yes, sir.

*The President.* Well, I don't know. There's no plans for such a meeting. And I think they've got some matters in the wake of this, which we've been fencing around about here, to sort out themselves. But I'm available. Look, this relationship is very, very important. And all I can say is: Isn't the world an awful lot better off today than it was 48 hours ago? And the answer to that one is: Absolutely, yes.

Now, I can understand you all wanting to get out ahead of the power curve and try to

have me committed as to who should be Secretary of Interior or Secretary of Defense over there, Minister of whatever is, and I'm not going to get into that business. What I am going to do is say both Yeltsin and Gorbachev are committed to reform, to democracy, and to openness, and this is very good. And there are some tensions, there are some dynamics between the Union and the center, but they'll sort that out.

And I think it will be sorted out without the threat, now, of another rightwing takeover. And the reason I say that—some suggesting another coup here—the reason I say that is the message of democracy was so clear. The strength of the people was so clear and visible in this one that I think anybody attempting another coup from the right would have to be out of their minds to take on hundreds of thousands of people who clearly, in spite of economic problems, want to see democracy prevail.

That's what it was about. That's what the message was about. That's what the survival of Gorbachev was about. That's what the strength of Yeltsin was about in demanding the return of Gorbachev. And I think the American people understand this probably a lot more clearly than any people around the world.

I'm going to take this last question, and then I'm shutting this thing down. I'm up here on a vacation now, and you're going to see me vacating a lot more. You've had me in here too much lately, and I apologize for abusing your hospitality.

Q. You've often said that the stability of the Soviet Union is in the best national interest of the United States. But as a result of this failed coup attempt, won't some of the Republics and the Baltic States be emboldened to perhaps rise up against the central government? Won't that create still further instability?

*The President.* Well, again, I don't know that, say, "still further." If you mean still further than a coup where you had tanks rolling down toward the Russian Parliament

building, no, I don't think so. But on the other hand, what I see is an opportunity, an opportunity to accelerate the talks that would lead to independence.

The position of the United States is clear on all of this. And there have been some reasons, some of which have now been gotten out of the way, that this process has gone much slower than I want; I think slower than Gorbachev might want, but clearly slower than Yeltsin wants. But I hope we're not looking at some confrontation on this. What I hope we're looking at is more rapid negotiations that lead to the full independence that we would like to see for the Baltic States.

Q. So, the central government's seen the light as a result of this?

*The President.* I think some of the people that saw the darkness are no longer around. And I think that's, I would hope that that's the case. But again, I can't assure you of that. We just don't have enough information on that at this point. But clearly, some of the hardest-line obstructionists are no longer in the picture. And so I'd say, to the degree any of that underbrush has been removed, it makes it better and makes it clear that the people's drive for self-determination can't really be stopped. So, I hope they will use now the process of accelerated negotiation to get on with this. This is the position of the United States, and it's not going to change.

Thank you all very much.

*Note: The exchange began at 2:05 p.m. at President Bush's home on Walker's Point. In the exchange, the following persons were referred to: Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh of the Soviet Union; Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev of Russia; Roger B. Porter, Assistant to the President for Economic and Domestic Policy; and Andrew H. Card, Jr., Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.*

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Reduction of Bolivia's Debt to the United States

*August 22, 1991*

We have entered into agreements with Bolivia to reduce substantially Bolivia's debt to the United States. Reduction of Bolivia's food assistance debt is a major step forward in realizing the goals of the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative (EAI), a program which the United States proposed on June 27, 1990, to promote increased trade, investment, and growth throughout the hemisphere.

Bolivia's far-reaching steps to reform its economy, including measures to open its investment regime, qualify Bolivia for debt reduction under the EAI. Bolivia is receiving a very substantial reduction of its bilateral debt owed to the United States. Under legislation enacted by Congress last year, the United States is reducing Bolivia's P.L. 480 debt by 80 percent, from approximately \$38 million to approximately \$7.7 million.

Under separate legal authority to assist the relatively least developed countries, the United States will eliminate Bolivia's \$341 million debt owed to the U.S. Agency for International Development, the first time such relief has been provided outside of sub-Saharan Africa.

These understandings will help pave the way for significant additional funds for environmental projects in Bolivia. In particular, the United States welcomes the commitment of Bolivia to provide \$20 million in local currency over 10 years to support environmental activities.

The administration applauds this important step to reduce Bolivia's debt and provide support for the environment and looks forward to continuing to work with Bolivia and other countries in the region to advance the goals of the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative.

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Reduction of Jamaica's Debt to the United States

*August 23, 1991*

Today the United States and Jamaica entered into an agreement to reduce substantially Jamaica's food assistance debt to the United States. Under legislation enacted by Congress last year, the United States is reducing Jamaica's P.L. 480 debt by 80 percent, from approximately \$271 million to approximately \$54.2 million.

Jamaica is implementing a wide range of reforms aimed at building a strong market-oriented economy. These initiatives, including measures to make the economy more attractive to investors, qualify Jamaica for debt reduction under the EAI.

The agreement represents a major step forward in realizing the goals of the President's Enterprise for the Americas Initiative (EAI), a program designed to promote increased trade, investment, and growth throughout the hemisphere. It also paves the way for an environmental framework agreement between the United States and Jamaica. Under this agreement, Jamaica will be permitted to make interest payments on the new reduced debt in local currency paid into an environmental fund established in Jamaica.

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Resignation of Mikhail Gorbachev as General Secretary of the Soviet Union Communist Party

August 24, 1991

It has been announced that President Gorbachev has resigned as General Secretary of the Communist Party and has requested that the Central Committee of the Party disband. We welcome this news as another step forward in the reform process.

Today Ambassador Strauss attended the funeral of those killed defending against the attempted coup in the Soviet Union. The Ambassador read a Presidential message to the mourners at the funeral. Afterwards, he presented his credentials to President Gorbachev at the Kremlin and had a one-hour meeting with him. Later in the day, Amba-

sador Strauss had a 40-minute meeting with Russian Republic President Yeltsin. He expects to continue his meetings with a variety of political figures in Moscow.

The G-7 will convene in London on August 29, 1991, at the sherpa level. Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs Robert Zoellick will represent the United States.

*Note: The statement referred to Robert S. Strauss, U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union.*

## Message Honoring Civilians Killed During the Attempted Coup in the Soviet Union

August 24, 1991

A great American, Patrick Henry, more than 200 years ago said: "Give me liberty or give me death." In the years since then, many Americans have faced that choice and have made the supreme sacrifice in defense of freedom and democracy. The justice of the cause does not make the loss of brave men and women any easier to bear.

The American people during this past week shared the shock of the Russian people at the attack on their liberties, watched with admiration their defense of their "White House" and all it symbolized, and shared their joy at the collapse of the

effort to reimpose tyranny. Today, we share your sorrow at the price these brave souls paid in the just cause for which they and you fought. They did not die in vain. May the memory of them remain bright and the democracy for which they gave their lives flourish among you.

*Note: Robert S. Strauss, U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union, read this Presidential message at the August 24 funeral of three civilians killed in Moscow during the attempted coup.*

## The President's News Conference With Prime Minister Brian Mulroney of Canada in Kennebunkport, Maine

August 26, 1991

*The President.* Let me just make a couple of opening comments. First, to say what a

pleasure it was for the Bush family to have the Mulroneys here. Particularly at this

time, it was important that I have an opportunity to consult with Canada's Prime Minister. It seems coincidental that it was a year ago that we were consulting, and I value his judgment now as I did then. A year ago we were talking about how to repel aggression, and today we're talking about exciting changes in the Soviet Union that will benefit everybody, in my view.

So once again, I have at my side here today a man that I trust, a man whose judgment I value. And these consultations were in the best tradition of diplomacy. We talked about a number of issues, in particular the status of the Baltics. And we also talked about economic aid. We're having a sherpa meeting, we're having a deputy and finance ministers meetings taking place in the next couple of days, and they'll be very interesting. We'll get a little more information from them. I wouldn't look for major decisions, from the U.S. side anyway, coming out of those meetings.

I talked this morning, as did the Prime Minister, with Chancellor Kohl, Prime Minister Kaifu, Antall of Hungary. We're in close agreement on most issues regarding the change. During the week I'm going to have more discussions with other world leaders.

And the Baltic situation has been very important. I think everybody knows the U.S. position about wanting full and total independence. There are still some matters that they themselves have to hammer out. I'll let the Canadian Prime Minister obviously speak for himself, but we're moving very, very close to recognition. There are some questions about what do you recognize. There are some border questions that are important. And of course I'm anxious to hear, as I said, I think yesterday, the outcome of the meetings in the Supreme Soviet.

On the economic side, we had a far-reaching discussion. We agreed that this is an issue that the industrial democracies need to review carefully. For the U.S. side, I can tell you that I've seen nothing to make me change my mind about the agreement we collectively took at London in the G-7 there: a determination to help the Soviet Union, but a recognition that reform had to take place. And there's a little bit of

uncertainty now, and they themselves need to sort that out so that when you have a contract, you know who it's with; when you have a deal, you know that it's going to be fulfilled. But the change has been so traumatic, we can't expect all that to be ironed out overnight; but nevertheless, again, moving in the right direction.

We'll stand ready to assist when we can. But speaking for the United States, there will be nothing out of the sherpa meeting that will commit us to the writing of checks, as I've referred to it. I am making available today, announcing the availability of this \$315 million of the second tranche of the agricultural credits to the Soviet Union. I believe the Prime Minister will have more to say on that subject.

So, events are moving rapidly; they're going in the direction of freedom and democracy. I remain optimistic that these enormous changes can be handled without disorder, without the anarchy that we hear some on the television talking about. But it's traumatic change. And sometimes it's better to let your views be known to the Soviet leaders as to how we want things to resolve, and then let them sort out some of the details. As far as I'm concerned, that can apply to the Baltics; it can apply to other things as well.

But anyway, Brian, you're so welcome. And I once again thank you for your advice and counsel which I do value.

*The Prime Minister.* Thank you, Mr. President. I was glad of the opportunity for another full review of pretty extraordinary and welcome events. As a result of some of these developments, Canada moved this morning to begin the process of establishing full diplomatic relations with the Baltic States and all of the agreements that would necessarily follow from that decision.

I have instructed the Minister for International Trade and the Minister for Industry, Science and Technology, who was formerly the Minister of Finance for Canada, Michael Wilson, to meet in the very near future with the representatives of the Baltic Republics and then to go on to Kiev where in the near future we hope to open a consulate general that has already been announced.

There are fundamental economic challenges that remain, and these are matters first and foremost for the new leadership of the Soviet Union. The accelerated pace of reform will, as the President and I and others have indicated in London, the accelerated pace of reform will be met by accelerated commitments of various kinds by the G-7 leaders, including the Government of Canada.

In fact, earlier today on the specific problem of what a difficult autumn or a winter might bring in the Soviet Union, and given the extraordinary productive capacities in the agricultural sector of both the United States and Canada, the President and I agreed today to support very actively initiatives for food aid to ensure that basic needs are met in the Soviet Union throughout what is clearly a difficult and challenging period.

And I thank the President for his hospitality. The Mulroneys always have a great time here. Not always successful with the fish, but we enjoy it a great deal. And I thank the President and Mrs. Bush.

#### *Soviet Union*

*Q.* Canada is only the latest in the growing list of countries that have extended full diplomatic recognition to the Baltics. Why is it that they're able to do this but the United States continues to lag back?

*The President.* I think we have certain special responsibilities. We've made very clear our conviction that the Baltics will be independent; I feel more confident of that than ever. From the United States standpoint, I'd like to know a little bit more about what's coming out of the EC tomorrow, what's coming out of the Soviet Parliament meeting. But also, I want to know a little more about controlling one's own territory and what you're recognizing. I mean, there are some difficulties there. Lithuania today, for example, is different than the Lithuania that had its freedom and that was recognized by us.

So, we need a little more information, but we're moving very fast. And I feel very comfortable with what other countries are doing. I think we've already stated our conviction that not only will they be free but they'll be independent. And I'd just like to

see a little bit more, a few more cards on the table before we take another step. I may have more to say about this after the Prime Minister's visit. They may do something in the EC tomorrow, but I'm anxious to talk to him. And I do think that others recognize that we have perhaps different responsibilities than other countries around the world in a matter of this gravity and in a matter of dealing with the Soviet Union generally. I hope we've handled it properly, and I'm confident that we will be there when needed on this question.

*Q.* Could you explain to us why today, not yesterday or tomorrow? What is it that you see in the Baltics that President Bush doesn't see?

*The Prime Minister.* Well, I think the President has just explained the special responsibilities of the United States, as the world and he sees them. You say, "Why now, or why yesterday?" In fact, it was yesterday that I decided to do this with my colleagues, but we decided to wait until this morning to see what President Gorbachev might say that could impact on that decision. Nothing changed, and therefore it's a value judgment of the Prime Minister and his colleagues to go ahead and recognize the complete independence of the Baltic States. And that's what we have done.

*Q.* But are you more optimistic than Mr. Bush?

*The Prime Minister.* Mr. Bush has just explained his own optimism and the consistency of his own position. Canada and the United States never recognized the incorporation of the Baltic States into the Soviet Union in the first place. Canada and the United States have said from the very beginning that the whole thing was illegal. So, we've been fully consistent for over 50 years now, and this is just a question of Canada having decided that now is the time as far as we're concerned, and the President, for reasons that he's just explained, conveying his own view.

*Q.* Can I ask a question of both of you, Mr. President and Mr. Prime Minister? What about those Republics within the Soviet Union which are now declaring their independence? Will you ever recognize Ukraine and other Republics on that ques-

tion?

*The President.* That's another question. We've got to wait and see. We've opened a consulate general in Ukraine. This is moving very, very fast. Certainly, the aspirations of people for freedom and independence is something that the United States has long been identified with. But as each one of these Republics declares its independence, and you have Byelorussia doing that, we want to see what we're talking about in terms of order, what we're talking about in terms of how this freedom evolves. I'm confident that this move for freedom and move for independence is inexorable. I believe it's just going to continue. But it has effects on other countries; it has effects on Yugoslavia, for example. And so, I want to see the big picture. I want to see that we know a little bit more on all of these before we try to send ambassadors to different places.

*Q.* —the Soviet Union inexorable?

*The President.* I don't know whether it's a breakup or not. How they decide on their own to affiliate with the center in terms of federation, that's murky still. It's not clear. So, what the United States is trying to do is do what we can to encourage—and certainly in the case of the Baltics—independence, do what we can in terms of other states to stand for their self-determination. I don't want to be a part of making a mistake that might contribute to some kind of anarchy inside the Soviet Union.

I don't see that we could do that, but I want to be darned sure we don't. These developments are happening very, very fast. I've sent instructions through the Secretary of State to our sherpas; I've sent instructions through the Deputy Finance Minister to—that are going to be meeting, through Secretary Brady: Listen, compare facts, get as much information as we can. But the United States is not going to precipitously commit to various things until we know a little more about what's happening.

I think that's a good thing to do, and I'm going to continue that policy. And under that policy, I am very pleased that things have been moving very, very well, thank you.

*The Prime Minister.* The United States and Canada stand for freedom and liberty;

that's been our whole existence. In the case of the Ukraine, to indicate the differences that do exist within their own constitutional apparatus, they've already given an indication of what they'd like to do subject to a referendum later on this year. And obviously, we will respect the freely expressed wishes of the people of the Ukraine.

*The President.* I'll take this one; then you take this one. How's that for a deal?

*Q.* I'm sorry, I didn't understand you. [Laughter]

*The President.* There's a lot I don't understand, but you go ahead, Jim [Jim Miklaszewski, NBC News].

*Q.* Do you think the events of the last week either mark the death or the impending death of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union? And after the U.S., after Americans have spent so much time, money, and effort in their struggle against that system, shouldn't Americans take some kind of satisfaction in what's going on there this week?

*The President.* The answer is yes and yes. Yes, it clearly is the death knell for the Communist movement around the world. There's only a handful of people that stick out like a sore thumb. I think of one down there in Cuba right now that must be sweating because you can't stop, as I said earlier on right here, this quest for freedom.

What was the second part? The answer was yes, but give me the question.

*Q.* Should Americans be taking satisfaction—

*The President.* Of course we should. Of course we should. And so should Canadians and everybody that has stood for freedom for so long. I think back, and Brian and I were talking about this, the days when we talked about the cold war and what it meant, and the fear of aggression, and what we saw and hated in Hungary. Those days are gone now. And so, the American people should take great pleasure that regardless of politics, Democrat, Republican, whatever it was, they have always stood against the totalitarianism and the toughness of those regimes and for exactly what's happening: independence, self-determination, democracy, freedom, moving now—not there yet—

moving toward market economies.

I don't know whether you want to add to that one or not, and then you have this——

*[At this point, a question was asked and answered in French, and a translation was not provided.]*

*The President.* We identified this lady. Is it for me or for the Prime Minister?

*[At this point, a question was asked and answered in French, and a translation was not provided.]*

*Q.* Mr. President, the President of the Soviet Union, Mr. Gorbachev, was in front of his Parliament today still talking about the union treaty which by all accounts seems to be obsolete, given especially what the Ukraine did. I wonder if you and your advisers still have any concerns that Mr. Gorbachev might not be getting the message?

*The President.* Well, I don't know about getting the message. I haven't heard the results of what went on at that meeting. We heard a little bit of it. But my view is, let's see. I mean, they've got a democratic process going on there now. We've heard from the Russian Supreme—Russian Parliament, if you want. I'd prefer now to call it a Parliament. Same thing for the Soviets. So, let's see how it sorts out.

Some want to stay affiliated with the center. To do that, if they're going to get aid from the West, they're going to have to have some agreement, a treaty, some understanding so people know who they're dealing with. One of the things that they need is a deal on energy. Canadian interests, United States interests stand ready to help. But you can't have it if you have 25 different guys going off in different directions when it comes to making a contract.

There would be a benefit to them to hammer out these details in a treaty, so an entrepreneur from Canada or from the United States could go in and say, "Okay, now we know who to deal with." So, there are some very practical reasons why agreement between the center and the Republics are very important to their economic recovery.

Now, for those entities that say they want total independence—and they've got to sort

out how they're going to handle their economic relationships with Russia, with the Soviet Union, and with the West. There are some very complicated formulae that have to be evolved here. There's very complicated situations because of the dependence at this moment in history of some of the Baltic States, for example, on the center. Steel goes one way, energy comes another, and they've got to sort some of this out. But none of that should, as I cite that, none of that should be interpreted as a lack of interest on our part of the United States in seeing independence and freedom just as quickly as possible.

You mentioned—Ukraine is a good one. Eighty percent of the people at one point said, "Hey, we approve of the union treaty." Now they've declared independence, but does that mean that they don't want a union treaty at all? I don't know the answer to that.

To have answers to all these complex questions at the end of a week that's moved this fast is expecting too much. I, for one, am going to say, "Hey, we've got a few days here. Let's know what we're doing. Let's be sure we understand what's happening. Let's do nothing to interfere or hold back independence or freedom or a right to be independent." I owe the American people the answer to some of these questions that I don't yet have, and I'm not going to move precipitously. Yet, I am going to continue to move in a way to encourage independence and self-determination.

### *Canadian Unity*

*Q.* Prime Minister, in the past, Canada has been very chary about the claims for independence of breakaway states. Michael Wilson is going to Kiev. Is there a risk that our relations or our discussions with the government of the Ukraine may not have a reflection in the discussions of the government of Quebec in the months ahead?

*The Prime Minister.* No, not at all. As I indicated earlier, and we discussed the Baltic States, for example, the Soviet Union came about as the result of a totalitarian and illegal integration of states which resulted eventually in the Soviet Union. Canada was the result of a great and demo-



cratic coming together of people, English and French, who sought freedom; much the same way as the United States was formed.

So, the Canadian experience and the Canadian history is the antithesis of the Soviet Union. It was component states coming together, freely asking for unity, political and economic unity. Nothing was ever imposed on a Canadian, ever. It was the contrary. It was Canadians saying, "Let us come together so that we can devise and build a greater and a more prosperous nation," which indeed they have over the last 125 years.

So, A, there is no parallel. And, B, I haven't the slightest doubt, none, about the question of Canadian unity. Canadians will remain together, French-speaking and English-speaking, in my judgment because the Canadian experience, with its imperfections, has produced one of the great pluralistic liberal democracies in the world, with a huge capacity for the production of wealth and a major contribution to international institutions such as the United Nations which contribute generally, I think, to the well-being of the world.

So, Canada has accomplished a lot, and the reason that it was able to do so over so many decades is that it came together in freedom. Canada is a child of freedom. Freedom and liberty has been our environment, which is the antithesis of what has taken place in Central and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, which is why they have failed with their Communist system, which is why Canada has succeeded over all of these years.

#### *China-U.S. Relations*

*Q.* Mr. President, you've stood firm in not dealing with the hard-liners in Moscow, the Yanayevs and the Pugos, and yet you continue to deal with those in China who are hard-liners, who suppressed the freedom movement there. How are you reassessing how you have dealt with China and will deal with China in light of what happens in Moscow so long as you're ringing the death knell for communism?

*The President.* What we're trying to do in China is to see reform move forward. I think what I've said is that we're on the right path to do that. Cutting off discussion with China is not a way to do it. Going back

to the cold war would not have been a good way to deal with the leaders in the Soviet Union, and going back to the chilly days of the cultural revolution would not be a good way to help reform go forward in China. So, our policy is engagement on the economic front, encouragement of them as much as we can on the human rights front.

#### *Soviet Union*

[*At this point, a question was asked in French, and a translation was not provided.*]

*The Prime Minister.* The question dealt with some apparent disagreement of the G-7 summit as to what we should do, and both the President and I have read that from time to time. And I can tell you that when the question was put, at the luncheon that preceded the meeting with Mr. Gorbachev, around the table: "Are we all in agreement with what is about to be proposed? Is there anyone in this room who thinks that we are not doing enough?" And I asked the question. And the answer was: "We are in full agreement with the proposed package that is going forward. We think it's timely, we think it's constructive, and we think it's the way to go."

And so, if there's any Monday morning quarterbacking on that issue, I think the President will tell you that that was not the manner in which this was developed or evolved or put forward at the meetings in London.

*The President.* It's this concept, that if we had given a lot of money out of London and that would have avoided this quest for freedom, democracy, and turmoil now in the Soviet Union, is absolutely ridiculous. It is absurd on the face of it, and the Prime Minister knows that there were no divisions here. I keep reading about divisions in some of these countries. And yet when I talk to the chiefs of state—I did with Helmut Kohl today. I saw one deal that he felt we all ought to give a lot of money. That's not what he talked to me about at all today; in fact, said that that wasn't the case, that we ought to be careful, we ought to learn more about it, we ought to let these sherpas meet and these Foreign Ministers. And I'm sure

he told Brian, the Prime Minister, the same thing.

So, we've got to deal from strength, and we've got to deal from principle. You've got to know what you're dealing with also.

*Q.* Mr. President, Mr. Gorbachev spelled out a frame of reference today that would seem to push elections well into 1992 with the union treaty and then a constitution 6 months after that. I was wondering what your response is to the potential timelag there, and how you feel about Mr. Cheney's comment yesterday that in his view, Mr. Yeltsin would be preferable in this situation?

*The President.* We'll deal with who's there. I've expressed myself on Boris Yeltsin. I've expressed myself on Gorbachev. It's not a choosing either/or here. I think what Dick Cheney was saying is, here's a man who—and Yeltsin gave statements of great courage, physical statements and verbal statements—here's a man who, in things like cutting off aid to Cuba and in their defense diversification, stand with us on a lot of these questions. So, that's good. But it's not ours, it's not the United States' to say whom we're dealing with. We can't do that.

What was the second part of it?

*Q.* The timeframe, sir, that puts elections—

*The President.* I'm sorry, I can't comment on a timeframe that I don't know about. As I've told you, I've just not heard the results of the meeting that went on, so I'm not going to comment on it.

*The Prime Minister.* A final Canadian question, Rob [Rob Russo, Canadian Press]?

*Q.* Prime Minister, did you and the President have a chance to discuss reassessing defense policies in light of what's going on over there, given that there's a NATO meeting coming up, and reassessing your own individual defense agreements with the Soviet Union?

*The Prime Minister.* Well, I think the President indicated, Rob, one of the difficulties that comes from this remarkably sensitive series of developments in the Soviet Union: Who do you deal with? And who are these agreements going to be with in the future, be they commercial or economic or defense? This raises the question of pru-

dence to which the President referred.

I'm going from here to British Columbia for a meeting of the Cabinet. And one of the questions there, from our perspective, will be precisely the impact of this on NATO and our presence in Europe and the position of our allies. The President and I have discussed this, and we realize that it's an ongoing situation that will have to be reviewed regularly until there's a greater degree of permanence and a much better definition of the nature of the problem and its depth and the manner in which it will eventually be resolved.

And so, we're going to be prudent and vigilant in respect of our interests, and I believe that is the position of all of our allies.

*The President.* John [John Mashek, Boston Globe], last one because he's got to eat a burger, have a hot dog—

*The Prime Minister.* Hot dog. [Laughter]

*The President.* —and be out of here at 1:30. And those planes come in, something has to happen. So—

*Q.* While you've expressed a desire not to intrude in Soviet affairs, Mr. President, you have saluted Mr. Gorbachev and *glasnost* and *perestroika*. Isn't it realistic now to expect that Mr. Gorbachev is at the very least going to have to share power or perhaps even be subjugated by Mr. Yeltsin?

*The President.* I think what you've seen evolving in the last few days is a sharing of power. Absolutely. And I think both Yeltsin and Gorbachev understand that.

What was the other part of it?

*Q.* Well, the other part would be: Is Mr. Yeltsin's first moves outlawing the press, no matter how much that may be an anathema to us, or the Communist Party, are those democratic moves?

*The President.* Again, I think what he was trying to do is, in the realm of his purview there inside the Russian Republic, to shut down certain propaganda organizations. And they've got to sort out how they're going to deal with their, whatever it is, first amendment over there. They've got to figure how much free speech they're going to allow, how much dissent they're going to permit. It's going to take a little time. They've just come off a tumultuous win

over totalitarianism that's celebrated around the world. There's a lot of refinements like this.

The relationship with these Republics is only a part of it. How they treat with the free enterprise part of it, the private sector and around the world, that's another part of it. The question you've raised is another part of it. And we Americans are so eager; we want it to happen right quick. We want to know all the answers, everything in place: who we're dealing with; will he be here tomorrow; is he going to be gone the next day; are they on the edge of anarchy, as some of these talking-heads are telling us on television?

One good thing for the economy—[laughter]—the talking-head industry is back, going strong out there. [Laughter] And my view is, look, get the best advice you can. Talk to trusted counselors and advisers, your peers in other countries, and then move, not slowly but in a determined fashion, to further democracy, freedom, whether it's freedom of the press or freedom of election or freedom of speech in other ways. And all this has to happen. But we're too restless. They get a new guy in charge of the public works in downtown Kiev and you want to know whether I support him. I can't tell you about that yet.

*The Prime Minister.* In point of fact, we do—[laughter]—strongly.

*The President.* And I might point out we've had a consulate general in Kiev, and they're opening one. So, there are a little different tastes on some of these matters. But the big thing is we're together. The West is saying: Isn't this great. And it's moving in the right direction. So, we'll be there. When freedom's at stake, you'll be there, whether it's the Baltic States or whether it's these other Republics that want independence. But let's know a little

more about it. Let's be sure we know what we're doing and that we don't inadvertently contribute to something that might result in a little more hardship for somebody or a little more disorder in the Soviet Union.

We'd better run if we're going to eat.

*The Prime Minister.* Thank you all.

*The President.* Thank you all very much.

*Q.* When's Ambassador Strauss coming up?

*The President.* I'll rely on my man, Fitzwater, who doesn't know either. [Laughter]

*Q.* Tomorrow?

*The President.* He'll be up here tomorrow. And the Prime Minister the next day, and so we'll have plenty going. This afternoon—I see Dick Darman and Bob Teeter there, Roger Porter—we'll continue our discussions about the fall and the domestic agenda. So, there's plenty to do. Plenty of news for you all. So, stay ready.

*Note: The President's 100th news conference began at 12:43 p.m. at his home on Walker's Point. In the news conference, the following persons were referred to: Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany; Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu of Japan; Prime Minister Jozsef Antall of Hungary; Prime Minister John Major of the United Kingdom; Deputy Secretary of the Treasury John E. Robson; former Soviet Vice President Gennady Yanayev and former Soviet Interior Affairs Minister Boris Pugo of the Soviet Union, who participated in the attempted coup; Robert M. Teeter, pollster and personal adviser to the President; and Roger B. Porter, Assistant to the President for Economic and Domestic Policy. Robert B. Zoellick, U.S. Under Secretary of State for Economic and Agricultural Affairs, attended the G-7 "sherpa" meeting in London with representatives of the European Community, Canada, and Japan.*

## The President's News Conference With Prime Minister Major of the United Kingdom in Kennebunkport, Maine

August 29, 1991

*The President.* I'm very pleased that Prime Minister Major and his family have been able to join us. For over the past few months, ever since he's been Prime Minister, he and I have exchanged views. We've stayed in very close contact regarding a number of fast-moving events on the international scene. I appreciate his counsel and his wise judgment. And in like manner, we've had extremely useful talks on the current situation inside the Soviet Union. These exchanges are particularly important since he is off on Sunday to Moscow and will be able to share with the Soviet leadership our views and hopes for the Soviet peoples in a direct manner.

We stand united, as do other Western partners, in our commitment to help Soviet reform. The industrial democracies have already undertaken steps to aid the economic process. The program that we established at the G-7 meeting under John Major's chairmanship in London was a flexible program, adaptable program. And as a matter of fact, today the G-7 sherpas are meeting in London to review the situation and exchange views on any further steps that can be undertaken. But we must remember that the Soviet Union is undergoing a major political change.

The Prime Minister and I also had a discussion about the Baltics. The U.S. is a strong supporter of Baltic independence; we've so notified the Soviet Union. And we've urged the Soviet leadership not to stand against the winds of this inevitable change. The Baltics want freedom. Clearly, the United States and the U.K. want them to have freedom. And clearly, the Baltics will have freedom. So, let the Soviet leadership on this one act accordingly. That's our message.

And again, Mr. Prime Minister, I really enjoyed our conversation today, and we're just delighted you and your charming wife, Norma, are with us.

All yours, sir.

*The Prime Minister.* Thank you. Thank

you very much, sir, Mr. President. I'd like, firstly, to thank the President and Mrs. Bush for their invitation to join them here today. Norma, Elizabeth, and I have had a great time, and we're very grateful to you for making us feel as much at home in New England as we do in our England. And we are grateful to you for that.

I've discovered over the last few months that the President is not only a man I can do business with; I've discovered this morning he's a man I can go fishing with. We've done more successful business than we had fishing this morning, I must tell you that, but we have managed to reach an agreement on a number of things on dry land in our discussions thus far, both on shore and out there fishing this morning.

We certainly agree, absolutely, on our objectives in responding to the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union. We need to support democracy. We need to encourage the economic reform that they so badly need in the Soviet Union. And we need also to respond compassionately to the urgent needs that the Soviet people have at the present time.

We will go on talking to the Soviet authorities, the central authorities, and also building on the existing relationships and the developing relationships with the new leaders in the Republics. We're already in touch with the leaders of the Baltic States, and I hope when I visit Moscow on Sunday that I will be able to meet some if not all of them, as well as Presidents Gorbachev and Yeltsin and some of the other key figures out there at the moment.

We agreed this morning on the principles governing aid to the Soviet Union. There is a window of opportunity at present for the speeding up of the economic reform process, and that is absolutely vital for the Soviet Union. The need to speed that is urgent, and we agreed this morning that we need to support the effort.

Our judgment is that what the Soviet Union and the Republics most need is

emergency humanitarian assistance, practical help in converting their economy into one that works. That means that that aid must be linked to a clear and comprehensive and practical reform plan, that it must go to those people who are in need, including directly to the individual Republics, and that it needs to be linked to the Soviet commitment to further reduce defense spending.

And we were able to identify in our discussions this morning a number of points, six particular points worthy of action. The first is to implement existing food credits. The second is to assess the need for food aid during this winter. The third is to produce some lifeline teams, teams to travel to the Soviet Union to help achieve efficient food production and food distribution. That may well be a public-private partnership, and it's an area where we and the United States will be moving ahead in the days and weeks immediately in front of us. We agreed also we needed to implement the know-how programs and the technical assistance that we discussed at the G-7 and the bilateral agreements we already have to assist the Soviets on that front. We also felt that the time was right to get the IMF and the World Bank involved urgently in helping to work out practical structural reform plans and technical assistance for the Soviet Union. And sixthly, we agreed that it would be right to accelerate implementation of special association for the Soviet Union with the IMF with a view to full membership in due course for those who qualify, and by "qualify" I mean as well in terms of effective reform plans.

Now, that help with food aid and food distribution and technical assistance will require a good deal of international collaboration if the effort is going to be as targeted as it deserves to be to avoid duplication and as successful as we would want it to be. And that does necessarily mean that we need some mechanism involving the principal countries and the principal groupings involved.

I will take the opportunity as current Chairman of the G-7 to keep closely in touch with the other G-7 members to help ensure we coordinate our activities. All the members of the G-7 have been providing

some very useful and constructive input for my meetings in Moscow this weekend. And when I have had that meeting, I'll be writing to them to discuss what needs to be done and to report to them on the judgments I reach there and the discussions that I had.

I think it is worthwhile making the point that we do have a very urgent need for better information about what's happening there than we yet have. All the members of the G-7 have agreed to pool their findings by the end of September, to pool their findings on what needs to be done to meet the most urgent food and medical needs in the Soviet Union.

So, that is the basis of the discussions we have had this morning, and they've been very useful and very constructive. And I'd like to thank the President again for the very timely opportunity we've had to share our thoughts on the remarkable events that are taking place at the present time.

We can't dictate the ending of what is happening in the Soviet Union, but neither are we mere spectators. And I think what has happened in the West in the last few days and the discussions we've had this morning indicate the way in which we can contribute to assist the Soviets. And I believe this morning we've reached a new and better understanding on the supporting role the West can play. So, I am very grateful for the opportunity to have those discussions.

*The President.* What we thought we'd do is alternate questions for me and for the Prime Minister. We're not going to take many, but we will endeavor to do our best here. So, who wants to go first?

#### *Soviet Union*

*Q.* Mr. President, the Supreme Soviet's been meeting most of this week. You said that you were hoping to see a clearer picture of the Soviet Union's political future emerge from those sessions, yet things seem about as confused today as they did 48 or 72 hours ago. Are things moving a little bit too slowly on that front for you, or do you see things falling into place?

*The President.* No, I think the changes are so monumental that it is going to take time

to sort it all out with finality. Every day there are new announcements of some new dramatic step taking place, and so that's for them to sort out. We can't affect it particularly.

I think the Prime Minister was right on target when he says we want to help; we're not just bystanders. We have a tremendous stake in what's taking place. But no, these changes have moved with such rapidity that—well, put it this way, if 2 weeks ago somebody had predicted this, everybody would have said he had lost it. And so, changes are going on, but again, all the cards are not on the table when it comes to what the United States role should be or the U.K. role in further assistance of one kind or another.

But I don't worry about that. I mean, they've got enormous problems in the Republic, in the center, and in the other Republics as well, not just the Russian Republic. So, it's moving fast. We are watching. We are learning. And we stand ready to be assistance, because what's at stake here is democracy and freedom. And our countries are clearly committed to that.

*Q.* Are you still expecting some kind of action on independence for the Baltics today or tomorrow from the Supreme Soviet?

*The President.* Well, I don't think it'll be today or tomorrow. It could well be Monday. But we just are not certain of that; leave it right there.

*Q.* Prime Minister, most of the measures that you say you've discussed today involve speeding up things that were already en-train. Do you not have any sense that, given the momentous changes that we've seen in the Soviet Union, some more fundamental reconsideration of Western policy might be necessary?

*The Prime Minister.* We identified some time ago what was most practical and of most assistance to the Soviets; that hasn't changed. The dimensions of that have changed; the need, the speed for it has changed; perhaps the volume of it has changed.

What we've actually done this morning is agree a very practical way forward. People are suggesting all sorts of things that ought to be done, but the priorities are to deal

with the problems of food and food distribution, to deal with the ways in which we can help the Soviets maximize their own capacity to produce both food and other mechanistic and hardware produce. And we need a good deal of information in order to do that. There's no point in going beyond that until we can see precisely what the need is.

I understand the wish that there is in some people's mind to do something fresh, entirely different, and entirely dramatic. But we have to consider what will be practical, what is deliverable, and what would actually help. And it was actually quite striking earlier this week that one of the Soviet spokesmen was saying, "The problem isn't really a question of large-scale money. We actually need technical advice and know-how, and we need food." This is what we're providing, and we're potentially doing it on a very substantial scale and across a very wide field.

I would envisage that we would send some of these lifeline teams not just to the center but to a number of the Republics in order to go there, see what needs to be done, report back, and enable us then to put in hand the practical measures that are needed to help. I think that's what is most in the interest of the Soviet Union, and that's what we've agreed this morning.

*Q.* Mr. President, does the breakup of the Soviet empire raise any concerns in your mind about who controls the Soviet nuclear arsenal? The Ukraine, for one, which wants to break away has nuclear weapons there. How do you want this matter disposed of?

*The President.* I want to have it disposed of a way that nuclear weapons safety is totally guaranteed. And to date, we feel very comfortable about that. We had a group as knowledgeable as one can be about Soviet procedures taking a look at this, and I want to reassure the American people that at no time has there been any official concern about inadvertent use of nuclear weapons or something going awry.

But that is a matter that needs to be sorted out, and I'm confident that everybody in the Republics and everybody in the center understands that the last thing that the world needs is some kind of a nuclear scare, say nothing of a nuclear confronta-

tion. So, I'd like to use that question, Terry [Terence Hunt, Associated Press], to calm any fears that the American people have. We did not notice any untoward movement of nuclear forces, and so we feel comfortable now that whoever is in charge will do the right thing in terms of safeguarding these nuclear weapons.

Perhaps the Prime Minister would want to add to that because he's knowledgeable in this field.

*The Prime Minister.* I'd only add to agree with it. We see no reason for concern about what is happening in nuclear weapons in the short term. The army commands still have the same controls. There's a certain degree of stability. We see no reason to worry. But clearly, it is a matter that we'll want to address and discuss with the Soviets at an early stage. And the sooner we can get positive answers and positive assurances, the happier we'll be.

*Q.* The Republics won't be allowed to—Kazakhstan and the Ukraine won't be allowed to keep these weapons, will they, on their own?

*The President.* No, and I doubt that. But whatever happens, I think wise and sane heads from whatever Republic, or whatever the center proves eventually to be, will recognize that safeguarded nuclear weapons programs are absolutely essential. By "safeguarded" I mean guarantees, redundancy to see that things can't inadvertently go wrong. And not only would the world demand it but I think the people inside the Soviet Union will demand it. And they've always felt that way. And we see no reason to escalate the fears that might exist by any other response here.

*Q.* Mr. Major, are you prepared to spend British Government money on helping the Soviet Union?

*The Prime Minister.* We're already doing that. We crossed that bridge some time ago with the implementation of the know-how schemes. And they, of course, go not to the central Soviet authorities but out in the Republics and, in the majority of cases, to individual companies and individual enterprises. So, we crossed that Rubicon some time ago.

*Q.* Are we now going to spend more?

*The Prime Minister.* Well, we've got to

assess the need first. If and when we've assessed the need, we'll do what we can in concert with our partners to meet that need. Nobody should doubt that we believe that is the right thing to do, the right thing to do on humanitarian grounds and I think the right thing to do on political and strategic grounds as well.

*Q.* Mr. President, speaking of spending money, Les Aspin has recommended, or he's going to recommend to Congress that they take \$1 billion out of the defense budget and put it into some kind of Soviet-aid program. What do you think of that idea?

*The President.* I think technically that would require a change in the existing budget agreement. As you know, Jim [Jim Miklaszewski, NBC News], many people, many politicians have tried to change the budget agreement for one reason or another. Some wanted to spend more on one program domestically, and some wanted to spend more on another.

It's ironic that just a few days ago when this coup was underway, there started a debate about "Are we spending enough on defense"—almost a 180. Now the debate comes, "Well, maybe we've got too much in defense." I'd say let's take a little time and sort this thing out intelligently.

Certainly, we want to live within our budget agreement. We owe this to the American people. We've got to get this economy going. And more and more Government spending is not the answer. His suggestion, as you say, doesn't result in more, but you've got to accommodate a lot of domestic interests that would like to see more money going somewhere. It's ironic that I was attacked prior to all this coup about being too much concerned about money for the Egyptian debt or money for the Soviet Union. And now suddenly, before the cards are all laid down on the table, we have people saying, "Hey, what we've got to do now to prove that we are interested is send more money, send more dough for something."

I couldn't agree more with what our G-7 Chairman, John Major, has said about helping people, whether they're in the Republics or in the center, wherever, in terms of

food aid. We also want to be sure it gets there. We want to be sure that the distribution systems work. So, we've got a lot to do. But I think it's way too premature. Les Aspin is a very creative thinker, and I give him great credit for thinking about this. But there will be a lively debate in the United States Congress. And I, for one, will be sure we get all the information that we possibly can, by mid-fall, by mid-September, whenever it is the debate will be joined. And then I will have a strong recommendation. Right now, I simply cannot endorse that.

And I notice so many people are jumping up and saying what we must do now is cut defense spending more. I think we've cut defense spending a lot, and I want to be sure that our forces are properly structured to meet the needs that we were talking about just 12 months ago, standing in this very same place. How soon, how quick we forget.

And so, I think it's a little premature, his suggestion. But again, with respect, I think it's good he's thinking about this. And yet, I'm not going to go out there and say we can afford to cut defense. Where's it going to come from? What account do they want to take it out of, for example? And what will that do to our readiness and our disproportionate responsibility to stand up against terror and aggression wherever it may be coming from?

But I do think that out of this change in the Soviet Union, if we handle it properly and if things keep going forward instead of slipping back, there's an opportunity for a vastly restructured national security posture. But it's way too early, way too early, to get into that.

*Q.* But how do you tell those who are unemployed right now, given all the events over the past couple of years in Eastern Europe and what's going on in the Soviet Union right now, that there appears to be no peace dividend, if I take it that's what you just said?

*The President.* Well, what I've said is that we've dramatically cut defense. That was part of a commitment I made, and that's a commitment we've kept. But somebody always is coming and saying cut defense more. They weren't doing this a week ago is my point, Jim.

When that coup started, I didn't hear one single proposal like this. In fact, I heard a few voices, tom-toms beating in the woods, saying, "Hey, maybe we've got to turn around the defense cuts we've already made." My point is, you know, it's not going to happen all at once; let's get the facts. Deal from strength, get the facts, and then make decisions, not try to get out there and have an instant solution to a problem when you don't know the major parameters of the problem.

*Q.* Prime Minister, when you said that you want to see significant Soviet defense cuts, what sort of level are you looking at as our share of, say, GNP? And what sort of time scale are you looking at?

*The Prime Minister.* We want the commitment to extend the defense cuts they are committed to already. The first part of the equation is to make sure that they continue with those cuts to which they are already committed, and we have no reason to suppose that isn't going to happen. But even when they've done that, they're spending a quarter of their central government expenditure on defense. Now, I don't think it is a tolerable proposition for them to sit upon that level of defense expenditure at a time when they're seeking very substantial assistance in one form or another from the West.

We don't expect them to do it overnight. We expect them to agree to make further defense reductions and to begin to put those entrain. But defense reductions necessarily, on very practical grounds, have to be phased; they can't be done overnight. But we want the commitment, and we want the program to begin to start. And I don't think that we could realistically be expected to require less of them in the circumstances in which they find themselves at the moment and with the assistance that they would wish to see from us.

*Q.* Will you want such a commitment on Sunday when you see Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Yeltsin?

*The Prime Minister.* Well, I don't think you get commitments of that sort in a single meeting. I think I'll certainly make it clear in the discussions we have on Sunday that that's the way we're thinking at present.



*The President.* Last one for me, Marlin said. You know how I abide by his rules.

*Q.* The Supreme Soviet just announced within the past half hour that they are suspending the Communist Party throughout the Soviet Union. Are you concerned about actions they're taking that may not be necessarily democratic to the abounding parties, or how do you assess this?

*The President.* They've got some democratic authority. Some of these people were elected into this Parliament. I frankly rejoice in that. I don't see anything but good news in that, for terms of the West and certainly in terms of America. The demise, the fall of a totalitarian, nondemocratic party effort, I think that's a good thing. So, I don't see any bad news in that at all. Rejoice. Cheer.

*Q.* Mikhail Gorbachev has also criticized Boris Yeltsin today for going too far with decrees this week that he says may not be constitutional. He says last week that was all right, but the decrees that Yeltsin is continuing with, Gorbachev is now criticizing. Do you think that there's a danger now that Yeltsin may be going too far?

*The President.* No. I say let them sort it out. You know, I keep making the point. I made a comment the other day that when they appoint a new public works manager in downtown Kiev, that's their business. I got, incidentally, turned in for being testy. I thought that was highly amusing. But obviously, some didn't. [Laughter] I thought it was very funny. But it also has a serious note to it. When it comes to personnel, I don't know, John, if you've been asked, but every time some guy is in and someone's out, and a new person is appointed that nobody's ever heard of in the West, I'm supposed to be reacting.

Look, they're sorting out an enormous, complex set of new relationships. And so, if President Gorbachev has something to say about President Yeltsin, knowing President Yeltsin, he's apt to hear back from him. But that's the way the system is evolving. As you're struggling for democratic processes, these things happen. And I really think it is counterproductive for the United States to have to have a view on every statement by every leader about what's happening inside the Soviet Union and in the Republics.

What we want to do is adhere to certain values. And as the process moves to total acceptance of these values, whether it's free elections or whether it's democracy generally or the whole broad concept of freedom, we rejoice. But there's going to be some ups and downs in all of this, and they can sort it out without a lot of second-guessing from the President of the United States or telling them where they ought to be the day after tomorrow.

These are monumental changes that have taken place, and the whole world is excited about it. And there's going to be hiccup here, there's going to be criticism there, there's going to be a move that we didn't expect over here, for example. But it's moving in the right direction. It has been fantastic. I'm wondering what we're going to do for an encore next August, John. [Laughter] Because last year, as you know, it was the Gulf—

*The Prime Minister.* The Gulf.

*The President.* —starting. And I might say—I'm just ending—I want to identify myself on something here, a question asked to the Prime Minister. The way that this Prime Minister handled the G-7 meeting, it's been obscured by events now. But you go back and look at what he did and the program we all came out with as a result of his chairmanship, and it's just as relevant today, given this monumental change that's taken place, as it was the day that he fashioned the compromises between very strong European leaders and the leaders of North America.

Go look at it. Look at what we thought then, we collectively thought then was best for the Soviet Union and its economy or whatever, and I think you'll find enormous relevance even though these tremendous changes have taken place.

Now, as he said, we're going to fine-tune it. We're going to step up attention to urgent humanitarian assistance for food. There's other things we can do. But what he fashioned there—and we all would like to now take credit for it because it appears to be right on target—what happened there was very, very relevant today when you look at the kinds of assistance they really need. And you hear what Mr. Yavlinsky says

yesterday or the day before, and then lay that down against the agenda that Prime Minister Major sorted out and led us to reach agreement on, and you'll find that this program is very sensible.

So, we'll do our part in the West. But as for the United States, I am not going to be jumping into the middle of what's going on. Leave that to the editorialists. Leave that to the Sunday talk shows. Don't leave it to the policymakers and the foreign policy of the United States. If we see something that we think takes them off this track toward democracy, freedom, openness, reform, we'll speak up on it. But when you have internal things going on of the nature you asked about, I really think it would be counterproductive for each country to weigh in and tell one or the other of these two strong leaders how to do things or to tell the Republics exactly how they ought to do their business.

They know where the principles of the U.S. are and the principles of the U.K., and we're not departing from them. If we see something against them, we'll have that to say. But I am not going to comment on every personnel change or every comment by one leader or another as they sort out these enormously complex problems from inside.

Prime Minister Major has the last one.

*The Prime Minister.* I was just reflecting that if commentators in the Soviet Union asked the Soviets to comment on every political exchange in the United Kingdom between political parties and political person-

alities, they'd be jolly busy. I think they'd answer as the President did. We're wise to keep out of it.

*The President.* He has one more question because we said we'd do an even number. So, has somebody got a question for the Prime Minister? Fine. I'm out. I'm out of here.

#### *Bush-Major Discussions*

*Q.* In your discussions with the President, did you manage to get off the Soviet Union and onto the rest of your forthcoming trip, which will cover China and Hong Kong? And has the President given you any assurances of help with the problem of the boat people because it will require a nod and wink from the United States before the Vietnamese are willing to accept the idea of internationally managed centers?

*The Prime Minister.* We haven't finished our discussions. We're going to have lunch together. We've got some more things to talk about. We've touched on China. We've touched on GATT. We've touched on a number of matters. But we haven't concluded our talks. There are issues like that still to be talked about.

*The President.* Thank you all very much.

*Note: The President's 101st news conference began at 12:08 p.m. at his home on Walker's Point. In the news conference, the following persons were referred to: Prime Minister Major's wife, Norma, and daughter, Elizabeth; Representative Les Aspin of Wisconsin; and Grigory Yavlinsky, a Soviet economist.*

## The President's News Conference in Kennebunkport, Maine September 2, 1991

*The President.* Nearly 2 weeks ago, the world watched with fascination the courage of the Soviet people in foiling a cynical coup, a coup that, thank God, failed. We've marveled since at their efforts to build a new and democratic future. Major changes are now taking place in the Soviet Union, not the least of which is the establishment of new arrangements between the Repub-

lics and the central government.

While we await the final outcome, I welcome President Gorbachev's support for the concept that the Republics will be free to determine their own future. This new "ten-plus-one" agreement speaks eloquently to that. This is a watershed in Soviet political thinking, equal to the dramatic movements toward democracy and market economies

that we are witnessing in the Republics themselves. The United States strongly supports these efforts.

The Baltic peoples of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania and their democratically elected governments have declared their independence and are moving now to control their own national territories and their own destinies. The United States has always supported the independence of the Baltic States and is now prepared immediately to establish diplomatic relations with their governments. The United States is also prepared to do whatever it can to assist in the completion of the current process of making Baltic independence a factual reality. To facilitate this, I will be sending the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Kamman, to the Baltics.

We also understand the enormous challenges that lie ahead for the Soviet people in meeting their own food and energy needs particularly and beginning true economic reform. Therefore, I'm sending Under Secretary of Agriculture Crowder with an experts' mission to survey with Soviet and Republic officials their critical food requirements for the coming winter, particularly in those Republics that are likely to be in the greatest need.

And in a month a Presidential mission led by Secretary of Agriculture Ed Madigan will bring a delegation of senior private sector and Government officials to the U.S.S.R. to seek solutions to a winter food problem, if we determine that one exists, and to continue our long-term efforts to help the Soviet Union and the Soviet people resolve problems in food distribution.

I've also asked Secretary of State Jim Baker and our AID Administrator, Mr. Roskens, to work with Project HOPE to augment and extend my Presidential initiative on medical assistance to the U.S.S.R. through the end of 1992.

We intend to work closely with Soviet and Republic officials in both of these efforts. This morning I talked to the President of Estonia and of Latvia, as I did to Mr. Landsbergis of Lithuania a couple of days ago, to tell him of this official position now being taken by the United States of America.

Now, I'll be glad to take just a few questions. Terry [Terence Hunt, Associated Press].

#### *Soviet Union*

Q. Mr. President, what does today's action signify to the independence movements of the other Republics? Does it offer the guarantee that when they declare their independence, that the United States will also recognize them?

*The President.* What we'll do is look at each case on a case-by-case basis. But I think more important than what we might do down the road is what apparently is happening there in agreement between the center and the Republics, and that is that each shall determine its own future.

The Baltics, of course, are quite different. We never, as you know, recognized their incorporation in the first place. So, there are some technical difficulties as we go along, but I think this is very good news that they're willing to sort it out. And we'll look at it, obviously, on a case-by-case basis. We've got to know first what kind of relationship these Republics want to have with the center before we can jump way ahead and say what we're going to do in each case.

Q. Mr. President, you delayed recognizing the Baltic countries, we're given to understand, because of the role of the United States as a superpower and because of your desire not to undercut Mikhail Gorbachev. What are the criteria now that you have decided this is the time to do this? Have you talked with someone in the Soviet Union? Are you satisfied with what the Russian Parliament is doing?

*The President.* Well, I think it's all moving in the right direction. I thought that Gorbachev's statement yesterday, for example, which was heralded around the world as recognizing the right of the Baltics to be free, whether that's a proper interpretation or not, that was a good statement. And we have been quietly asserting to him for a long time that the best thing he could do in terms of relationships with the United States is to free the Baltic States. And we've been working hard on that. And so it's taken me, taking a final decision, 3 or 4

more days than somebody else. But in the sweep of history, I think we will be proved correct in taking just a few days to see if we can't effect change within the Soviet Union, and I'm very pleased with the two developments I've talked to you today about.

*Q.* Have you had any contact with senior Soviet officials about this? Has this been coordinated with them at all?

*The President.* I've been in touch with Mr. Gorbachev two or three times since my telephone conversation with him.

*Q.* Mr. President, I wonder if you'd amplify a bit on your reaction to this "ten-plus-one" deal that Mr. Gorbachev seems to be working out, especially in light of some of your comments last week and those of your advisers, and the interest the United States has in there being a Soviet Union, in there being a central government?

*The President.* Well, I can't help you at all on it until I know a little more about it, until I know what will work out between them. You may also remember that last week I talked about the need for them to work these problems out without dictation or a decree every day from the United States. I think it is very early; we just don't know the details of it. But we'll be there, and we will work with what evolves.

But the different Republics have different relationships, and we simply at this point—I don't believe there's anybody that knows enough about it to give a good, definitive answer to your very good question.

*Q.* I wonder if at some point, sir, you saw events spinning out of control, that at some point it appeared Mr. Gorbachev may have been out of it, that the Soviet Union was going away?

*The President.* I don't feel that. I think things are moving. It's very difficult for them, but when you see their Congress meeting as it is, I think that's an extraordinarily good sign. When you see declarations that the center and the President of the biggest Republic want to work together, that's a good sign. When you see an orderly process being worked out for determining just exactly that, the relations between the Republic and the center, that's a good sign.

So, these things are moving. Again, I don't want to underestimate the problems the leaders face over there, but I really

think it's too early for us to definitively comment on each Republic, what the relations with the United States are going to be.

It is very clear that the Baltics are different. It's been clear all along that we were for their independence, and I think that this step that I've taken today will have wide support around the world. Clearly in the United States it'll have very strong support, and it's the right thing to do. I'm pleased that at least there seems to be some recognition coming out of the center now that this is a proper move.

*Q.* Will it not be simpler for the United States, sir, to be conducting foreign policy, still, with a central government? Are you not hoping that there's some sort of central government for foreign policy and arms control?

*The President.* I think there's got to be some government with which the United States works on many questions. I mentioned the other day contractual questions. You've raised the question here of further arms control agreements. We've got to work with the Soviet Union in terms of their very important role in the peace process in the Middle East. So, we will continue to deal with the Foreign Ministry, for example, in Moscow.

But as these other Republics come front and center, we then must determine what their role will be and how they can help with peace, or what they're going to do about distancing themselves from the last remaining Communist dictator in this hemisphere. I'm talking about Fidel Castro. We heard Boris Yeltsin, I think, properly, say, "Look, there's not going to be any aid from Russia, from the Russian Republic, to Castro." That's good. We're for that position. We'd like to hear the center say the same thing. So, we've got to deal with who's there.

There are some very important questions that transcend internal events in the Soviet Union as far as we're concerned: Afghanistan, Cuba, Middle East, all kinds of questions where we do need a strong partner, a convincing partner to deal with. But as this situation evolves, I can't predict for you whether it'll be a partner or a bunch of partners or what it's going to be. We just

don't know yet.

*Q.* On the issue of ambassadors to the Baltics, would there be one ambassador for the region, or will there be an ambassador for each of the Baltics?

*The President.* Well, I expect that since we recognize the independence and the standing of each of these States, there will be separate diplomatic missions for each State. We're getting Secretary Kamman to go over there and take a look at all of that, talk about the details, as other countries are now doing. But no, they won't be lumped in as kind of "the Baltic States." We will be looking to the independence of each State.

#### *Middle East Peace Conference*

*Q.* Mr. President, you mentioned the Middle East. Have you or officials in your administration had conversations with Soviet officials? What is the prospect for convening a peace conference in October, as you had hoped?

*The President.* Well, I don't know. I can't give you the prospect of that. I don't think it's been adversely affected by anything in the Soviet Union, however. So, the ball lies in other courts, and Jim Baker has been in touch with various participants, even though he's been away. But we've been keeping up active work there, and I would hope that we'd be able to go forward with a peace conference that the entire world wants to see take place.

But I don't think it's been adversely affected, Gene [Gene Gibbons, Reuter News Service], by what's happened inside the Soviet Union. In other words, I see no force pulling away, whether it's a Republic or the center, pulling away from the constructive role the Soviets have played in this.

*Q.* Will Secretary Baker be going back on a sixth trip, sir? There's some talk—

*The President.* Well, I expect sometime, but there are no plans for it right now. I talked to him, I guess it was yesterday or the day before, but that was not discussed.

#### *Soviet Union*

*Q.* Do you see, Mr. President, Gorbachev as the best person positioned to weld the Republics together into some form of economic union?

*The President.* Well, I see him as the

President of the Soviet Union, and therefore he will be dealt with with respect. People know how I feel about him, and he's in an extraordinarily difficult position now. He has had our support. He will continue to have our support. Policy isn't based on personality; it's based on who you're dealing with.

The fact that I happen to think that he's done an awful lot for the world is out there for all to see. I think everybody in the G-7 and EC and all these groupings share my respect for what has been done. Take a look at Eastern Europe; there's a good place to start. Take a look at this hemisphere where we've had cooperation, or Angola or many other things. That's there. That's on the record. Now, how we move forward, I'll deal with him and with respect and with a certain degree of recognition that we look at some of these problems, foreign policy problems, eye to eye. How it evolves inside the Soviet Union, I once again say that's their business.

*Q.* Did he send any communications at all to you requesting that you delay your announcement on the Baltic States?

*The President.* Put it this way: Without going into the confidentiality of any communications, I think the fact that we have waited until now is not only understood but very much appreciated by him and hopefully by others in the Soviet Union. I like to think that some of these positive statements might, perhaps indirectly, but might be a result of a policy of taking a day or two more, not being stampeded into something the whole world knew we were going to do in the first place. And I've made sure that President Landsbergis and the others understand this because I wouldn't want to send a signal to them that we were weakening in our desire to have them free.

But when history is written, nobody is going to remember that we took 48 hours more than Iceland or whoever else it is. But what's going to be remembered is what happens, how does it work out. And that's what we're interested in, is seeing the Baltic States quickly get their independence and the freedom that they've long aspired to. And I think there was quite a bit of understanding amongst the Baltic leaders of

the position of the United States once I made clear to them that we were determined to see this recognition go forward.

*Q.* Mr. President, what refinements are made necessary now by the events of the last 2 weeks on the new world order in particular and U.S. foreign policy in general?

*The President.* The first part of the question?

*Q.* What refinements do you find necessary?

*The President.* Well, again I think we have to wait and see what evolves inside the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is facing enormously difficult problems, obviously, on the economic front. But I'm confident that all of the developments there which have an underpinning of freedom, the desire for independence, for self-determination, all of those things work in favor of what I referred to as a new world order. It really could be described as democracy on the move.

Now, some have a long way to go before democracy is perfected. But I think as we see this evolution, it is clearly a recognition that others, too, want to participate in this new world order. They want self-determination; they want the independence; they want the strength that freedom and democracy give them. All of that's very, very exciting. And I think the world, I think history will write this month down as one of the most important turning points towards a genuine new world order, and certainly a turning point towards freedom and democracy. There's no question about that. It's been monumental.

### *Defense Budget*

*Q.* Would you project large cuts in the defense budget, for example, though?

*The President.* No. I wouldn't predict large cuts in the defense budget. As we've said, when we sent a sound defense budget to the Hill, the United States must be ready.

The last need for a strong defense and show of muscle had nothing to do with the Soviet Union, except we got their cooperation. And I'm talking about what we were talking about a year ago: Would we have to use force to turn back aggression? And it

was only the United States that could take this leadership role. It's only the United States that had the credibility. It's only the United States, in my view, that single-handedly could express the will to go in there and do what we did, because we have such a disproportionate responsibility for the kind of military action in pursuit of freedom and against aggression that exists.

So, I think we've got to guard against the siren's call, "Now is the time to slash defense spending." I was standing here, how many days ago was it, somebody remind me, 8 or 9, when some people were saying, "Well, we ought to reverse out the defense cuts and add to our defense. Look what's happening in downtown Moscow this minute." And you heard that call go up. And so, we've got a good, sound defense program. And if there's ways that we can save money in defense, I'll be right out front. I've told the American people we're going to do it, and we have done it. We have cut defense. But I'm not going to cut into the muscle of defense of this country in a kind of an instant sense of budgetary gratification so that we can go over and help somebody when the needs aren't clear and when we have requirements that transcend historic concerns about the Soviet Union.

What I hope is that, out of all of these changes in the Soviet Union, we'll see some recognition that we're not their enemy, and they'll stop aiming missiles at the United States of America. They'll stop deploying new weapons systems. They'll stop spending billions of rubles on modernization of defense systems. When we see that, then we'll be there. And when our friends in Europe tell us that there's no threat at all of any kind to their borders from anybody, why, then we'll take a look. But I'm not going to be stampeded into what I would think of is kind of some mood of euphoria that misleads the American people about the national security interests of this country.

### *Demonstrations at Kennebunkport*

*Q.* On a slightly different subject, the AIDS activists who were demonstrating out here yesterday basically took your sugges-

tion. They were very orderly, very calm, and not as extreme as they sometimes have been. I wonder, did their message reach you at all, move you at all?

*The President.* Well, would you rephrase the message for me? We're spending \$4 billion a year on AIDS research. When you consider that on a per capita basis compared to heart disease or cancer, it's an awful lot. It's far more. So, what was the message?

*Q.* The message is that you're not acting strong enough; there's not enough leadership; there's not a coordinated, comprehensive program. They're looking for something at the Cabinet level, a lot of better coordination between the agencies. They're looking for needle programs that can be federally funded, that sort of thing.

*The President.* I'm not in favor of federally funding needle programs. I am in favor of the most efficient and effective research possible. I'm in favor of compassion. I'm in favor of behavioral change. Here's a disease where you can control its spread by your own personal behavior. You can't do that in cancer. Well, to some degree some might argue you can in heart disease if you run and stay fit.

So, if the message is compassion, I got it loud and clear. If the message is research, I would say please talk to Dr. Fauci and others at the National Institutes of Health who will tell you that we're doing pretty well in funding of research, and we've got the best scientists in the world. And I think there's more optimism in this community now, the scientific community, than there has ever been.

To the degree the message hit some little merchant in Kennebunkport on the best weekend possible and caused that person to close his doors, I got that part of it and didn't like it. To the degree they stayed within the law and weren't arrested, I support that kind of First Amendment demonstration. You know why they were here, and I know why they were here. They were here because you all are here. They were here because they could get disproportionate television coverage and, to some degree, print coverage because the President happened to be at his ancestral home, and I understand that.

There's another demonstration going on today, and I'll listen for the message. I think it has to do that we shouldn't use nuclear power. They don't need to demonstrate because I think we should use nuclear power. It's clean, and it's been safe, and we've got good science on that.

Then you had a demonstration last week. That was the one I was concerned about. Because some of the demonstrators, not those that were the organizers and the official paid organizers, but those who legitimately were out of work. That one hit home because when a family is out of work, that's one I care very much about.

So, we've had several of these demonstrations, and on each one I listen about it and get, I guess you might say, get the message. Sometimes I agree with it, and sometimes I don't. I was elected President to do what I think is best, and I learn from listening, but I don't learn from some of the excesses that take place, whether it's in front of an abortion clinic or whether it's throwing blood or interrupting somebody's right to be heard.

So, I hope I got some message out of all of this, and I've tried to define it for you.

#### *Baltic States*

*Q.* Sir, you called for the Baltics to become independent as soon as possible. Gorbachev in his public statement seemed very vague about how cumbersome this constitutional process will be, how long it will take. Has he given you any assurances in private about some of the practical and legal dynamics or complications at work here?

*The President.* Not in the last couple of weeks, Norm [Norm Sandler, United Press International], but I've been into that with him in great detail in terms of what he sees as the constitutional constraints, if you will. In spite of all that, my urging is, to anybody with authority in the Soviet Union, is: Turn the Baltics loose now, free, clear. And yes, there's going to have to be some negotiation between the center and between the States because there's an overlapping of resource responsibility: where does the energy come from; how do the steel imports go from one of the Baltics into the center. There's control of one's own terri-

tory.

One of the things that we have felt was necessary before full recognition has been control of the territory. And yet, as you see these Soviet troops leaving and you hear statements out of the Soviet Union that give you encouragement, then we feel that they're much better positioned to control their own territory totally.

There are still, as you point out, some details to be worked out however.

*Q.* Do you think and do you think he thinks at this point that this is a fait accompli, that this is going to happen and probably sooner rather than later?

*The President.* I have nothing that would be definitive on that for you, nothing that would cause me to make such a statement about what he thinks.

*Q.* What about your belief in the matter?

*The President.* Well, my belief is that it's inexorable, this quest for freedom and independence on the part of the Baltics, it's going to be a fait accompli. And it's pretty close to it now with the recognition of these different States and with the statements out of Moscow. But no, I don't think that process can be reversed if that's your question.

Last two. Two hands up.

### *Civil Conflicts*

*Q.* Mr. President, there's already some trouble between Armenia and Azerbaijan. There's some trouble in Moldavia. Are you concerned about what is brewing in the Republics between the different nationalities, and is there any role the U.S. can play in solving this?

*The President.* I don't think much of a role. Again, as I've said over and over again, many of these complex questions steeped in history are going to have to be resolved by the parties themselves.

*Q.* Do you have any plans, sir, moving south a little bit, to offer any kind of recognition to any of the Yugoslavian States? Some of the European countries have suggested that if the fighting continues they would recognize Croatia and Slovenia as separate states. Is the U.S. taking any kind of policy position there?

*The President.* No, we're not there yet.

### *Baltic States*

*Q.* How about economic aid to the Baltics, Mr. President? Now that you're recognizing their independence, these countries are going to have a hard time economically. Are you going to step in with some money?

*The President.* I think it's a little premature to say what we will or won't do. I'm sending somebody over there to survey the scene. We'll be in close touch with these leaders.

There's an awful lot of people who want aid and are entitled to aid. We are limited in what we can do. I'm not about to forget Eastern Europe. It's all very exciting what's happening in the Baltic States and in the Republics and in Moscow. But it's also very important that Czechoslovakia and Hungary and Poland succeed. And we have a commitment to them in terms of aid. And I'm not about to forget it. And so we've got to sort all of this out. But clearly we will be in a listening mode, and hopefully we can be constructive partners as these countries move towards the independence they so richly deserve and achieve the independence they so richly deserve.

Thank you all very much. End of press conference nine for the summer vacation, not counting any questions on the golf course. Is that right, Marlin? I want to be sure I'm factually correct, yes.

*Mr. Fitzwater.* That's right, sir. Yes, sir.

*The President.* Take that down, please everybody. Note it. It's a very interesting historical fact, along with the changes.

And I will say this in the end of this: I know, there's nothing like off-the-record at an official press conference, but I think, given the monumental events that have taken place—and I don't want this to be gratuitous because if I say something nice everybody out there is going to have to say something ugly to show they're not captives—I think you all have been most understanding. We're up against extraordinary events. You have been relentless in shouting about it and asking me to respond, and I understand it.

But on balance, we've had a good rest up here, and we have not been unduly infringed on in any way by outside or certainly by those who are with us here. And I go



back with a fresh perspective. Yes, I caught no fish in the river today—[laughter]—but just the quiet out there and the fact that people understand that when one's on vacation that's the way it is from time to time means a great deal to me and to my entire family.

Thank you.

*Note: The President's 102d news conference began at 10:05 a.m. at his home on Walker's Point. In the news conference, the following persons were referred to: Curtis*

*Kamman, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs; Richard T. Crowder, Under Secretary of Agriculture for International Affairs and Commodity Programs; Ronald W. Roskens, Director of the United States International Development Cooperation Agency; President Arnold Ruutel of Estonia; President Anatolijs Gorbunovs of Latvia; President Vytautas Landsbergis of Lithuania; and Anthony Fauci, Director of the Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases at the National Institutes of Health in Bethesda, MD.*

## Message on the Observance of Labor Day September 2, 1991

Each year, we Americans set aside the first Monday of September to commemorate Labor Day. On this occasion we celebrate the achievements of our Nation's workers. It is the sweat, toil, and ingenuity of individual Americans that have insured the success of our great experiment in self-government.

The United States is the country that works. We lead the way in building, innovation and technology. We've put men and women into space, and we've walked on the Moon. Our farmers feed millions of people here at home and throughout the world, and our engineers and scientists have helped to usher in the computer age. We have built a free, strong, and prosperous Republic, one that is serving as a model for emerging democracies around the globe. Indeed, many U.S. labor organizations are helping to provide technical assist-

ance, training, and other forms of aid to these countries.

We've done much, but our task will never truly be done because it is in the American spirit to reach higher, to do better. That is why we are engaged in a concerted effort to restore excellence to the Nation's schools. Our America 2000 strategy will help to ensure that our Nation's workers have the knowledge and skills, including the technical skills that are needed to enjoy full, productive lives in our increasingly competitive world.

This Labor Day, as we consider all that we have accomplished, let us rededicate ourselves to achieving the goals that still lie ahead. Let us continue to show the world how a free society works for its people. And let us remember that each of us, regardless of our occupation, has the power to contribute to a better America, a better world.

## Remarks to Students and Faculty of the Lewiston Comprehensive High School in Lewiston, Maine September 3, 1991

Thank you so much for that welcome back. Thank you all very, very much. Oh, such a nice welcome. Thank you. And thank you, Governor McKernan, for that

warm introduction. May I salute Maine's Senator, Senator Cohen, to whom I look for leadership and counsel on so many issues. And also to Congresswoman Olympia

Snowe, your Congresswoman, our friend, Barbara's and mine, the wife of the Governor, a high achiever in her own right in the House of Representatives. It's a pleasure to be sharing the podium, the dais here, with both of them.

It's my pleasure to welcome all of you back to school. *[Laughter]* I know there are some mixed emotions about that, but nevertheless. *[Laughter]* I'm going back to Washington today, and I must say with mixed feelings because we've had a fantastic time over on the coast at Kennebunkport.

I'm especially pleased, though, to be here to help my good friend, my trusted friend Governor McKernan kick off Maine 2000 which, as he said, is our crusade for excellence in education. And also I'm very pleased to share the stage with other officials here, your mayor, the superintendent, the marvelous band. It's pretty hard to, on short notice, whip up "Hail to the Chief" and do it as well as this crowd did over here. And I'm very grateful to them. And I want to thank the superintendent and this morning's host, Principal Sykes of Lewiston Comprehensive High School and Principal Susan Martin of Farwell Elementary where we just came from.

This is familiar country for Barbara and me. You remember: I'm the one that gets needed from having so many homes in my past, in our past. It was in this city, in Lewiston, that we first learned that Franklin Delano Roosevelt had died back in 1945. And that's when I was living here briefly. That's when I was flying torpedo-bombers out of what was then the Lewiston-Auburn Naval Air Station. And so I say, it's nice to be back in one of my hometowns. Thank you very much.

Let me say to our very able Secretary of Education from whom you heard a minute ago, Lamar Alexander: I promise that I will keep up with my computer lessons, but I'll need a little more time to write my report on "what I did on my summer vacation." *[Laughter]* And if you think mine's a tough assignment, how about President Gorbachev, what he did on his summer vacation. *[Laughter]*

Bar and I were talking on the way over here because we both remember our own kids going off to school many years ago.

See, we were at the elementary school here, and the kids coming in with their parents. And I asked the kids, "Well, are you a little nervous?" And some would say, "Yes." Then there would be a confident guy that, "No, no, everything's under control." But it reminded us both of our own kids going off to school many years ago. Now those kids are grown, and we watch the grandkids, 10 of them, start a new school year just like each of you behind me that are starting this school year.

And when you're growing up, the new year doesn't begin January 1st. It starts today. I saw that this morning at Farwell. And still, some or those kindergarteners seemed disappointed that I didn't bring along Arnold Schwarzenegger, the "kindergarten cop"—*[laughter]*—who I might say, parenthetically, as your teachers involve themselves in education, you've got some coaches out there that recognize the importance of physical fitness. And Arnold is doing a first-class job nationwide as head of our Council on Fitness. And as Lamar Alexander knows, these things go together. They go hand-in-hand.

Parents operate on a school calendar. Each new school year wipes the slate as clean as an unused blackboard. And we embrace the eternal hope that, this year, our children will come home with straight "A's." Education and expectation: The two go hand-in-hand.

And your world, the whole world, trembles with new possibilities. One day, we scratch out our thoughts with paper and pen; the next, it seems, we use computers and laser printers. One day, the Soviet Union, bellicose and threatening, stares at us from across the sea. But in a single dramatic week, we saw 70 years of history swept away. With the dizzying changes that surround us, history books and atlases seem to have a shorter shelf life than milk. *[Laughter]* This is our world, an exciting world. And if we are to thrive in it, we must understand history and geography, math and science, the great books and the great thoughts they contain. When challenges confront us, we must have what it takes to act.

I'm sure you all feel the opening-day jit-

ters that come with each day, each school year, opening day in each school year. But it's not just the students. Everyone must retain that sense of expectation, that feeling that the school doors open a new world of possibility for all of us.

To put it in broad perspective, the battle for the future begins right here. Not in Washington, DC, not in Congress, right here. The ringing school bell sounds an alarm, a warning to all of us who care about the state of American education. Only if we educate our sons and daughters well, will they enjoy the blessings that we simply take for granted.

Every day brings new evidence of crisis. Last week, we learned that SAT scores have fallen again. Scores on the verbal SAT have tumbled to the lowest level ever. And these numbers tell us our schools are in trouble.

But before we point fingers, assign blame, how many of us demand more of our children, ourselves, our schools? Survey after survey suggests too many parents and students remain unconcerned, unconvinced that the state of their own schools should worry them.

Sure they know something is wrong. Ask them to grade the Nation's schools, and not even one-fourth will give American schools an "A" or a "B". But you ask them to grade their own schools, and you get a very different answer. Three-fourths grade their schools as good, even excellent.

We seem to think the crisis in American education plagues some other city or State, or some other school across town, anywhere except our school. Some of us just don't want to ask tough questions and risk angering teachers and administrators. We seem to believe that while everything else in the world changes, our schools shouldn't. What was good enough for us should be good enough for our kids.

And the truth is, all our children are at risk. All of us share responsibility for the state of every school and each individual student, here in Lewiston and in a hundred thousand schools in cities and towns all across our great country. If our schools fail us, we can't blame Washington. We can't blame Augusta. We must blame ourselves for betraying our children.

If our own history and the recent events

in the Communist world teach us anything, they teach us that competition breeds excellence. The same holds true for education. That's why I and a majority of the American people favor choice in education. If we want better schools, we should set off a competition for the best schools. Get everyone involved in the struggle, and every school will improve. For far too long, we've sheltered our schools from healthy competition, and our children have paid the price. There's another benefit of choice of course. Wealthy families already enjoy choice. Poor families do not. Now, if we want to extend opportunity and improve education, we should give parents the power to choose their children's schools, public or private, and watch our schools compete to be the very best.

Almost 2 years ago, this Nation's Governors, all the Governors, and I worked together at a fantastic meeting at Charlottesville. And we established six ambitious national education goals, goals posted today right here on the walls of this gym. In April, I announced America 2000, a national education strategy to move us forward, community by community, toward those goals.

By the year 2000, we pledged to raise this Nation's graduation rate to at least 90 percent. Right here your teachers and your superintendents and your principals have done a good job, because in the past 4 years, Lewiston High has cut its dropout rate in half. And you've earned the right to be proud. But before you get too relaxed about that and get too comfortable, keep in mind that even at last year's lower rate, 4 years from now, more than 60 of the freshmen seated behind me will not be walking across that Civic Center stage to get their diploma.

By the year 2000, we've challenged ourselves to become first in the world in math and science. And right now, we stand 12th in the world in math and science, dead last among the industrialized nations. Ranking first means more than engaging in some kind of intellectual Olympics. Where we rank in the world matters here, and it should matter to you. Look at Lewiston: For most of its history, Lewiston's been a mill town producing textiles and shoes. But

times change. Mayor Howaniec tells me L.L. Bean has located its new telemarketing center in Lewiston. And today, the town's traditional industries account for only 7 percent of the local economy. Increasingly, the mothers and fathers of this freshman class here now work in new companies employing new technologies. And some have even branched off, entrepreneurs, started small businesses of their own.

And still, we can't be content to educate our children with today's businesses in mind. By the time our kids graduate from high school or college or graduate school, new industries will have sprouted up. Our economy will demand new skills twinned with old-fashioned values of hard work and a determination to become the best that each of us can be.

This country was built by generations of Americans with strong backs and the will to work from sunup to sundown. As citizens of the next century, today's ninth graders will have to use their minds to push forward the technological revolution transforming the entire world. The pioneers of the next American century must blaze new sorts of trails. They must explore the far corners of a future governed as much by microwaves and lasers as by coal or steel. Our minds have become our greatest natural resource, and the key to our Nation's success in the global marketplace lies with that old treasure, Yankee ingenuity.

But let's face it, we won't make progress if we don't know where we stand. Maine has taken a leadership role on this one. But by the year 2000, we must call on students at grades 4, 8, and 12 to demonstrate their competence in 5 core subjects. We'll have the first of these American achievement tests in place for the year 1993 to '94, in that school year. Each State must develop its own means of measuring progress, its own report card, and share the results. And that's crucial. We can't afford to treat our children's success or failure as if it were a State secret. Each student and every parent deserves to know whether they and their schools measure up to world-class standards.

School performance lags in part because we ask our teachers to do so much more than teach. We expect them to act as social workers and psychologists and family coun-

selors. I might add here, Barbara and I worry about the disintegration of the American family. Every kid ought to have somebody that knows his name, cares about him. But it often falls to the role of the teacher to love that kid, hug that kid. The teachers do an awful lot.

At the same time, we ask too little of our students. We shy away from demanding excellence and accountability. As a Nation, we sometimes seem more worried about how our students feel than what they learn. And that's got to change. Graduation means more than a diploma. Our kids deserve an education.

And the only way that this will happen is if all of us, all of us, teachers, students, parents, and communities, join in this national crusade for excellence in education. Fundamentally, that's what America 2000, Maine 2000 is all about.

Our first three goals raise expectations and measure results. Our last three goals complete the challenge: By the year 2000, every American child should start school ready to learn. Every American adult should be literate. And every American school must be free from drugs and violence.

I saw a bus as we drove over to the elementary school advocating Head Start. And here in Lewiston, some of today's new freshmen participated in Head Start, a proven program that I've urged Congress to open up to thousands more preschool children. In the battle against illegal drugs, Lewiston schools have taken the lead. I can't tell you how exciting it was to see the D.A.R.E., D-A-R-E, kids out there at the elementary school. And there are other drug prevention programs, beginning in elementary school. You've taken the lead. And tonight, I'm told that right here at Lewiston High, a new school year begins for adults learning how to read, studying for their GED, living proof that it is never too late to learn.

So far, I've spoken about our schools, about the revolution in American education that must take place within these walls. But the revolution can neither begin nor end here. Let me use a "word problem" to show you why. Assume that a child goes to

school from kindergarten to 12th grade, and never misses a day. Subtract summers and weekends, all the hours before and after school. How much time do our children spend in classrooms?

The answer may surprise you. It is 9 percent; one-eleventh of their time. They spend the rest of their lives elsewhere, at home, playing with friends, or in some shopping mall.

But what happens in that 91 percent makes all the difference in the world. We cannot blame the schools alone for that dismal decline in SAT verbal scores. Your teachers are working hard. The drop shows that we haven't taken the time to read to our kids, to talk with them, to teach them the art of communication, how to think, how to write, how to speak clearly.

What happens at home really matters. And when our kids come home from school, do they pick up a book, or do they sit glued to the tube watching music videos? Parents, don't make the mistake of thinking your kids only learn from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. You are and always will be their first teachers.

Here's another shocking number. Children in one study said the average parent spends just 15 minutes a day, 15 minutes, in conversation with them. Most people spend that much time on coffee break.

The freshmen here today may think they're a bit old to have their homework checked. And maybe as parents, certainly this President will admit, we can't keep up with the latest in computer technology. But that doesn't mean we can't help. The class of '95 is old enough to sit down, to watch the evening news, talk with their parents about what's going on in the world, to take interests, opinions, and ideas seriously.

But the future of American education depends on more than what happens in the classroom or around the kitchen table. Ask yourselves: In our communities, do we value education and intellect? In the working world, do we reward employees who go back to school, who learn new skills? Every member of the community must play a role in this revolution.

And so parents, don't be a stranger to your child's school. Visit the classroom. Talk to the principal. Get to know those teachers. Make it your business to find out

whether your child's school is drug-free. And talk to your school board about school choice, about the curriculum, about ways to put your schools to use year round. But you don't have to have kids in school to have a stake in what happens in the classroom. For the older folks among us, don't complain about "kids today" or that the neighborhood "isn't what it used to be." Get active in the community. Go into your schools. See what you can do to help some kid or help your community.

And the same goes for local business leaders. Get involved, not just in word but in deed. Think of it as community service, giving something back to this wonderful community, to the community your company calls home. Or think of it in terms of just plain sound business, cultivating the kind of future employees your company needs in order to keep ahead. But above all, act. Do something. Enlist in this great crusade. And that really is the idea behind what we call America 2000 communities, States, cities, and towns that recognize the school as the living center of the community.

Today, the revolution has begun, in Colorado, Oregon, in Tulsa, and in Memphis. And today I'm proud to say, right here in Lewiston and in every corner of the State of Maine, it's begun. Together, we must ignite a renaissance in American education, a revolution that will make this Nation every bit the leader in the century ahead that it has been since 1776.

Once again, my heartfelt thanks to you for this warm welcome, as all across this country we begin another school year. And may God bless the United States of America.

Thank you very, very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 9:50 a.m. in the school gymnasium. In his remarks, he referred to James Howaniec, mayor of Lewiston; Robert Connors, superintendent of schools; Richard Sykes, principal of Lewiston Comprehensive High School; and Arnold Schwarzenegger, Chairman of the President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports. Prior to his remarks, the President met with students and faculty at Farwell Elementary School.*

## Exchange With Reporters Prior to a Cabinet Meeting September 4, 1991

### *Supreme Court Nominee*

*Q.* Mr. President, did you know the conservatives were going to use personality attacks in their Thomas ads?

*The President.* We're not going to take questions, but on that one I will simply say that the White House properly and vigorously spoke out against the ad. I think I'd be very careful about saying "the conservatives," you know, in the kind of broad context. But there was one ad that was offensive, and it was promptly and quickly condemned. It doesn't help in my view. Clarence Thomas himself spoke on that and spoke very clearly on that. So, you see these things from time to time that are totally counterproductive on all sides of the political spectrum. That one was not a good ad.

*Q.* Would you urge them to not run it?

*The President.* Yes, I'd urge them to not run it.

*Q.* Are you afraid that there may be some repercussions because of that?

*The President.* Well, I think the case for Clarence Thomas is so strong that it's not going to be determined by an ad from the left, a group speaking out from the left, and plenty of them have, political left in this country, nor an ill-chosen ad from the right. The case is too good for him. So, I don't

have that fear, but I just don't think it contributes. If the hope was to contribute something positive to his confirmation, in my view that's not the way you go about it.

*Q.* What do you think was their motivation?

*The President.* I'm not in the analysis business. We're trying to have a Cabinet meeting, but I can understand your interest in all of that. But thank you very much.

### *Cabinet Meeting*

*Q.* What are you going to talk about at the Cabinet meeting?

*The President.* Well, we're going to talk about the Soviet Union; the domestic agenda; the America 2000 and how everyone here will pitch in on that with a lot of enthusiasm—that's our educational program; the budget, 1993. And then we'll have what they call a general discussion. That's item six here. [*Laughter*] We've got a lot scheduled—take 20 minutes.

*Q.* Are you sending Baker to Moscow?

*The President.* He will be available to respond for his travels. [*Laughter*]

*Note: The exchange began at 10:04 a.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. In the exchange, the President referred to Secretary of State James A. Baker III.*

## Remarks During the America 2000 Conference Call September 4, 1991

*Secretary Alexander.* Good morning and welcome to everyone around the Nation listening in on the America 2000 daily conference call. This is Secretary of Education Lamar Alexander in Washington, DC.

This is our first America 2000 daily conference call. It helps us enable Americans changing our education system to share their progress with one another. Today we're enormously honored to have with us President Bush, who yesterday helped Gov-

ernor McKernan kick off Maine 2000, part of the President's and the Governors' State-by-State strategy to reach the six national education goals.

Good morning, Mr. President, and thank you very much for being here.

*The President.* Listen, I'm delighted to be here and delighted to be on the line not only with you, Secretary, but with Governor Don Schaefer and with Governor Jock McKernan. And yes, we did have a good

day yesterday in Maine as Maine kicked off its Maine 2000. We were in Lewiston. A lot of discussion with teachers, family, a little emphasis on how family can participate more.

And Governor McKernan, Jock, maybe you'd want to pitch in now because I thought it was a very worthwhile day.

*Governor McKernan.* Well, Mr. President, I want to thank you for everything you've done to keep education on the front burner. I can tell you that your appearance in Lewiston and the America 2000 and now Maine 2000 effort is going to be the shot in the arm that I think we need if we are really going to continue the momentum to meet the national education goals that have been determined by you and your office and the Governors, starting with that historic summit in Charlottesville.

I can tell you that when the first assessment of how the Nation is doing comes out on September 30th, that in order to continue the momentum going, we intend to have Maine Education Day on October 1st to discuss exactly what the meaning is of the results that we've found. And I am convinced the only way that we're going to be successful in doing what I know you believe has to be done in education is with your involvement.

So, I just want to say to you that we certainly appreciated your being here in Maine. Everyone is, even today, still so excited about it, and they believe that you really are the Education President.

*The President.* We're going to stay with this. Thanks, Jock. Now here's Lamar again.

*Secretary Alexander.* Thanks, Jock. Yesterday was a great day.

Mr. President, you know there are other States, maybe a dozen others, that are getting ready to launch their efforts to meet the national education goals. One of them is Maryland, and Governor Don Schaefer is on the line from Annapolis.

*Governor Schaefer.* Well, Lamar, thank you very much. I'm very honored to be on with you and the President. Tomorrow we have a great honor: Mrs. Bush is coming to help us at Worthington Elementary School in Ellicott City to kick off Maryland's 2000. So, we're pretty good, too.

You said something, Mr. President, I

liked, that we must blame ourselves for bad schools and not point the finger at everyone else. And I think it actually starts in the family, if we can get the parents really, really involved in education, and if we can support the teachers, and we put some more money in.

As you know, I've supported your goals. And I've taken two of your goals as my own personal goals, that is, making schools drug free and preparing all children for schools before they start in. I think that's very important. Give them at least an equal opportunity when they do enter school, that everyone starts equal.

And we are going to, of course, on November 12th issue a report card for every Maryland school showing performance. One of the things that we want to do and—we've had Schools for Success, we're in our second year—and our goals are: Make schools more accountable; improve student performance; and of course, make students more prepared when they get out into the job market, that they're prepared to accept a job.

But I want to commend you. I think you are doing a superb job. I want to thank you very much for emphasis on education. It really means an awful lot to all of us to know the President and that great Secretary you've got over there are supporting us.

*The President.* Well, Don, we're delighted you're involved. I might say to those who are listening that might not be as familiar with this program, that we are totally determined to keep this on a nonpartisan basis. We have to do that in order to succeed. You and I have talked about this—I think we touched on it up at Camp David before Lamar was even on board—of the importance of family involvement, the things you mentioned here, certainly the drug-free aspect. So, I just wanted to pledge to you that we're approaching it in that manner.

Be nice to my wife tomorrow because I don't want her coming home grumpy. She's your campaign manager anyway, so treat her with care. And also, I know some of our Secretaries are going to be over there, I think Lou Sullivan and Jim Watkins; Bill Reilly. So you've got a lot of our—Dave

Kearns is going—a lot of our first team. And so we're looking forward to this, too. Please, hang in there, and keep up your leadership role. We need you.

*Governor Schaefer.* Thank you, Mr. President. We will. And I'm glad Mr. Reilly's coming. He's done a great job in the environment. He gets a lot of criticism, but I think he's coming up with the right things on a lot of areas.

Mrs. Bush is a great goodwill ambassador. I'll tell you, everywhere she goes she just spreads joy and happiness. And people have great confidence in her. So, we're very pleased that she's coming with us.

*The President.* Well, she was with us with Jock up there in Maine yesterday too. And I felt funny, my being the one to read to the kids, because she's been doing that literally and without a lot of PR on it all the way, all along here for the last 10 years or so. So, she'll do more. And I'd say to you, Jock, or to Don and others that may be listening, she wants to give her time to this. She's committed. And so call on her, whether it's in a formal thing like tomorrow's opening or something else, because really this is her life. This is her commitment. So—

*Governor Schaefer.* You know, Mr. President, she did that in Baltimore City a number of years ago when you were Vice President. She came to Baltimore City on a literacy program, and people just liked her then. But she was very strong on literacy at that time.

*The President.* Great.

*Governor McKernan.* Mr. President, as a matter of fact, she has been in Maine, as you well know, helping with literacy as well. And the combination of both of you, as I said yesterday, really does give a shot in the arm to what I think we all realize is so important, and that's lifelong learning.

I thought also that it was a wonderful division of labor, the way you read the first part of that story to those kindergarten kids and you let her read the—

*The President.* Big words in there. Now listen, here's Lamar to close this thing off. And thank you all very, very much and everybody else that tuned in here. This is the first of what will be many such conference calls, and I hope by the time they're all finished that the message will be in every corner of our great country.

Now, Lamar, Secretary, all yours.

*Secretary Alexander.* Thank you, Mr. President. Thank you, Governors. And in addition to the Cabinet members who will be with Mrs. Bush tomorrow in Maryland, four Cabinet members, Secretaries Kemp and Madigan and Lynn Martin from Labor, Sam Skinner from Transportation, and I will be going to Omaha to kick off Nebraska 2000 and Omaha 2000 with Governor Ben Nelson and Mayor Morgan. So things are moving.

Thank you very much, Mr. President, Governor McKernan, Governor Schaefer. The American 2000 daily conference call happens every day at this time, Monday through Friday. I hope you'll listen in tomorrow and learn more about Americans changing schools, community by community, school by school.

*The President.* Over and out, and many thanks.

*Governor Schaefer.* Thank you.

*Governor McKernan.* Thank you.

*Note: The President spoke at 11:58 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. In these remarks, the following persons were referred to: David T. Kearns, Deputy Secretary of Education; and P.J. Morgan, mayor of Omaha, NE.*

## Appointment of Constance Horner as Assistant to the President and Director of Presidential Personnel September 4, 1991

The President today announced the appointment of Constance Horner as Assistant

to the President and Director of Presidential Personnel at the White House. She



would succeed Charles Untermeyer.

Since 1990 Mrs. Horner has served as Deputy Secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services. Prior to this, Mrs. Horner served as Director of the U.S. Office of Personnel Management, 1985–1990; Associate Director of the Office of Management and Budget, 1983–1985; Director of VISTA and Acting Associate Director of ACTION, 1982–1983; and Deputy Assistant Director for Policy and Planning, 1981–1982. She was also appointed a

member of the Commission on White House Fellowships and the Commission on Executive Exchange.

Mrs. Horner is a fellow of the National Academy of Public Administration. She received a bachelor of arts degree in English literature from the University of Pennsylvania and a master of arts degree from the University of Chicago. She was born February 24, 1942, in Summit, NJ. She is married, has two children, and resides in the District of Columbia.

## **Nomination of Edward Gibson Lanpher To Be United States Ambassador to Zimbabwe**

*September 4, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Edward Gibson Lanpher, of the District of Columbia, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Zimbabwe. He would succeed J. Steven Rhodes.

Currently Mr. Lanpher is serving as deputy chief of mission of the American Embassy, Canberra, Australia. He served as Director of the Office of Southern African

Affairs at the Department of State, 1986–1989; deputy chief of mission for the American Embassy, Harare, Zimbabwe, 1982–1986. He served as political officer in the American Embassy, London, 1979–1982; legislative management officer in the Office of Congressional Relations at the Department of State, 1977–1979.

Mr. Lanpher graduated from Brown University (B.A., 1966). He was born December 8, 1942, in Richmond, VA. He is married, has three children, and resides in Australia.

## **Appointment of J. French Hill as Special Assistant to the President and Executive Secretary to the Economic Policy Council**

*September 4, 1991*

The President today announced the appointment of J. French Hill, of Texas, as Special Assistant to the President and Executive Secretary to the Economic Policy Council.

Since May 1989 Mr. Hill has served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Corporate Finance. From 1984 to 1989, he served with the Mason Best Co. and was named director in 1988. From September 1982 to October 1984, he served as legislative assistant to U.S. Senator John Tower

and as assistant to the chairman on a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs. From 1979 to 1982, Mr. Hill was a banking officer for Interfirst Bank-Dallas and the senior financial analyst in the planning and investment group for the bank's holding company.

Mr. Hill graduated from Vanderbilt University in 1979 and received a degree in economics. He is married to the former Martha McKenzie of Dallas, TX.

## Nomination of John F.W. Rogers To Be an Under Secretary of State *September 4, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate John F.W. Rogers, of New York, to be Under Secretary of State for Management. He would succeed Ivan Selin.

Currently Mr. Rogers is executive vice president for operations of the Oliver Carr Company, 1988 to present. Prior to this, Mr. Rogers served as Assistant Secretary of

the Treasury for Management (1985–1987) and Assistant to the President for Management (1981–1985).

Mr. Rogers graduated from George Washington University (B.A., 1978). Mr. Rogers was born April 15, 1956, in Seneca Falls, NY, and resides in Washington, DC.

## Statement Announcing the Resignation of Paul Coverdell as Director of the Peace Corps *September 4, 1991*

I have today regretfully accepted the resignation of Paul Coverdell as Director of the Peace Corps of the United States, effective October 1, 1991.

During Paul's tenure as Director, exciting things have happened around the globe. The Peace Corps entry into emerging democracies around the world has been an important part of America's effort to assist newly freed people everywhere. I am proud of the fact that the Peace Corps has sent volunteers to more new countries during the last 2 years than during the previous two decades. I join the people of these nations in thanking him and the Peace Corps for their timely and able assistance.

I am also proud of his efforts to bring to the American classroom the Peace Corps' knowledge of the world through programs like World Wise Schools and the Peace Corps Fellows/USA. The World Wise

Schools program has exposed over 60,000 American students to the international experiences of Peace Corps volunteers stationed throughout the world. The Fellows/USA program places returned Peace Corps volunteers in at-risk schools while they pursue master's degrees in education, benefiting both the volunteers and the students. These programs are excellent uses of the many talents of current and returned volunteers.

I salute Paul's efforts to energize the Peace Corps by recruiting a wider representation of volunteers from all backgrounds and all regions of the country. He has worked hard to use his private sector experience to further improve the Peace Corps management systems, and I am grateful for his dedicated service to the Peace Corps and to this country. Both Barbara and I appreciate Paul's friendship and wish Nancy and him the best.

## Message on the Observance of Rosh Hashanah, 1991 *September 5, 1991*

The sounding of the shofar heralds the new year 5752 and calls Jews everywhere to examine their lives: "Awake, you sleepers, and ponder your deeds; remember your

Creator, forsake your evil ways, and return to God!" These words of Maimonides describe the self-reflection that begins on Rosh Hashanah and continues through ten

days of penitence to Yom Kippur. To prepare for this concluding Day of Atonement, the faithful seek reconciliation with the Almighty and reaffirm their commitment to charity and goodness.

On the occasion of the High Holy Days, I offer best wishes to American Jews and to our Jewish friends throughout the world. May the spirit of reconciliation and renewal that characterizes this period remind all Americans of our responsibilities toward our families, friends, and neighbors. May it also

strengthen our mutual commitment to peace among nations. Indeed, as the eyes of the Diaspora are turned to Israel, let us pray that peoples throughout the world might be reconciled in the spirit of charity, forgiveness, and renewal.

Barbara joins me in sending our best wishes to Jews everywhere for the year 5752, and in saying, once again, L'Shana Tova Tekateivu—may you be inscribed in the Book of Life for a good year.

GEORGE BUSH

## Statement by Deputy Press Secretary Popadiuk on the Cyprus Conflict

*September 6, 1991*

The President welcomes U.N. Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar's statement of September 5 regarding prospects for a high-level meeting this month on the Cyprus issue. He strongly endorses the Secretary-General's aim to hold such a meeting to resolve what has been a most difficult and stubborn problem between good friends of the United States. These are times of momentous change and also times of great opportunity. In this spirit, the Secretary-General's announcement reflects the fact that

all of the parties involved realize that a lasting settlement may be within their grasp. Difficult issues remain. The President encourages all of the parties to continue the hard work and statesmanship that have brought them this far so that the remaining obstacles can be overcome. The United States remains in close contact with all the parties and is prepared to assist the Secretary-General in whatever way he sees fit to help ensure the success of this endeavor.

## Remarks to the National Association of Towns and Townships

*September 6, 1991*

Please be seated, and thank you, Butch, for that introduction. I salute the president of NATAT. And it's a pleasure to have this opportunity to address the board of directors and all the members or many of the members, those of you here today, of the National Association of Towns and Townships. I love that town meeting concept. At the outset, let me simply thank those who were responsible for the lovely quilt that was left for me here in the holding room. I'm just sorry that Barbara is not here to revel in it already, but I guarantee you she'll see it when I get back to the White

House. *[Laughter]*

You know, this week doesn't mark the end of summer just for schoolchildren across the country. And I'm back at my desk, too. But I won't bore you with a speech titled "What I did on my summer vacation." *[Laughter]* Okay though, I will tell you my reaction when I received a phone call on August 19th saying, "It's a crisis!" I responded, "Look, I've already heard enough about Barbara's golf game." *[Laughter]* Some of you may have remembered the way I characterized her golf

game, and I'm still living it down. [*Laughter*]

But thank you for giving me this chance to meet with you today. You know, Ike, President Eisenhower, talked of "the great and priceless privilege of being raised in a small town." I understand some of that because I, too, had that privilege. The towns of my youth and of my children's youth were all very different from each other, from the tree-lined streets of Greenwich, Connecticut, to the salt air of little Kennebunkport, to the dusty oil-patch towns of Odessa, Texas, and Midland, Texas. But they also had much in common, the same thing that I think this meeting, all the people here, have in common. Our towns nurture dreams, and they nourish values.

Think of the ideals of integrity, hard work, and caring for others instilled in a young boy growing up in Pinpoint, Georgia. Today, that man stands ready to serve on the highest court in this land. Clarence Thomas embodies the virtues America and all her towns and townships hold dear. Just before coming over here, I just had a cup of coffee with Clarence, with Judge Thomas. And I am more convinced than ever that I have appointed the right man for the Supreme Court. And I expect and hope that he will be confirmed.

I am delighted to be here with people from the towns that really form this Nation's backbone. You know what Thomas Jefferson meant when he said American townships "have proved themselves the wisest invention ever devised by the wit of man for the perfect exercise of self-government and its preservation."

You understand the problems that challenge our country. You understand them not from a bureaucrat's safe distance but from the embattled position of public servants whose neighbors call to complain about services or the lack thereof. And you understand the real basics of local government, and that's why you are our country's future and our country's hope.

Our domestic policy begins with you, the people of this land. Here in Washington and in the States, politicians and officials have learned that we can't just hurl money at problems. We take enough of people's money as it is. And if we want to do our

jobs, we must make better use of the vast sums already at our disposal. More fundamentally, we must recognize the genius of our own people. And we must trust them and trust you to find answers that do good things to make America work. We must make our government more responsive, more local. And we must learn from the real professionals, you, the NATAT representatives. You're the voice of smalltown America.

And that's a considerable voice. I'm not sure many in the country understand this. That is a considerable voice, of course. Eight of ten, eight of ten governmental bodies in this Nation represent communities with 5,000 or fewer residents. And you will have to help others. The examples you set will help teach the other 20 percent how, in these difficult times, that they can cope and innovate and make ends meet.

Your strengths begin with your commitment to the American idea of civic responsibility. Many of you are part-time officials, I'm told, volunteers. And you give your time to your communities. You emphasize creativity and innovation, what folks in my birthplace of Milton, Massachusetts, referred to as old-fashioned Yankee ingenuity. And sometimes you exhaust your ingenuity just trying to escape the regulatory handcuffs that are placed upon you by Federal and State mandates.

And I am concerned about those mandates. The President simply can't wave a wand, given our Federal system, given our system of Congress and the executive branch, can't wave a wand to correct all these things. But I believe strongly in the importance of cooperation among all levels of government. Our administration also remains committed to the commonsense approach of the Regulatory Flexibility Act, one that lets you use your own common sense to solve your own problems. And I will direct Federal departments and agencies to follow the spirit and the letter of that law.

Speaking of creativity, I want to add my congratulations to Bill Herman of Weare, New Hampshire. Bill won your Grassroots Government Leadership Award by producing ideas for cutting costs without slashing

services. Now, maybe I should call on him—*[laughter]*—I'd like him to help me solve one big problem, because when I asked my staff how we can improve our crisis management, they said, "How about a calendar that doesn't have August on it?" *[Laughter]* Think back a year, and then look at this August, and you'll know what I'm talking about. *[Laughter]*

All of you here have helped develop public-private partnerships, a crucial concept as we gear up for the unique problems of the 21st century. The alliance between your National Center for Small Communities and private sector sources like the Kellogg Foundation sets an example for others to follow.

Because of your strengths, your successes, and your leadership, today I ask you to lead one of our greatest battles: making our Nation's schools the world's best.

You know, our administration introduced an education strategy 5 months ago. We call it America 2000, and it involves four different tracks: accountable schools for today—and get that word "accountable"—accountable schools for today; a new generation of schools for tomorrow; a Nation of students committed to a lifetime of education; and fourth, communities where learning can happen.

Now, you play a critical role in making that entire strategy work, and especially track four: building communities that value, support, encourage, and advance education. It's no coincidence that we historically have entrusted this fundamental responsibility, education, to communities. And we now call upon you to enlist in our national crusade to improve education community by community.

First, let's adopt the education goals established 18 months ago following that Charlottesville education summit with the Nation's Governors. Then you can begin to develop a community plan to reach the goals, to design a report card to measure your progress, and to create your own break-the-mold school, one that builds upon your unique strengths and takes into account your special needs and circumstances.

We're talking about a revolution. We're talking about communities literally starting from scratch and redesigning schools that

can cope and meet these broad goals that have been set out. It's not going to be done from the center. The Department of Education can help, State education associations can help, teachers' unions can help, but it can't be done there. It's got to be done at the local level. And as we immerse ourselves in the challenges of the nineties, our administration also will look to you for leadership in other areas.

For instance, Congress is now debating, or will soon be again debating the 5-year reauthorization of the Nation's surface transportation system. Now, we need your help in getting a system that spends money to address needs and not just support politicians' careers. We've called in our bill for increased investment in infrastructure. Some think spending a lot of money is the only answer. Not so; we need more sensible programs. More than half of all congressionally mandated transportation projects don't even show up on State priority lists. You might like some of the programs your Member of Congress slips into legislation. But in the end, Congress usurps local power for its own purposes, making decisions in Washington that affect the lives and the pocketbooks of people in Berea, Kentucky, or Mount Wolf, Pennsylvania.

So, if Congress sends me a transportation bill with another tax, with a gasoline tax on it, I'm going to veto it. We must not let Congress raise the gas tax for projects that towns don't even need. And we won't let it raise a tax that will do nothing except squeeze the local economies and lighten the workers' already-thin pocketbooks. Now, our highway bill, my highway bill, will invest in infrastructure without raising taxes or busting those budget caps, meaningful controls on spending now placed upon the Congress of the United States.

We believe in letting communities shape their own futures, and this belief lies at the heart of our Community Opportunity Act. This proposal invites communities to think of new ways to solve old problems, and it lets all of us adopt a more flexible approach to domestic social programs. You see, it puts the emphasis on results and not on procedures cooked up back here in Washington, DC. After all, when someone wants food or

shelter or schooling, what's more important, the service or the Government paperwork?

And this commonsense approach, giving local governments greater flexibility, led us to propose turning over \$15 billion in so-called Federal money to the States, no strings attached. And it was paid for under our proposals. This initiative will give decision-making power to the people whose lives those decisions will affect. And quite simply, that's the fundamental principle on which our administration functions.

This turnover proposal and the act itself grow out of the basic assumption that government assistance programs should lead people to self-sufficiency. There's no better way to do this than by rebuilding those programs from the bottom up based on plans developed right at your level, right at the community level.

I talked about Jefferson earlier, and if we want to remain true to the spirit of his philosophy, we must empower communities to control their own futures. Our domestic policy isn't a spending policy; it's designed to increase personal freedom and to produce results, not just a lot of expensive rhetoric. And this is the way to approach all of this country's challenges. It's an extraordinary opportunity, and it's essential that we get it enacted and in use.

So, I wanted to come over here and thank you, the leaders of this organization, all attending this conference, for your work and really for the example you set for so

much of America. I expect it's hard for some of you to realize that when it's all put together, you really are setting an example for this country. Even with whatever problems our towns may face, I know that we'd all agree with writer Catherine Sedgwick, who loved her town of Stockbridge, Massachusetts. And someone once told her that she spoke about Stockbridge as if it were heaven. "Well," she replied, "I expect no very violent transition." [Laughter]

So, not only are you solving problems, but let me just end by another thing that is on my mind. I am concerned as President of this country about the pressures on family. I am concerned as I see family values sublimated. I am concerned as I see the breakup of many families. And somehow I have the feeling that you, the representatives in NATAT, understand what I'm talking about here. I think you in your work, keeping that government, keeping the solutions close to the people, are really doing something constructive about family values, about strengthening family in these times when the families across our country are under an awful lot of strain.

So, good luck to you, all of you, and may God bless the towns to which you return. Thank you very, very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 10:05 a.m. in the Regency Ballroom of the Hyatt Regency Hotel, Capitol Hill. In his remarks, he referred to Lothar "Butch" Wolter, Jr., president of the association.*

## Exchange With Reporters Prior to a Meeting With Secretary of State Baker

September 6, 1991

Q. Good morning, Mr. President. Good morning, Mr. Secretary.

*The President.* Good morning, Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International]; enjoyed seeing you here today, and I noticed how President Carter saluted you yesterday. I thought that was very nice.

Q. I didn't think so. [Laughter]

*The President.* Let me just make a couple

of comments, and then I'll take a couple of questions. But we're having a discussion here with the Secretary of State and the others that you see here.

And I have asked the Secretary to undertake a very important mission, yet another one. This one will take him to the Soviet Union, including stops in the Baltics, among others. And then, a very important part of

this is his trip back to the Middle East. It is very, very important, matters having come this far, that we do everything we can to give peace a chance.

And with that in mind, I am going to ask every single Member of Congress to defer, just for 120 days, consideration of this absorption aid package. We're interested in absorption aid; we take pride in the fact we've taken the leadership role in refugees coming, people coming to the Soviet Union [Israel]. But it is in the best interest of the peace process and of peace itself that consideration of this absorption aid question for Israel be deferred for simply 120 days.

I think the American people will strongly support me in this, and I am going to make this position as clear as I can to every single Member of the Congress and to the American people because we worked very diligently and many countries have, and Israel has as well as some of these Arab States, to come together at a peace conference. And this debate will take place later on. It should take place, but this is not the time for a debate that can be misunderstood, a debate that can divide.

So, my pitch that the Secretary has already made in two very friendly conversations with Prime Minister Shamir is: Let's defer it. The debate's going to be lively, the debate will be upcoming, but let's wait 120 days so we will take no chance of unraveling a peace process that offers us the best hope for peace in decades, literally decades. And I feel very, very strongly about it.

I support those Senators and others in the Congress that have already taken a position on deferment. I think of Senator Leahy, for example, who has a very important role in all of this. And his constructive leadership, I think, will be remembered by all, on all sides of this question, that want peace. And there's others. The Secretary's talked to a lot of the leadership, and I'll be following up now with many calls because we want to give peace a chance.

#### *Loan Guarantees for Israel*

*Q.* What does Shamir say about this?

*The President.* Well, the Secretary's had two good talks. At this juncture I gather he wants to go forward. But as President of the United States I'm taking the strong recom-

mendation—and strongly approve of it, incidentally—but from the Secretary of State that this be deferred. And I think farsighted Members of Congress understand exactly why it should be deferred. We don't need an acrimonious debate just as we're about to get this peace conference convened.

*Q.* Mr. Bush, would you want the deferment if Israel had changed its housing, its settlement policy? If they were no longer putting up housing in the settlements, would you feel freer to go ahead with the—

*The President.* Our settlement policy is well-known. I don't want to have any debate on this question now. Everybody knows the United States policy about settlements, and that policy is not going to change. And I must do a better job convincing the people here and in Israel that we are correct on this, with our underlying desire for peace. But it isn't a question of that. My point here is: Defer discussion on all these matters now, and let's go to this conference that's just about put together. And I'm convinced that the debate we're talking about would be counterproductive to peace.

We've worked very, very hard. Everyone knows of our special and friendly relationship with Israel, and I feel strongly about that in my heart, but I know it is in the interest of world peace that this be deferred.

*Q.* How are you going—with Soviet participation as you plan the conference? Are you going to just go it alone?

*The President.* Well, the Secretary will be in Moscow; that will be discussed. But the Soviets have played a very constructive role in all of this, and I see no reason that any of these changes that have taken place inside the Soviet Union will change that. I think they want to see it go forward.

*Q.* Mr. President, on the loan guarantees, are you convinced that the Israelis will be willing to go along with the peace conference if this is put on hold?

*The President.* Well, I'm convinced that they've already indicated a willingness to go forward without conditions of that nature, and I see no reason that they'd change that right now. It would be counterproductive.

Look, we all know the passions on both sides, and this is no time to inflame the passions on both sides. Israel's stated its position, but there was never any linkage on their part, and we're trying to avoid linkage on our part.

*Q.* You seem certain there will be a conference.

*The President.* I'm very hopeful there will. But part of the Secretary's mission is to do everything we can to ensure there will be a conference. Look, this is one the whole world wants to see happen. This isn't just American foreign policy; everybody wants this to take place. And I would again salute Secretary Baker and Larry Eagleburger and everybody that's worked on this, here at the White House also.

But we've come a long, long way. I remember when the whole prospects for this conference were being written off a few months ago, and now people are saying we've got a chance. And let's not blow it by having an acrimonious debate that's going to be read, not just in the States but around the world, as one way or another. We don't need it. We don't need that ingredient clouding the waters just at a time the waters are beginning to clear.

*Q.* And you think Congress will respect your request for the delay?

*The President.* I'm going to fight for it because I think this is what the American people want. And I'm going to do absolutely everything I can to back those Members of the United States Congress who are for-

ward-looking in their desire to see peace.

*Q.* Are there assurances that Congress will go ahead already?

*The President.* We're going to work hard on them, and we'll see. But I think they should. I think that's what—again, I keep saying it—is in the best interest of peace. And I think all of them want to give peace a chance, yes.

*Secretary Baker.* Give peace a chance; 120 days, that's all the President's asking for, 120 days.

*Q.* Is it still realistic to shoot for an October conference, do you think?

*The President.* We'll see. You know, the U.S. position is we'd like to have had it long before now. But Jim will go over there to the Middle East; he'll be discussing that. We'll have more to say about that later on.

Thank you all very much.

*Q.* Do you have a date in mind for the—are you shooting for any—

*The President.* I'll let the Secretary take those questions later. Probably after he's been there would be a better time to answer that.

Thank you all. News, news, news, we've got a lot of news.

*Note: The exchange began at 11:16 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. The following persons were referred to in the exchange: former President Jimmy Carter, who had met with President Bush the previous evening; Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir of Israel; and Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger.*

## Appointment of C. Thomas Burke as Deputy Commissioner of the Commission for the Study of Alternatives to the Panama Canal September 6, 1991

The President today announced his intention to appoint C. Thomas Burke, of New York, to be Deputy Commissioner of the Commission for the Study of Alternatives to the Panama Canal. He would succeed J. Michael Farrell.

Currently Mr. Burke is executive vice president and chief executive officer of

Meehan Overseas Terminal in Albany, NY. Prior to this he was executive director of Port Everglades in New York.

Mr. Burke graduated from Northeastern University (A.B.A., 1957) and Blackstone School of Law-Chicago (L.L.B., 1968). He was born August 30, 1933, in Albany, NY. He resides in Saratoga Springs, NY.



## Appointment of Timothy J. McBride as Deputy Assistant to the President and Executive Assistant to the White House Chief of Staff *September 6, 1991*

The President today announced the appointment of Timothy J. McBride, Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Trade Development, to be Deputy Assistant to the President and Executive Assistant to the Chief of Staff at the White House. He would succeed Edward Rogers, Jr.

Currently Mr. McBride is Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Trade Development, 1990–present. Prior to this Mr. McBride has served as Special Assistant to the President of the United States, 1989–1990; personal aide to the Vice President of the United

States, 1985–1989; Deputy Director of the Vice Presidential Advance Office, 1985; consultant to the Republican National Convention Arrangements Committee in Dallas, TX, 1984; and a small business management consultant in Coral Springs, FL, 1982–1984.

Mr. McBride graduated from Eastern Michigan University (B.B.A., 1982). He was born October 10, 1958, and is a native of Michigan. Mr. McBride resides in Alexandria, VA.

## Address to the Nation on the Supreme Court Nomination of Clarence Thomas *September 6, 1991*

### *My fellow Americans:*

I would like to talk today about opportunity in America. Our land, unique among all nations, grew out of high ideals, the most precious of which is that every man and woman deserves a chance to go as far as their abilities and hard work will take them, that all deserve to live free from the bonds of prejudice and arbitrary limitation.

For more than two centuries our national soul, the U.S. Constitution, has given life to the values of equality before the law. While people try from time to time to bury that spirit beneath an avalanche of lawsuits, technicalities, and decrees, every American knows that profound notions of fairness, justice, equality, and civility define us and bind us. Not every American can recite the Constitution, but most of us can feel it. We feel it because Americans, through their daily deeds, give real life to American principles.

Next week, the Senate will begin hearings about a man whose life is a story of opportunity: Judge Clarence Thomas, my nominee to serve on the United States Supreme Court. Most of you have heard his story,

how Clarence Thomas was raised in Pinpoint, Georgia, by stern and loving grandparents, educated in parochial schools, graduated from Holy Cross and the Yale Law School.

He grew up deprived of material wealth, but blessed with the important treasures: a loving family, sturdy values, and a chance. His family, friends, and teachers did not define equal opportunity in terms of regulations or statistics, and neither did he. Clarence defined opportunity through education, dedication, and just plain hard work.

When you hear or see coverage of those hearings, think of your sons, your daughters, your loved ones, and their voyage into a tough world. Then think of this extraordinary man who conquered deprivation without self-pity or complaint. And think of what it means to appoint to our highest Court a man who appreciates the real glories of our form of government and understands the real difficulties our Nation faces.

When a President selects a Justice to the Supreme Court, he must pick someone who appreciates our Constitution's timeless maj-

esty, who understands the importance of the rule of law in our society. But the nominee also must cherish the values that make our land great, that make our chins quiver in pride and gratitude when troops return home bearing the flag or when Americans through hard work, determination, and dedication expand the frontiers of possibility.

Clarence Thomas has preserved the fabric of our Constitution as a judge on the U.S. Court of Appeals. And he will continue to do so on the Supreme Court.

Senate hearings start next week. I know the Senate will maintain standards of dignity and appropriate scrutiny when it comes

to Judge Thomas. And I urge all Americans to do the same. I know that the American public, when it gets a chance to see Clarence Thomas in action, will feel as I do, proud that we have entrusted this son of America with the task of keeping our heart healthy and whole, and proud of this man who embodies the promise of equality and opportunity in America.

Thank you. May God bless you. And may God bless the United States of America.

*Note: The President recorded this address for radio broadcast at 2:05 p.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House.*

## Statement on the Supreme Court Nomination of Clarence Thomas September 9, 1991

On the eve of the confirmation hearings for Judge Clarence Thomas' nomination to the Supreme Court, I want to emphasize once again the distinguished record and character of this man. In the weeks since his selection, Judge Thomas has faced criticism from many quarters with dignity, restraint, and strength of character. I know that he will demonstrate the same qualities during the hearings.

Today I telephoned Senator Joseph Biden and Senator Strom Thurmond to express my appreciation for the manner in which they had conducted the confirmation process and to reiterate my strong feelings about the wisdom and talent of Judge Clarence

Thomas. Senator Biden and Senator Thurmond, as majority and minority leaders of the Judiciary Committee, are committed to a fair and honorable hearing.

When I nominated Judge Clarence Thomas, the administration applied no litmus test on specific issues that might come before the Supreme Court. We did not question Judge Thomas on possible decisions or cases that could come before the Court. Similarly, I have confidence that the Judiciary Committee will want to preserve the independence of the Court as it explores the record of Judge Thomas.

I look forward to the early confirmation of Judge Clarence Thomas.

## Nomination of Carolynn Reid-Wallace To Be an Assistant Secretary of Education

September 9, 1991

The President today announced his intention to nominate Carolynn Reid-Wallace, of the District of Columbia, to be Assistant Secretary for Postsecondary Education at the U.S. Department of Education. She would succeed Leonard L. Haynes III.

From 1987 to 1991, Dr. Reid-Wallace served as vice chancellor for academic affairs at the City University of New York. Prior to this, she served as Assistant Director of the Division of Education Programs and Director of Precollegiate Education for

the National Endowment for the Humanities, 1982–1987; director of the NAFEO Clearinghouse, 1981–1982; director of the NAFEO/NEK humanities program, 1979–1980. In addition, Dr. Reid-Wallace served at Bowie State College as: acting chief executive, 1977–1978; dean of the college and vice president for academic affairs, 1976–1978; dean of undergraduate studies, 1975–

1976; and dean of instruction, 1974–1975.

Dr. Reid-Wallace graduated from Fisk University (B.A., 1964), Adelphi University (M.A., 1965), and George Washington University (Ph.D., 1981). She was born June 26, 1942, in Williamsburg, VA. Dr. Reid-Wallace has one child and resides in Washington, DC.

## Remarks at the Welcoming Ceremony for President Abdou Diouf of Senegal

*September 10, 1991*

*President Bush.* To President and Mrs. Diouf, ladies and gentlemen, a sincere welcome. And on behalf of the United States of America, long known for its fidelity to freedom and human dignity, I am honored to welcome President Diouf, the President of a nation which so clearly echoes those beliefs.

A Senegalese proverb says, “Misunderstandings don’t exist; only the failure to communicate exists.” And Mr. President, because you have communicated to the world what Senegal embodies, there can be no misunderstanding about the ideals and aspirations that link our two societies and peoples.

For those who follow Senegalese history, it is obvious why Senegal has become one of our closest friends in Africa. Ever since its independence in 1960, Senegal has adhered to the principles of a democratic political system. Your robust, free press can publish the full spectrum of political thought and opinion. And like us, you have an independent judiciary, vital to any government which operates by the rule of law. And let me mention, too, your enviable record in the field of human rights.

These facts of course could describe, we think, our country, the United States of America. We both share a fundamental commitment to the peaceful solution of conflicts. We both believe in the inalienable rights of all. In Senegal it’s said, “Man is the best cure for his own ills.” Well, Mr. President, the whole world has begun to van-

quish the ills of tyranny and totalitarianism. Bayonets and barbed wire cannot conquer man’s yearning to be free.

Last year at this time, Senegal was preparing to send 500 soldiers to the Gulf to participate in Operation Desert Shield. Shortly after the end of Operation Desert Storm, a tragic plane crash in Saudi Arabia claimed the lives of 93 of those brave Senegalese soldiers as they returned to their base near the Gulf after a pilgrimage to Mecca. So, Senegal paid proportionately the highest price of any coalition partner in freeing Kuwait from naked aggression.

We mourn your lost countrymen but know that they died for the noblest cause of all, the unstoppable tide of freedom that today is changing history swiftly, dramatically. Future generations will look to our age and say, “Here, here in the 1990’s began the new world order.”

And thus, we welcome not only an old and dear friend to Washington but a friend who shares our values, who will fight for freedom, and who has a deep appreciation and respect for the American way of life. Mr. President, just as your people love America, so does America love the nation of your birth. God bless you and Senegal and the United States of America. And once again, welcome to our shores.

*President Diouf.* Mr. President, the words of welcome you have just spoken are those of a true friend. I was deeply moved by them and by the warmth of this beautiful ceremony. Allow me, therefore, at the very

outset, to express heartfelt thanks to you on behalf of my wife and on my own and that of the delegation accompanying me.

Mr. President and dear friend, Madam Bush, Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, this is the third time in the space of 2 years that I find myself in this great and beautiful country. This time, however, my visit is of special significance. To begin with, it is my first state visit and the second one by a Senegalese President. It is also significant because it takes place in the background of a particular international setting marked by the end of an era and the heralding of a new order on which we Senegalese and Americans are pinning equal hopes. Add to this the fact that with the strengthening of the Senegalese democracy, our approach becomes more identical to yours. And this in turn makes your model more appealing to us.

Lastly, I note that since the end of the Gulf war, I am the first African President to be received on a state visit by your country. I fully appreciate the significance of this gesture. And I should like to express my gratitude for the thoughtful demonstration of friendship towards me and my country.

At this juncture I should like to dedicate my profound thoughts to the worthy sons of America fallen on the field of honor. As my country suffered the loss of 93 soldiers in Saudi Arabia, I can well appreciate the grief of those who lost their loved ones and to whom I should like to offer once again my condolences. We can take comfort in the fact that their sacrifice has not been in vain, for despite the Gulf war and its aftermath, despite the institutional tremors that have shaken the Soviet Union over the past few weeks, the international atmosphere is, happily, one of détente which our peoples long for.

The progress made in arms reduction with the signing of the START treaty, following the adoption of the Paris Charter for a New Europe, the triumph of democratic demands across the world and particularly in Africa, the dismantling of the legal basis of apartheid—we still have to draw inferences from it—are all encouraging signs as we approach the end of the 20th century.

Indeed, never before in the history of

mankind has the sound of freedom resounded so loudly and so far and wide. Never have freedom and peace combined so harmoniously for so many human beings and peoples. Yet, this is no permanent achievement. Quite the contrary, it is frail because of a major challenge that is still confronting us, poverty. This is a challenge to us all. Mr. President, I know that this cause is so dear to your heart. I know and I appreciate the efforts your Government is making to face up to it.

Africa, which had apprehended that it would be marginalized to the benefit of the countries of Eastern Europe, is now resolutely committed to the fight for integration, a must for its development. The adoption and signing at the June 1991 OAU summit of the treaty establishing the African Economic Community is a clear manifestation of this commitment. In my capacity as the current Chairman of the ECOWAS, I will leave no stone unturned to translate that commitment into concrete achievements within our subregion. I am confident that countries like yours, together with international institutions which have always been by our side, will support us in our endeavors.

Mr. President, I cannot end without expressing once again my thanks for the warmth of your welcome, without renewing my determination to continue striving with you for the triumph of our common values and ideals, for the greater well-being of all men and the whole of mankind. I hope that our efforts to that end will be successful, and I express my most sincere wishes for your and your family's good health and happiness and for the sustained prosperity of the friendly American people.

*Note: President Bush spoke at 10:02 a.m. on the South Lawn of the White House, where President Diouf was accorded a formal welcome with full military honors. President Diouf spoke in French, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. In his remarks, he referred to the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).*

## Nomination of Herbert Tate To Be an Assistant Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency

*September 10, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Herbert Tate, of New Jersey, to be an Assistant Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency for Enforcement and Compliance Monitoring. He would succeed James J. Strock.

Since 1986 Mr. Tate has served as Essex County prosecutor in Newark, NJ. Prior to this he served as a private practitioner,

1985–1986, and as an associate attorney with the law firm of Carella, Byrne, Bain & Gilfillan, P.A., in Roseland, NJ, 1983–1985.

Mr. Tate graduated from Wesleyan University (B.A., 1974) and Rutgers University School of Law (J.D., 1978). He was born February 22, 1953, in Karachi, Pakistan. Mr. Tate resides in West Orange, NJ.

## Nomination of Paul H. Cooksey To Be Deputy Administrator of the Small Business Administration

*September 10, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Paul H. Cooksey, of Virginia, to be Deputy Administrator of the Small Business Administration. This is a new position.

Since 1988 Mr. Cooksey has served as vice president and regional management partner with the Oliver Carr Co. in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he served as vice president of Robinson, Lake, Lerer & Mont-

gomery, 1986–1988, and as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Administration at the Department of the Treasury, 1985–1986.

Mr. Cooksey graduated from Hampden-Sydney College (B.A., 1970) and George Mason University School of Law (J.D., 1981). He was born August 13, 1948, in Tokyo, Japan. Mr. Cooksey is married, has one child, and currently resides in Alexandria, VA.

## Letter to Congressional Leaders Transmitting a Report on International Export of Missile Technology to Iraq

*September 10, 1991*

*Dear Mr. Chairman:*

Enclosed is a classified report with an unclassified summary on the international export to Iraq of nuclear, biological, chemical, and ballistic missile technology as required by section 586J(a) of the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 1991 (Public Law 101-513).

Also enclosed is an unclassified report on sanctions taken by other nations against Iraq as required by section 586J(c) of the

Act.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

*Note: Identical letters were sent to chairmen Robert C. Byrd of the Senate Appropriations Committee, Claiborne Pell of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Jamie L. Whitten of the House Appropriations Committee, and Dante B. Fascell of the House Foreign Affairs Committee.*

## Remarks at the State Dinner for President Abdou Diouf of Senegal September 10, 1991

*President Bush.* Ladies and gentlemen, welcome to the White House. And to President and Mrs. Diouf and members of the Senegal delegation, a very special welcome.

Nine years ago, Barbara and I were hosted in Senegal; never forgotten that trip. And today, we have the opportunity to try in this manner to repay Senegal's marvelous hospitality. And we welcome to America's home, to this White House, a first citizen of the continent of Africa. This week provides an opportunity for our countries to renew the shared interest which link our two nations and peoples and the values that join us, the values we hold so dear. We both revere liberty and human dignity and respect for the rights of man. And we each believe for individuals, choice; for society, pluralism; and for nations, self-determination.

And together, by lifting minds and horizons, we are helping to shape a new world order. You see, Senegal was the first sub-Saharan African nation to say to Saddam Hussein, "Your aggression will not stand." And America, sir, applauds your courage in opposing this threat to world security. You lifted up, you buoyed the coalition, and you showed that strength of character will always outlast strength of arms.

Mr. President, you know, as recent events have verified, totalitarianism is crumbling because democracy would not, will not be denied. And now, let us all pledge to help Senegal's democratic system serve as a model for those countries seeking to embrace the principles of self-government, self-determination, and freedom of expression.

We seek a world in which the lamp of liberty brightens every corner of the Earth. And in that spirit, I would like to close with words from Leopold Senghor, a poet-politician who was the first President and founder of independent Senegal. Forty-six years ago, near the end of World War II, President Senghor wrote "A Prayer For Peace," and he spoke of the peoples of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America and concluded

this way: "Grant that their warm hands embrace the Earth in a band of brotherly hands under the rainbow of your peace."

Mr. President and ladies and gentlemen, now I would ask that you guests and others join me in a toast: To the health of our good friend President Diouf, to the happiness and prosperity of the Senegalese people, and to those brotherly hands which can build a peace for our children and all the children of the world.

God bless you, Mr. President. Welcome to the White House.

*President Diouf.* Mr. President, allow me to say how happy my wife and I, and also the delegation accompanying me, are to be in this great country and among its friendly people. I come at the invitation of a very close, personal friend and a great, respected leader whose dynamism in terms of ideas, clear-sightedness, and steadfastness of purpose evoke admiration.

I come to meet a great people who have established themselves as staunch defenders of the ideals of freedom, democracy, peace, and respect for human rights. They are the people whom you have referred to as "a beacon of hope shining for the whole world."

The developments that have taken place in recent months have brought to the fore how you view these peoples' responsibilities, and they have demonstrated the correctness of your vision. They have given us Senegalese added reasons to be proud to be counted among your friends and to share with you the same ideals.

By this, I'm not just referring to the crucial part that your country played in solving the Gulf crisis. What I also have in mind, and I should like to emphasize this, is the triumph of the principles which form the basis of the societies we are striving to build and our common wish to see a new order prevail in international relations. I know that I also speak for you when I stress that this new order should be characterized more by the rule of law, a greater solidarity among peoples and nations, as well as a full

respect for human rights and basic freedoms. But I hasten to point out that it should also foster a process of democratization of international relations so that we are able to entrench democracy better within all states and to usher in a world in which the ballot paper will permanently replace the bullet. This would indeed be a wonderful posthumous victory for one of your illustrious predecessors, who said of the ballot that it is stronger than the bullet.

The United Nations, which has yet again proved its usefulness and effectiveness, appears to me as the prime instrument to achieve that objective. And with the United States at the forefront, the outcome of the struggle is never in doubt. For all these reasons I should like to express, in addition to my compatriots' deep admiration for Your Excellency, my Government's determination to intensify, strengthen, and diversify the excellent relations that happily exist between our two countries. Better still, we want to reinforce day by day the age-old links that our two peoples have established and that will be symbolized by the Goree-Almadies Memorial.

The exceptionally warm welcome

showered on my wife and me and on my delegation and your determination to help Senegal succeed in its development efforts are clear indications that you are similarly well-disposed towards us. That is why my visit could not have got off to a better start. That is also why I look forward to seeing our already exemplary bilateral cooperation develop further. And I'm delighted to meet again a very dear friend of mine.

With this fond hope, I invite you, ladies and gentlemen, to raise your glasses and drink to the health and personal happiness of His Excellency, Mr. George Bush, and Madam Barbara Bush, to whom I pay my humble respects: to friendship and cooperation between the United States and Senegal, to the sustained prosperity of the friendly American people, to freedom and democracy for all peoples.

*Note: President Bush spoke at 8:08 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to President Diouf's wife, Elizabeth. President Diouf spoke in French, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. In his remarks he referred to a memorial to slaves who were brought to America from Senegal.*

## Exchange With Reporters Prior to a Meeting With Congressional Leaders

*September 11, 1991*

### *Cuba*

*Q.* Mr. President, what do you think of the Soviets pulling their troops out of Cuba?

*The President.* I wish they'd hurry up. *[Laughter]*

### *Loan Guarantees for Israel*

*Q.* Mr. President, are you going to lose on the loan guarantees to Israel in Congress?

*The President.* Well, I don't know what you mean by lose on it. What I'm for is the peace process to be successful, and we're working diligently for that. And so, the program I'm recommending in my view is the best to enhance peace in the area that's vital, of vital interest to the American

people, the people in the Middle East, and indeed, to around the world. If I've ever seen one initiative that has support worldwide, it is this concept of at last getting people in the area to talk to each other about peace.

And so, what I'm suggesting in a simple delay here, in my view and in the view of all of us in the administration, is the best way to set the proper tone for these talks to start. And I feel very strongly about it. So, it's not a question of winning or losing in my view. Strong-willed people look at these matters differently. My view is that a delay is in the interest, and I'm going to fight for it. And I think the American people will

back me on it if we take the case to the people. But what we're really trying to do is work it out without getting into a lot of confrontation. And I think that's the approach to take at this point.

*Q.* Can you avoid confrontation when they're bringing the fight to you, when they're going around you? When the Government of Israel has its own—

*The President.* I can take quite a few punches. But that's not what we're talking about here. We're talking about working harmoniously together in the spirit of cooperation. And I've seen comments from abroad that I didn't particularly appreciate. But we're the United States of America, and we have a leadership role around the world that has to be fulfilled. And I'm calling the shots in this question in the way I think is best. And I've got some selling to do with certain Members of Congress, and that's understandable to me.

So, we'll see how it comes out. But I'm not approaching this in the spirit of confrontation if that's the question. You haven't seen any real controversial statements coming out of here up till now.

*Q.* You're not committed to the guarantees after the 120 days, sir, are you?

*The President.* I'm committed to seeing that they get considered. And we generally have been quite supportive of the idea of absorption. We've taken the lead, the lead around the world in facilitating the question of the Soviet Jews coming to Israel and the Ethiopian Jews as well. The position of this administration is not only well known, but I think it's highly respected in Israel and around the world for this.

So, we're not backing off from that. And in principle, this concept of helping, we want to do it. But I'm not committed to any numbers and never have been. There was a very misleading statement in the papers today out of Israel that I'd like to clear up because it said that we were committed, and they wanted what we'd committed to. And I'm sorry to tell you that simply is not correct. And if they're going to deal on this question, we ought to be dealing from the facts. And so, that one was not a fact, just some spokesman. I don't know who he was or what he was trying to do. But it gives me a good chance to make clear that that isn't

correct.

*Q.* Do you take threats from the Israelis that they may stay away from the peace conference if they don't get—do you take those seriously?

*The President.* I've seen no threats from them. I've seen no threats from them. We have a special and a good, strong relationship with Israel, and that's going to continue. But I've seen no threats, and we don't deal in threats over here. And we don't try to threaten other people. That's not the way you accomplish something in foreign affairs.

*Q.* Are you concerned, though, that they may not come to the peace table?

*The President.* No. I think they're committed, and I think it's a good thing they are. And I think others are committed, and we want the climate to be right to facilitate their coming to the table. Everybody wants these parties to come to the table all around the world.

What we're talking about here is a simple delay of 120 days before this matter is debated because out of the debate is going to come a lot of posturing and positioning that in my view will not help the peace process. So, that's what it boils down to, and that's why this very reasonable request is being made.

*Q.* Mr. President, you sound like you don't think you'll prevail.

*The President.* Mr. Dole made it—

#### *Supreme Court Nominee*

*Senator Dole.* Clarence Thomas did an outstanding job, Mr. President.

*The President.* Thank you for changing the subject. It lets me say I was very moved by his testimony—I've just had a chance to talk to some of you all here today—not only moved by it but impressed by his answers as I now see them. And I must say I am more confident than ever that I've made the right nomination to go up to the Senate. I think the support from the American people is out there and strong, particularly after this moving presentation yesterday. I might say I see one guy sitting over here who I feel equally as strongly about, and that's Bob Gates. So, when those hearings start, why, I'll have strong supportive words



of that one again, too, because he's the right man to run the intelligence community.

That's about it. This is a full-scale press conference.

Q. Do you think he'll answer any of the questions that are being put to him?

*The President.* He's doing a superb job and knows exactly how to handle himself, and I think that's what's coming through. Here's a man not only with experience and

qualifications but ability to handle himself under tough questioning.

*Note: This exchange began at 10:10 a.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. The President referred to Robert M. Gates, nominee for Director of the Central Intelligence Agency. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.*

## Remarks to Representatives of the Baltic States September 11, 1991

Thank you very much. Listen, this is a very joyous day. And let me first start by thanking our Secretary. I don't expect there's a person here today that's come to the White House for this event that hasn't known personally Ed Derwinski. I expect all of you respect him as I do. This cause, this concept of freedom for the Baltic States, has been his cause for a long time, long before he became a Secretary in the Cabinet, all through his congressional days and before that. And I've been with him as he's been to certain of these ethnic festivals, and I've seen the affection for him in your communities. And so, I wanted to start by saying how fortunate I am I can have him at my side in the administration, and to thank him for his steadfast support.

I also am very pleased to welcome all of you to the White House. I view this as a special and certainly historic event: the freedom, the independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, and the establishment of diplomatic relations between the U.S. and those free countries.

So also, let me give a warm welcome to a distinguished visitor, the Speaker of the Estonian Parliament, Mr. Nugis, who's with us today, and ask him to stand. Welcome to you, sir.

I'd like first to pay tribute to the many leaders, the men and women in this room, who stood resolutely for so many years in support of freedom in the Baltics and throughout the dark days of the cold war. The Baltic peoples had two indefatigable champions in the United States, their fine

diplomats in Washington and this power that came from the Americans of Baltic heritage. Neither ever allowed the world to forget the crime visited upon the Baltic States 51 years ago.

And I've just had the privilege of visiting with these people standing behind me, these three gentlemen, remarkable men: consul general of Estonia, Mr. Jaakson; the Chargé of Latvia, Mr. Dinbergs; and the Chargé of Lithuania, Mr. Lozoraitis. And I salute them, all of them.

Each of these men deserves our respect and our admiration and our gratitude for this tireless devotion to freedom and for reminding those of us in public life that we must never forget the Baltic peoples. When they'd come to these receptions, people would wonder about it, but I'm proud that the United States always had them there. But they were a reminder, in person and in group, a reminder of the need to press forward for freedom.

I'd also like to praise our other distinguished guests today, the leaders of the community, and I guess that includes everybody here, or you probably wouldn't be here. Few have done so much for their homeland as you have. I know it's appreciated in your home countries. You've honored both the countries from which you have sprung and the country in which you now live. And Americans are especially gratified by the restoration of Baltic independence.

You know, since President Franklin Roo-

sevelt, one of the men for whom this room is named—we are in the Roosevelt Room. As you know, he refused to accept the Soviet occupation of the Baltics in 1940. And ever since then the United States has pressed for the international recognition and the independence of the Baltics.

And in many meetings with President Gorbachev during the last 2 years, we reiterated, and I did personally, and Jim Baker did over and over again, making it abundantly clear that there was no alternative to freedom for the Baltics. And I'd like to think now that, hopefully, in some way that made a difference in convincing the Soviet leadership to do the right thing. Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania are free again, and we welcome them back to the commonwealth of freedom.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is our responsibility, all of us as Americans, to help the Baltics integrate fully into the West, to nurture these young democracies, to help them transform their economies towards a free market that we all know works so well. And I'm therefore very pleased to announce today a series of measures, beginning measures to start this process which the Secretary of State will be discussing with the Baltic leaders when he visits the region in not so many hours from now.

But first, I'm pleased to announce that, and this is a fait accompli, I'm pleased to say also that the United States will sponsor Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania for membership in the United Nations at the General Assembly on September 17th, just as we supported them for membership in the CSCE earlier this week.

Second, as many of you know, the United States safeguarded for over 50 years financial assets of the Baltic Governments. And we look forward to working with the independent Baltic States on arrangements for unfreezing the gold and other assets as soon as possible and move forward on that just as quickly as we can.

Third, we will move quickly to normalize our own economic relationship with the Baltics by extending the most-favored-nation treatment and including them under the trade enhancement initiative designed to increase their trade with the West. And we'll also provide GSP and OPIC benefits.

And we'll continue the work we've already started to provide medicine for the Baltic hospitals.

Fourth, we will help the Baltics to integrate into the world economy. This is a big one, a very important one, economic integration. We will encourage the IMF and the World Bank to work closely with the Baltics to prepare them for membership. We hope that membership in the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development will proceed on a fast track, and we will also support Baltic participation in the OECD Center for Economies in Transition.

And fifth, we will work closely with our allies in the G-24 process to coordinate economic assistance to the Baltic States. For our part, the U.S. intends to extend a variety of technical assistance and other programs under the Support for Eastern European Democracies Act.

Finally, I'm delighted to announce today that we will move immediately to establish a Peace Corps program for Estonia and Latvia and Lithuania.

Let me say in closing that as the United States was true to the Baltic States in captivity, we will continue to be true to them as democratic partners in the years ahead.

It's been a pleasure to contemplate this, for me at least, and I think for others here, this emotional event. It is a special day. When these three worthy advocates of independence of the Baltic States came into the Oval Office, I think they, too, felt the emotion of the moment; I expect many do, here. We want to do our part; we want to lead. We want to help these new countries. And many of you, almost all of you as Americans can do your part in the future, just as you can take great credit for the part you've played in the past in keeping administration present, administrations past, aware of the need to fight and stand for Baltic independence.

Congratulations to each and every one of you, and may God bless the Baltic States and the United States of America.

I think, unless you all want to say something, that concludes my role. But listen, I'm delighted you all were here. There's the newest American and Baltic parity, right there. *[Laughter]* The youngest in the

whole world.

*Note: The President spoke at 1:25 p.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Ulo Nugis, Speaker of the Parliament of Estonia; Ernst*

*Jaakson, Estonian Ambassador-designate to the United States; Anatol Dinbergs, Chargé of the Latvian legation to the United States; Stasys Lozoraitis, Lithuanian Ambassador-designate to the United States; and a baby who was in the audience.*

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Meeting With Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki of Poland *September 11, 1991*

President Bush was very pleased to welcome Prime Minister Bielecki of Poland to the White House. The Prime Minister and President Walesa deserve great credit for reforming the Polish economy and building Polish democracy.

Poland is leading the way with a radical economic transformation, and it is working. The private sector is growing dramatically. Exports are on the rise. American investors are giving Poland a vote of confidence. Enormous difficulties remain: the legacy of the inefficient Communist system, the collapse of the Soviet market, and others. But President Bush assured the Prime Minister that the United States stands with Poland as it moves toward economic recovery.

In discussing the revolutionary changes in the Soviet Union, President Bush also assured the Prime Minister that Western support for reform there will not be at the expense of Poland or the other new democracies. In fact, having gone far down the road toward a free economic system, Poland should now have a role in supporting the expansion of democracy and mar-

kets farther east. President Bush therefore proposed that our Governments explore ways for Poland to participate in efforts to assist the Soviet Union and the Baltic States.

The United States is also opening its markets to Polish products and will soon be negotiating more liberal trade agreements with Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. We hope the European Community will also move quickly to open its markets. Additionally, we are increasing our support for Poland's private sector. The Polish-American Enterprise Fund has now committed more than \$100 million for new ventures. And President Bush was pleased to announce a new housing loan guarantee program for the region, with the majority going to assist Poland in developing a private housing sector.

At this time of historic change in the Soviet Union and the Baltic States, Poland's success is all the more important to us. As President Bush told Prime Minister Bielecki, the United States attaches great importance to Poland's security and independence and to the new U.S.-Polish partnership.

## Remarks at the Stan Scott Tribute Dinner *September 11, 1991*

Thank you all, and please be seated. And Connie, let me thank you on behalf of everybody here for your key role in making this such a very special evening. Lou Sullivan, our Secretary, who in my view is doing

a superb job, is, as many of you know, off in Africa or he certainly would have been here. And he sends his greetings.

And I don't know how you begin to thank everybody in this distinguished audience.

We have Senator Pressler, Senator Breaux, and Bob Livingston, Julian Dixon, Art Fletcher, Charlie Rangel, Buddy Roemer, Ambassador Weinmann, Sid Barthelemy, Chris Edley, Bill Gray. Ron Brown's supposed to be here; I hope he is. Percy Sutton, Lionel Hampton, Vernon Jordan, Peabo Bryson, and on and on it goes in one of the most glamorous get-togethers. I don't see how some of us fit in the same room with our views, but you know why we're all brought together: It's Stan Scott.

What are you laughing at? *[Laughter]*

But let me also salute the family: Bettye, and of course, Stan, and Susan, Ken, Stan, Jr. I'm fibrillating just trying to get through the acknowledgments of this darned dinner. *[Laughter]* Barbara and I don't go out much. *[Laughter]* We get asked out some, but we don't go out much. And I know I speak for her when I say what a joy, just on a plain friendship basis, what a joy this evening has been.

Imagine a guy like me from Texas associating with an Ivy League elitist like Governor Roemer of Louisiana. *[Laughter]* It's absolutely—two degrees from Harvard. Can you imagine that? And when I got tonight's program and looked down this awesome list of speakers, I felt like a contestant on "Star Search." *[Laughter]* It's bad enough when you have one act to follow, but six is a little too much.

And after all this eloquence, I know how Zsa Zsa Gabor's last husband felt. *[Laughter]* I know what I'm supposed to do, but I'm not exactly sure how to make it interesting. *[Laughter]*

But, listen, thank you, Connie, and all the others that arranged this wonderful program for, really, for urging us to come, for letting me participate, and Barbara and me to be such enthusiastic participants in this. Let me salute the Stanley Scott Scholarship Fund. And I can't tell you how much it means to join all of you in praising our close friend and saying a simple thanks to you, Stan, for bringing us all together and for so much more.

You know, Stan offers living proof that love nourishes virtue, that hard work pays, that good things happen to good people, and most impressive, that some journalists can turn to honest work. *[Laughter]*

Now that you have sold your beer distributorship, Stan, you are at liberty to divulge the great secret. And I hope Leonard Goldstein won't take offense. But we all want to know which is it: "tastes great" or "less filling"? *[Laughter]*

Those of us who know Stan and feel we know him well, know that four passions govern his life: love of family, love of country, love of adventure, and love of good works. And I'm leaving out his love of the Los Angeles Lakers which is a sore subject this year.

But Stan's family instilled in him a real hunger for knowledge. And lest some of you haven't milled through this room, I don't know who's looking after Atlanta. So many Scotts from there are here. But somebody's looking after the store.

But you feel this sense of family when you're around Stanley. And you know that his family instilled in him a real hunger for knowledge. His love of country inspired him to give back some of freedom's blessings. His love of adventure gave him the courage to shift careers without even shifting gears: journalism, politics, corporate communications, private business. And his love of good works moved him to try new ideas, new angles, new approaches, to make the best for this magnificent gift of friendship.

If you look around the room, you get an appreciation of the power of Stan's personality. Here, we have people of all colors, all parties, all backgrounds. It's the darnedest wild and crazy mix of different political views I've ever seen. You have Democrats such as former Congressman Bill Gray and New Orleans' very able Mayor Sidney Barthelemy join Republicans such as Connie Newman and Buddy Roemer. And we're here because of Stan, who taught us all really what friendship means and because we know that education can foster true brotherhood. It can lead us as individuals and as a Nation to the true equality that we have sought so long. It can dissolve the ignorance, prejudice, and hatred that build high walls between people.

And the United Negro College Fund strengthens America by extending educations to deserving men and women at 41

private historically black colleges and universities. The Stanley Scott Scholarships will be built upon that solid legacy.

And no one here underestimates the importance of the UNCF's mission or, frankly, the difficulties that it faces. Many UNCF institutions have suffered through some tough times, but they have survived, thanks to the hard work of people in this room and to the professionals who work at UNCF institutions.

The United Negro College Fund keeps hope alive by ministering specially to black American men and women. And if you'll permit me a personal note, my own personal involvement started way back in 1947 when I was at college and when Bill Trent, who was well and favorably known to so many of us in this room, came into my life and signed me up. Now, as Bill Gray very generously mentioned, as honorary chairman of Campaign 2000, I take great happiness and great joy in the fact that my family has a continued involvement. And my younger brother, John, will become chairman of the board of the United Negro College Fund starting in April of 1992.

We all know, we all believe that a mind is a terrible thing to waste, and so, frankly, are United Negro College Fund colleges and universities. We must not let them be wasted.

And before I go any further, let me just ask everyone to thank and to recognize Chris Edley's fabulous work as UNCF president. Can't see him out there, but—[*ap- plause*]. And I know there are other previous presidents, my old and dear and close friend Art Fletcher and Vernon Jordan, and I'm leaving out a thousand because so many men of distinction and others have served as president of the UNCF.

Now, a word about the next president of the UNCF. You see, Bill's appointment is a two-fer, what they call a two-fer for me. When he resigned his seat in the House today, the Democrats lost a fine leader, and I lost a very tough and a very effective, always fair, but a very tough and effective opponent. But the cause I care about deeply, the one that joins us tonight, has gained this great leader. And so, I can't help but win: Get him out of the way, and here we are working together for a cause

we all believe in.

But our real star at this all-star tribute is Stan and his many contributions to our lives. The Scott Scholarship Fund represents the kind of service that all of us admire. And it will extend the gift of knowledge to young men and women who might not otherwise get college educations. It will strengthen the 41 private institutions that comprise the UNCF. And it will strengthen, really, it will strengthen our Nation.

I'm committed to seeing our Nation become the world's leader in education. I hate to see this many people assembled without making what perhaps is the only partisan pitch of the evening, but I will make it as nonpartisan as possible: I do want to ask you to look at our America 2000 education strategy. It is new, it is innovative, and I believe that it will achieve the national education goals that we established in conjunction with every single one of the Nation's Governors. So, look at it, and help us if you can. It's going to lead to great things for the kids of this country.

I know that we have these political differences, but we're setting those all aside. And better, let us use them if we can as a source of strength. We must remember always, in the process, that civility lies at the heart of civil rights.

The people in this room can make a huge difference, as Stan has and many of you in this room have. Let me give you an example. I don't know if Ron Brown, who's been a sponsor of this organization, is here tonight, and I don't mean to embarrass him. But let me just tell you what I'm talking about when I'm talking about civility.

I think of the wasting illness that claimed my friend Lee Atwater. And some in the press and some in the political arena taunted him. He invited some of it, I'll readily admit, but nevertheless, they taunted him. And the personal attacks really tortured his family and his friends. And during all of this, Ron Brown quietly and gently sent messages of encouragement and friendship to Lee and Sally Atwater. He didn't leak it to the press. He did what friends do: He just gave a piece of himself. And I don't have to state the obvious, but Ron and Lee

didn't agree on a hell of a lot in terms of politics. But they knew that no political dispute is worth surrendering people's basic decency. And I salute Ron for that approach.

And so, many of us will disagree over particulars of social policy, but we have only ourselves to blame if we fail to promote a good society, a Nation united in its quest for brotherhood, indivisible in its determination to provide sound educations for everyone, committed to promoting the kind of fairness that really counts, a growing economy that gives every man and woman a fair chance to go as far as their abilities will take them. And Stan, you see, has given life to the ideas discussed here tonight.

His strength of character and the range of his accomplishments are legend; I loved that film. We may have little fights, but Stan has taken on what literally is the fight of his life. And Stan, we love you. We're pulling for you. You have served your Nation and your many friends long and selflessly. We salute you. And ladies and gentlemen, so let us just give thanks to and for a great American.

And Stan, thanks for giving us a look at our better selves and depriving us of excuses when we think that things seem too tough, the odds too long, the path too cluttered with obstructions. You, through your example, have overcome, and in time so shall we all. God bless you.

*Note: The President spoke at 8:34 p.m. in the ballroom at the Washington Sheraton Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Constance Berry Newman, Director of the Office of Personal Management; Senators Larry Pressler and John B. Breaux; Representatives Bob Livingston, Julian C. Dixon, and Charles B. Rangel; Arthur A. Fletcher, Chairman of the Commission on Civil Rights; Gov. Buddy Roemer of Louisiana; John G. Weinmann, U.S. Ambassador to Finland; Sid Barthelemy, mayor of New Orleans; Chris Edley and William H. Gray III, former president and president of the United Negro College Fund; Ronald H. Brown, chairman of the Democratic National Committee; Percy Sutton, general partner, Apollo Theatre Investor Group; musician Lionel Hampton; Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., former president of the National Urban League; singer Peabo Bryson; Stan Scott's wife, Bettye, and children, Susan, Ken, and Stan, Jr.; Leonard Goldstein, president of Miller Brewing Co.; William Trent, former president of the United Negro College Fund; and Lee Atwater, former chairman of the Republican National Committee, and his widow, Sally. The President also referred to the television program "Star Search" and a video shown at the dinner on Stan Scott's life. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

## Message to the Senate Transmitting the International Convention on Salvage, 1989

September 11, 1991

### *To the Senate of the United States:*

I transmit herewith, for the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, the International Convention on Salvage, 1989, done at London April 28, 1989, and signed by the United States on March 29, 1990, subject to ratification. I also transmit, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Department of State with respect to the Convention.

This Convention is designed to promote

sound environmental practices by commercial salvors and to strengthen the maritime transportation industries by ensuring that salvors receive adequate compensation. This Convention also incorporates the essential provisions of the Convention for the Unification of Certain Rules of Law with Respect to Assistance and Salvage at Sea, done at Brussels September 23, 1910 (27 Stat. 1658, TS 576, 1 Bevans 780), which it will replace for States Party to both Conventions to the

extent their provisions are incompatible. The 1910 Convention reflects the traditional international admiralty principles that a salvor may be remunerated for salvage services only if successful, and the salvage reward is limited to the value of the property salvaged.

The 1989 Salvage Convention offers increased protection for the marine environment by requiring both the vessel owner and the salvor to use due care to protect the marine environment and permits the salvor to be rewarded for preventing or minimizing damage to the environment

during salvage operations.

The United States played an active role in the development and negotiation of this Convention. The affected public sectors have been fully consulted. All recommend expeditious ratification of the Convention.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the 1989 Salvage Convention, and give its advice and consent to ratification.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
September 11, 1991.

## Message to the Senate Transmitting the International Telecommunication Regulations *September 11, 1991*

### *To the Senate of the United States:*

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the International Telecommunication Regulations, with appendices, signed at Melbourne on December 9, 1988, with a statement, including a reservation. I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Department of State with respect to the Regulations.

The International Telecommunication Regulations (Melbourne, 1988) replace the Telegraph Regulations and the Telephone Regulations (Geneva, 1973), to which the United States is a party.

The International Telecommunication Regulations provide suitably neutral and flexible guidelines for international telecom-

munication networks and services offered to the public. The Regulations are in the public and commercial interest of the United States.

The International Telecommunication Regulations entered into force on July 1, 1990, among states that have notified the Secretary General of the International Telecommunication Union of their adherence.

I believe that the United States should become a party to the International Telecommunication Regulations, and it is my hope that the Senate will take timely action on this matter and give its advice and consent to ratification.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
September 11, 1991.

## Message to the Congress Transmitting the Annual Report of the Railroad Retirement Board September 11, 1991

*To the Congress of the United States:*

I hereby submit to the Congress the Annual Report of the Railroad Retirement Board for Fiscal Year 1990, pursuant to the provisions of section 7(b)(6) of the Railroad Retirement Act, and section 12(l) of the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act.

The Railroad Retirement Board (RRB) serves nearly 900,000 railroad retirees and their families and almost 280,000 railroad employees who rely on the system for retirement, unemployment, disability, and sickness insurance benefits. Beneficiaries depend on the financial integrity of the pension funds for payment of their benefits.

This report includes the RRB's 18th actuarial valuation of the railroad retirement program's assets and liabilities. The valuation concluded that, barring a sudden, unanticipated, large drop in railroad employment, the railroad retirement system will experience no cash-flow problems for at least 20 years. The long-term stability of the system, however, remains questionable, and under the current financing structure, actual levels of rail employment in the coming years will determine whether additional corrective action is necessary.

The Railroad Retirement Reform Commission, created by the Congress to give the rail sector a chance to address the financial instability of the rail pension, issued its report in September of 1990. I strongly oppose the report's recommendation to renew the diversion of Federal income taxes to the rail pension. Since 1983, approximately \$1.5 billion in such taxpayers subsidies have been given to the rail pension fund. Railroad pension benefits should be financed solely by rail sector resources, and I will continue to oppose any additional general revenue funding measures for the railroad retirement system.

Other Commission recommendations such as privatization hold promise as equitable reforms to the system; rules protecting

private pensions (ERISA) should also apply to the railroad's private pension system.

The Commission adopted a proposal contained in the Administration's FY 1992 budget to extend benefits to all rail sector beneficiaries, such as widows and divorced spouses. These individuals would have been eligible for benefits under Social Security but are denied equivalent benefits by the rail system. Conforming rail social security and Social Security would make the rail pension benefit structure more equitable. This Administration has a strong belief in just governance and supports such a measure that would conform benefit eligibility under the Railroad Retirement Act with the Social Security Act.

The Office of Management and Budget (OMB) was concerned with the overall management of RRB programs and engaged in a thorough management review of its operations. As a result of this review, an agreement was reached between OMB and RRB that included a 5-year management plan outlining the specific improvements and resources necessary to achieve much needed reforms at the RRB. Both OMB and RRB are committed to many substantial reforms, and the RRB leadership is demonstrating a new and progressive approach to addressing inefficiencies, debt collection, and automation modernization. I commend the Board for its efforts and urge the Congress to support appropriations for these measures to enhance RRB efficiency, eliminate material weaknesses, and to protect the integrity of the trust funds. The RRB Inspector General's Office also deserves praise for its diligence in monitoring and enforcing industry compliance with the pension contribution statutes. Such efforts help to preserve the integrity of the rail pension funds, on which rail employees and retirees depend.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
September 11, 1991.



## Nomination of Edward P. Djerejian To Be an Assistant Secretary of State

*September 11, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Edward P. Djerejian, of Maryland, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be an Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs. He would succeed John Hubert Kelly.

Since 1988 Ambassador Djerejian has served as the U.S. Ambassador to the Syrian Arab Republic. Prior to this he served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, 1986–1988; as a Special Assistant to the President and Deputy Press Secretary for Foreign Affairs,

1985–1986; and as the Deputy Chief of Mission at the American Embassy in Amman, Jordan, 1981–1984. In addition, he served at the American Embassy in Moscow as chief of external affairs in the political section and then as acting political counselor, 1979–1981.

Ambassador Djerejian graduated from Georgetown University (B.S., 1960). He was born March 6, 1939, in New York, NY. Ambassador Djerejian served in the U.S. Army, 1960–1962. He is married, has two children, and resides in Bethesda, MD.

## Nomination of Jose E. Martinez To Be Director of the Trade and Development Program

*September 11, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Jose E. Martinez, of Texas, to be Director of the Trade and Development Program. This is a new position.

Currently Mr. Martinez serves as Special Assistant to the President and Associate Director of Presidential Personnel at the White House in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he served as Associate Director of Presidential Personnel for national security matters, 1990; as president of J.E. Martinez & Associates, Inc., a consulting firm in Alexan-

dria, VA, 1985–1990; and as a professional staff member of the Senate Committee on Armed Services, 1981–1985.

Mr. Martinez graduated from Our Lady of the Lake University in San Antonio, TX, (B.A., 1976) and the Catholic University of America (M.A., 1979). He was born August 14, 1941, in Matamoros, Mexico. Mr. Martinez served in the U.S. Air Force, 1961–1981. He is married, has five children, and resides in Alexandria, VA.

## The President's News Conference

*September 12, 1991*

*The President.* Since the end of the Gulf war, we've worked extremely hard to take advantage of what we believe are new and exciting possibilities for peace in the Middle East. Secretary of State Baker has traveled to the region about half a dozen times and will go again in a few days. As a result of

these efforts we're on the brink of an historic breakthrough. We've come a long, long way, and we're close to being able to convene a peace conference that, in turn, would launch direct peace negotiations between Israel and the Arab States, something the State of Israel has sought since its incep-

tion.

A few days ago, I asked Congress to defer consideration for 120 days of Israel's request for \$10 billion in additional U.S. loan guarantees meant to help Israel absorb its many new immigrants. I did so in the interests of peace. I did so because we must avoid a contentious debate that would raise a host of controversial issues, issues so sensitive that a debate now could well destroy our ability to bring one or more of the parties to the peace table.

A good deal of confusion surrounds this request for deferral, confusion that I'd like to try to clear up. Let me begin by making clear what my request for delay is not about. It's not about the strength of my or this country's support for emigration to Israel. Both as Vice President and President, I've tried my hardest to do everything possible to liberate Jews living in Ethiopia and the Soviet Union so that they could emigrate to Israel. Today, in no small part due to American efforts, hundreds of thousands of people are now living in Israel able at last to live free of fear, free to practice their faith.

Nor should our request for delay be viewed as an indication that there exists any question in my mind about the need for a strong and secure Israel. For more than 40 years the United States has been Israel's closest friend in the world, and this remains the case and will as long as I am President of the United States.

This is a friendship backed up with real support. Just months ago, American men and women in uniform risked their lives to defend Israelis in the face of Iraqi Scud missiles. And indeed, Desert Storm, while winning a war against aggression, also achieved the defeat of Israel's most dangerous adversary. And during the current fiscal year alone and despite our own economic problems, the United States provided Israel with more than \$4 billion in economic and military aid, nearly \$1,000 for every Israeli man, woman, and child, as well as with \$400 million in loan guarantees to facilitate immigrant absorption.

My request that Congress delay consideration of the Israeli request for \$10 billion in new loan guarantees to support immigrant absorption is about peace. For the first time

in history, the vision of Israelis sitting with their Arab neighbors to talk peace is a real prospect. Nothing should be done that might interfere with this prospect. And if necessary, I will use my veto power to prevent that from happening. Peace is what these new immigrants to Israel and, indeed, all Israelis long for. Their chance for a decent job, a decent life, depends on it. It is our goal to support the welfare of the new immigrants and to have peace, not to choose one humanitarian goal at the expense of the other.

Let me end with just one final point: The Constitution charges the President with the conduct of the Nation's foreign policy. And during Desert Shield and then Desert Storm, I came before the American people, as President, asking for the latitude to do what was right and necessary. A good many sincere Members of Congress of both parties disagreed at the time. And now again there's an attempt by some in the Congress to prevent the President from taking steps central to the Nation's security.

But too much is at stake for domestic politics to take precedence over peace. This I know is something the bulk of the American people understand. And I'm asking the Congress to postpone this question for 120 days. This postponement is not meant to prejudice in any way what we would do come January. And I'm asking the American people to support me in this request. Quite simply, a 120-day delay is not too much for a President to ask for with so much in the balance. We must give peace a chance. We must give peace every chance.

And now I'd be glad to take a few questions.

### *Foreign Aid and the Economy*

*Q.* Mr. President, what do you say to people who believe that if there is aid made available, that it best be spent on the millions of Americans who are without jobs and are disadvantaged?

*The President.* Well, that is a question that the American people seem to be raising more and more about foreign aid. But my view is, we must do what we can to facilitate this peace process. In the long run, that is not only in our national security in-

terest, but I think it would prove to be in the financial interests of the United States as well. So I don't think that these two need to be mutually exclusive.

*Q.* Do you think you are going to do more and more for the Americans who are without jobs now and who are really poverty-stricken?

*The President.* I think we are beginning to see this economy move, and I think that, of course, is by far the best answer to jobs. Jobs created by the Federal Government don't last. Jobs created by a reinvigorated private sector do. And that is why I would hope that our growth package that we have there can be moved on.

#### *Hostage Situation*

*Q.* Mr. President, Israel yesterday released 51 Arab prisoners, and the Shiite Moslem kidnappers say that they support a comprehensive settlement of the hostage ordeal. What's your reading of this situation, and is there anything that the United States can do to facilitate the process?

*The President.* Not directly. I was very pleased, though, at the release of those prisoners. We have been in touch with the Secretary-General, with Mr. Picco of his office also who is doing a very good job. And again, we're back where we were a month ago: "How optimistic is the President? How optimistic is the Congress about the release of these prisoners?" And once again, I am going to resist quantifying my optimism. But I think this recent development is bound to be viewed properly as very, very favorable.

*Q.* Do you believe that the release of a hostage is imminent?

*The President.* I don't want to put terms on it. I mean, I know that there was a feeling a month ago, I remember it very well, that a hostage release is imminent, and sure enough, thank heavens, a release did take place. But I just am going to resist, Terry [Terence Hunt, Associated Press], if you will permit me not to go into how optimistic or moderately optimistic or whatever that I am.

#### *Supreme Court Nominee*

*Q.* Mr. President, to change the subject yet again, Judge Thomas has told the Senate

Committee that he's never expressed an opinion about *Roe versus Wade*; that he has no opinion in 18 years on one of the most controversial legal issues in the country. First of all, do you find that credible? And secondly, do you find that something that commends him further to be a Justice on the Supreme Court?

*The President.* I think it's a question for the Senate to decide, and I think he's handling himself very, very well. And if you look back to other people that have appeared before the Court, there seems to be some similarity in wanting to stay away from prejudging cases. So, he has my full support. I think he's doing a beautiful job up there. Again, I don't quantify everything, but I feel more confident than ever that he will be confirmed. And I think that's because the American people see that he should be.

*Q.* Are you surprised that he said he has absolutely no opinion on the subject?

*The President.* No, I think he's handling himself very, very well.

#### *Loan Guarantees for Israel*

*Q.* Back on the question of the Israeli loan guarantees, even many of your Republican supporters on the Hill say that Israel should have had this money a long time ago. And they don't support the 120-day delay that you're asking for. Is there any kind of compromise? Is there any kind of middle ground? You sound very tough today on wanting to hold to that 120.

*The President.* I just sound principled. I am convinced that this debate would be counterproductive to peace. And I owe it to the Members of Congress to say it as forcefully as I can. I've worn out the telephone in there, and one ear, and I'm going to move over to the other ear and keep on it because peace is vital here, and we've worked too hard to have that request of mine denied. And I think the American people will support me. They know we support Israel. I've just detailed some of what we've done. So, there should be no question about that. I am giving the Congress, and I did it with the leaders today, having an opportunity here, thank you, to do it here, to give my best judgment. And I'm up

against some powerful political forces, but I owe it to the American people to tell them how strongly I feel about deferral.

*Q.* Are those powerful political forces ungrateful for what you've done so far on a peace process? And why doesn't the peace argument sell with them?

*The President.* I think it will sell, but it's taking a little time. And we're up against a very strong and effective, sometimes, groups that go up to the Hill. I heard today there was something like a thousand lobbyists on the Hill working the other side of the question. We've got one lonely little guy down here doing it. [*Laughter*] However, I like this forum better, too.

*Q.* Are they ungrateful for what you're trying to do?

*The President.* I'm not talking about gratitude. I'm talking about world peace. And we've got to get it into a far broader perspective. And that's exactly what I'm talking about, and I think people will understand that.

*Q.* Mr. President, you said that a contentious debate now could actually keep some parties away from the peace table. Yet, the Israelis claim that those Arabs who have indicated a willingness to participate in the peace process have not made the settlement issue a precondition. They say that's your precondition. As one columnist said this week, it's your obsession. Is that fair?

*The President.* I would simply say that I read some charges coming out of a source in Israel that we'd made a deal with the Arabs that we would fight this. That's not true. That is factually incorrect, simply not true. No, it is my judgment and Jim's and everybody else that's working this problem and has been for months that this is the approach we ought to take because we don't want a contentious debate on settlements or anything else over there at this juncture. We want to get these parties to the table. And I don't think it's asking too much to have a 120-day delay. I think Congress should listen carefully to what I'm asking for, and I hope that they will go along with this.

*Q.* Mr. President, you talked about powerful political forces at work. It sounds like you're feeling the heat from the Israeli lobby. Do you think that there's unfair for-

eign intervention in the U.S. political process here?

*The President.* No, I think everybody ought to fight for what they believe in. That's exactly what I'm beginning to do right here. We've laid back down, we've been lying in the weeds, saying let's not get all these debate subjects going. The best thing for peace, to move the process forward, is just have this deferral.

But I'm going to fight for what I believe. And it may be popular politically, but probably it's not. But that's not the question here. That's not the question, is whether it's good 1992 politics. What's important here is that we give this process a chance. I don't care if I get one vote. I'm going to stand for what I believe here. And I believe the American people will be with me if we put it on this question of principle. And nobody has been a better friend to Israel than the United States, and no one will continue to be a better friend than the United States.

But here, we are simply asking for a 120-day deferral, and that's what motivates me. It doesn't have anything to do with lobbies or politics or anything else.

*Q.* Mr. President, just how much damage is being caused by this showdown?

*The President.* I don't think there's any damage. Lawsy, we'll be debating something else tomorrow. But I think this one's very important, and that's why I want to be sure that our position is out there. I'm not only half in jest about what's happening up there on the Hill. Listen, there's a tremendous effort going on. And we have had a low profile on this. And I wake up now and see that we better get our message out loud and clear.

*Q.* Does this strain itself threaten the peace process?

*The President.* No. It has nothing to do with the peace process in my view. What would happen, the result is what would strain it, not the—

*Q.* Isn't there a loss of trust, sir? Do the Israelis trust you as much as they did?

*The President.* Well, you'll have to ask the Israelis that. I can't tell you about that. All I'm doing is expressing the foreign policy of the United States of America. And we're going to say what we think is best. If they

agree, fine. They've got to worry about their priorities. But I think many people there want to see this peace process go forward. The polling numbers in Israel are overwhelming in support of the peace process.

And so, what I'm trying to say is: Listen, to the degree America's judgment and leadership matters, listen to what we say, how strongly we feel about this. And I think the people there will respond. I think the American people will respond.

*Mr. Fitzwater.* The final question, please.

*Q.* Have you made a commitment to the Israelis and to the Congress, if that delay is acceded to, that you will support the loan guarantee unequivocally and with no further condition?

*The President.* What was that?

*Q.* Have you made a commitment to the Israelis and to their supporters in the Congress that if they agree to the delay, that you will then support the loan guarantee?

*The President.* Absolutely not. That would undermine everything. I proposed that the question be considered in 120 days without any objection on our part and that in principle a concept of absorption aid, the principle that we backed up by \$400 million this year, will still be a valid principle. But to agree to something of that nature would be just the same—if I feel it's detrimental to the peace process as presented now, that kind of agreement would be equally detrimental to the peace process.

I'm really going to have to run. I'm going to Philadelphia here in a minute, and then I've got something else I've got to do before I go there.

*Q.* What?

*The President.* Domestic agenda.

*Q.* Mr. President, you've said Israel wants this peace conference as much as you do. And yet it's Israel that submitted this request to you. Have they put you in a difficult position? And does this say something about their less-than-genuine interest?

*The President.* Well, you can't judge by statements from one or another in the Cabinet in Israel. You've got to look at the whole picture. And there have been some disquieting statements by one rather flamboyant minister that I'm sorry I didn't get asked about because I've just been aching

to answer the question. [Laughter] Not going to answer any more. But I'm just simply saying, we're not judging it on a statement here or there. I take the Prime Minister at his word when he says that they feel it's in their interest to have a peace conference. And it's not been an easy decision for him. But he's taken that decision, and to his credit, he reaffirmed their interest in the peace process just less than 48 hours ago. So, those are the statements we ought to look at, and in that one, why, I was quite reassured.

But again, Charles [Charles Bierbauer, Cable News Network], we are the United States of America. We've got our policy. We should say clearly what our policy is. And I want this peace process to happen. I want the Israelis to do that which they wanted all along, have a chance to sit down one-on-one with historic adversaries. And I want the Arabs to have a chance to get this question settled once and for all. And I really believe the whole world wants that.

And it is my best judgment that a rancorous debate now is literally miniscule in importance compared to the objective of peace. And that's why we ought to set it back, 120 days only. Who's going to get hurt? What possibly could work against that reasonable request from an administration that has brought this thing from square one right up to a peak that nobody really believed we could achieve, getting these countries together. And the work that's gone into it, I just don't want to risk it by us taking some stand in the United States Congress against a request by the President in order to satisfy some other interest.

We've got to keep our sights on the broad picture of peace in the Middle East. And I would say that includes world peace. They're so closely interlocked when you look at the complex relationships in the Middle East and how they spill over into Europe, into Asia, into the Soviet Union still. So, we're talking about a major chance now for one more tremendous step towards peace. We've seen the evolution in the Soviet Union. And we've seen the defeat of aggression over there in Iraq. We've seen democracy on the move in our hemisphere. And here is a last place that really needs

this peace process to go forward.

*Q.* Mr. President, just a quick followup was, if this goes through, which Arabs could you no longer count on?

*The President.* I'm not going to define that at all. It's just our judgment that it would be very detrimental to the peace process. I can't help you with individual—listen, I've got to go, honest.

Should we get one in the—too bad you're not in the back of the room. Right back there.

#### *CIA Director Nominee*

*Q.* Mr. President, next week you have another somewhat controversial nominee going to hearing, the Robert Gates CIA nomination. Are you still confident that he will be confirmed? Is there any consideration being given to withdrawal?

*The President.* Absolutely no consideration to withdrawal because there's no reason for withdrawal. I'm not sure how controversial this nomination will be when the facts are out there. And the committee are going to deal with it, in my view, in extraordinarily good faith. I've had an opportunity to talk to the chairman, the ranking member, other Members of Congress, and I think that a lot of these kind of feathery charges that are floating out there are nonsense. And I think the process will be fair enough that I wouldn't concede that this nomination is in any trouble at all. And

I believe Bob Gates is the best man to head the intelligence community. I have total confidence in his honor, his integrity, if you will, his word of honor. And I think he will be confirmed. So, I have no question in my mind about this being the proper choice.

*Q.* You don't think the Clair George indictment hurt him?

*The President.* I don't think so. I think people are fair. I mean, if Clair George came out and made some charge against Bob Gates, that might have some influence. But I don't think that will happen. I have no reason to believe that at all.

*Q.* Followup on the—

*Q.* Sir—

*The President.* Hey listen, I'm not making an excuse. I really do have to get the heck out.

*Q.* Can you just follow up on Jerusalem, sir, just a quickie on Jerusalem?

*The President.* Thank you very much.

*Note: President Bush's 103d news conference began at 1:05 p.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House. In the news conference, the following persons were referred to: Giandomenico Picco, Assistant to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for Special Assignments; and Clair George, former Chief of Covert Operations, Central Intelligence Agency, who was indicted on September 12 on charges related to the Iran-contra investigation.*

## Nomination of Robert Stephen Pastorino To Be United States Ambassador to the Dominican Republic

*September 12, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Robert Stephen Pastorino, of California, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be United States Ambassador to the Dominican Republic. He would succeed Paul D. Taylor.

Since 1989, Mr. Pastorino has served as Deputy Chief of Mission at the American Embassy in Mexico City, Mexico. Prior to this, he served as a Special Assistant to the

President at the National Security Council, 1988–1989; a Deputy Assistant Secretary at the Department of Defense in Washington, DC, 1987–1988; and as Chargé and Deputy Chief of Mission at the American Embassy in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, 1986. From 1984 to 1986, Mr. Pastorino served as the Economic and Political Counselor at the American Embassy in Mexico City, Mexico. He joined the Foreign Service in 1966.

Mr. Pastorino graduated from San Fran-

cisco State University (B.A., 1964). He was born March 16, 1940, in San Francisco, CA.

Mr. Pastorino is married and resides in Fairfax, VA.

## Remarks at the Department of Veterans Affairs Medical Center in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania *September 12, 1991*

Thank you all very, very much. Thank you very much. Dr. O'Brien, to you and Dr. Woody, thanks for greeting me. And to all the others, medical doctors and Ph.D.'s that we just rubbed elbows with, thank you for the quick education course we've had.

I want to salute our Secretary who heads the Veterans' Administration, the first Cabinet officer now that the vets are in the Cabinet, Ed Derwinski, with whom I served in the Congress for many years. Director Bob Martinez, the former Governor of Florida, came in, and we'll talk a little bit about the numbers. But far more important than that, because we've got a long way to go as Dr. O'Brien said, is the dedication that he's bringing to this job. And it's not simply on interdiction; it's not simply on treatment. It's across the whole sphere of the drug problem. And so, I salute him for that.

And of course, to my old colleague Larry Coughlin, who's your Congressman, I thank him not only for being here but for his interest in all of this work, including the Veterans' Administration side of it as well as the fight on antinarcotics that goes beyond the veterans.

Let me simply thank those who were patients here and now being consulted, the consultants and consultees, for giving of their time.

I think Dr. O'Brien was rather kind about all this because I worry about this kind of thing when you come here. Is it going to be considered just show business? Are we just trying to get what they call the basic photo op or maybe get one of these cameras so you'll be on the 6 o'clock evening news? And that really, I'd like you to believe, is not what my interest is all about. I am interested, but I learned both from the consultants and the consultees a few minutes ago that I've got an awful lot still to learn.

And I was very impressed with the quality of the work that I see here in this great institution.

I'd been briefed ahead of time before climbing off of that helicopter about the marvelous resources that you have here, human resources. And once again, as I told the patients or those that were being treated, it's not easy to get up in front of anybody; maybe the President's a little more complicated, too. I don't know. But they confessed to a little nervousness. But for those of you that were not privileged to hear them, they were good, right from the heart, called it directly. And I'll tell you, I learned a lot just from this short visit. And I'm grateful to each and every one of you. And to those that had to put up with the logistics and the security and all of that, we promise to leave right on time. *[Laughter]*

Now, in '89 we introduced what was the first national drug control strategy. And at the time, the drug epidemic had incited a fear and certainly a despair, even rage among Americans. I think that that strategy did set forth clear goals. And we tried to rally Americans to fight back. Many of you have been doing that for years, but wanted to get the Government behind this national strategy.

We look back now on 2 years of intensive work. We can survey with pride the accomplishments that many of you have made, that collectively we as a people have made, and we look forward to the victories that I'm certain lie ahead.

Recent National Institute on Drug Abuse figures show that over an 18-month reporting period, overall drug use in the United States fell an estimated 11 percent. Cocaine use fell even more dramatically: Occasional use dropped 29 percent. And the number of cocaine-related casualties in emergency

rooms fell 23 percent.

So, this is good news. There's no question about that. We ought not to deny you your part in it. But as Dr. O'Brien just impressed on us, we're just beginning. Let's face it, most of the difficult work still lies ahead. We continue to disrupt the drug flow through, I think, improved interdiction efforts, trying to keep it from coming to our shores. But we can never fully control our long borders. We're a free country, and we have free going, to-ing and fro-ing from our neighbors to the north and south. And thank God we do. We're blessed by peaceful neighbors with no intentions against one another. But that does present, in these terms of open borders, a problem. And we've discouraged drug use by imposing tough penalties on those who distribute drugs. But in the end, we can win the drug war only by winning the wars that rage within the hearts of those who abuse drugs.

We can't move too soon because drug abuse does threaten everybody. And it destroys the very fabric of our society. It rips families apart. No one can tally the costs that hardcore drug users impose upon us all. I'm sure there are estimates out there. But you've got to throw in the violent crime, the broken families, the accidents, the disease and disability and death, the energy drained from the nobleness of our society, the wretched fate of the 100,000 drug-exposed babies that are born each year.

While we urge those who do not use drugs not to start, drug treatment programs can help save those who have been overcome by their addiction. And if ever there was a lesson that I've learned today, it's just exactly that. And once again, my gratitude to all involved. These programs can reduce the toll that drugs exact. Day in and day out, drug treatment professionals like you all fight this war for human life and dignity. You win the battles—that's one soul at a time.

Here in this Center, I've seen that drug treatment can work. Drug use falls by more than 70 percent among those that are treated here, I'm told. Your patients are three times more likely to be employed than are drug abusers who receive no treatment and only one-fourth as likely to go out and

commit crimes.

The human stories tell even more. They tell of the long, arduous, agonizing journey back to a whole life, a journey that, regrettably, not everyone completes. These stories show that only those who take responsibility for their actions and their own lives can enjoy real dignity.

Nothing here comes easily to you or your patients. But you ought to be proud. You combine the best in treatment, medical, social, and psychological, with this innovative research that Dr. O'Brien talked about in these introductory remarks. You've created precisely the kind of treatment center that we talk about in this national drug control strategy: Stressing personal responsibility, determining what works, and building a record of success. So, if my visit here does nothing else, I hope that the message gets out that what you're doing can serve as a great example for others all across our country.

This clinic began working years before this Nation had such a strategy. You were the pioneers before people really even focused on drugs as a major problem. For 20 years, you've developed new information about the nature and the treatment of addiction. And hundreds of thousands of patients across the country have benefited as a result.

For the last 3 years, the Federal Government has been able to give you additional research funds, all from the budget for the war against drugs. I know that you could use more. Dr. O'Brien very frankly mentioned that earlier on in a very subtle way. My arm is now out from under the—[*laughter*]. This guy's a real gentleman, but he's a hell of a salesman, too. [*Laughter*] I got the message out there.

But the Federal Government wants to help—limited resources, of course—in whatever field for medicine. But we're trying hard on that. We support you and want to do more because the programs do work. We support you also because of what you stand for, and that's getting back to the people, giving people the opportunity to work to rebuild their lives.

Grants constitute only a part of our efforts to build new treatment programs and



improve those that are already in operation. We've worked to expand the number of treatment openings and the range of treatment methods that are available. I'm proud that based on our fiscal year '92 budget that I sent to Congress, since 1989 Federal funding for drug treatment has increased by \$778 million. That's an 89-percent increase. And programs funded with the help of the Federal Government treat 2.2 million each year, up from 1.5. And in those same 3 years, our total annual spending against drugs has nearly doubled, from 6.4 in this whole drug program, 6.4 billion, now to 11.7 billion. I'm not trying to offset your plea, Dr. O'Brien. But I want you to know we're listening, and we're making some progress.

Look, I know this, and you who fight every single day and give of your lives to fight this problem know this: We still have a long way to go as a country because we've got to measure our success not in dollars spent, not in these statistics that I'm clicking off here, but in lives reclaimed. And America has got to realize that success at staying off drugs depends on the environment from which addicts come and to which they return.

We can't lay responsibility for a cure just at the feet of you very competent health professionals. And we can't win this fight without effective local law enforcement, strong families, caring neighborhoods, education, good schools, active places of worship. Treatment can't succeed, is what I'm saying, in a vacuum. It certainly cannot succeed in a society that feels weak or no longer cares.

People think the problem in our world is crack or suicide or babies having babies, and those are symptoms. The disease is a kind of moral emptiness, though. And we cannot continue producing generations born numbly into despair, finding solace in a needle or a vial. If, as President, I had the power to give just one thing to this great country, it would be the return of an inner moral compass nurtured by the family and

valued by society. And I had the feeling as I watched the Ph.D.'s and the M.D.'s working with these young people or talking with pride about where they'd come from, that they are doing something by inculcating and helping to reinculcate these kinds of values into the lives of the young men and women that they are helping.

A strong conscience is more irresistible than a crack pipe. And a national conscience would haunt us in the knowledge that every life lost to drugs or despair kills a part of each of us.

So, here we see hope; we see a beginning. Your patients come in desperation, they told us this today, after their descent into the moral degradation of drug abuse. And they learn that the road out of the abyss begins by taking personal responsibility for overcoming addiction. No one can function alone, physically, emotionally, or spiritually. We can't live full lives without the support of families and friends and neighborhoods and places of worship, and I'd add then, too, the counselors that I've seen in action here today. This Center recognizes the importance of belonging to a society, of building a community of people who care, who reach out, and those who then, in turn, reach back.

So, in addition to saying thank you, I want to say: God bless you in your work you do here. You give us inspiration. You give us hope and a glimpse of how to strengthen the American dream. And believe me, for me, this last hour was no photo op. It was a basic, wonderful learning experience.

Thank you.

*Note: The President spoke at 5:30 p.m. at the Substance Abuse Treatment Unit (SATU). In his remarks, he referred to the following persons: Dr. Charles P. O'Brien, Chief of Psychiatric Service at the Medical Center and director of the substance abuse treatment program; Dr. George Woody, Chief of the SATU; and Bob Martinez, Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy.*

## Remarks at a Fundraising Dinner for Senatorial Candidate Dick Thornburgh in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania September 12, 1991

Please be seated, and thank you all for that wonderful warm welcome back. Let me first salute the members of our congressional delegation. I know Larry Coughlin came in with us, and I'm told that Curt Weldon and Don Ritter are here. I can't see too well beyond the glare here. I'm proud to be up here with Joe Egan, who is the candidate for mayor of Philadelphia. And I'd love to see him win that race, and I hope you'll all support him. And I see one of Dick's former fellow Governors and one of my great admired friends, and that's Governor Mike Castle of Delaware here, coming across the border. Mike, welcome, and thanks for being here.

Let me just say a word about Arlen. He's doing exactly what he should do. This is very important work. He couldn't join us tonight. He's a member of the Judiciary Committee, as you all know and should take pride in. He's there for the Thomas hearings. And before we go any further, let me just say that what I've seen over the past few days from Judge Thomas makes me more confident than ever that I've nominated the best man for the Supreme Court. And he deserves to sit on that High Court.

Parenthetically, I watched the opening presentation that he made to this committee, and I got kind of choked up listening, as I did at Kennebunkport when I nominated him. And I called Barbara, picked up the little button that rings right over to the house there, and she said, "Quiet, I'm watching Judge Thomas." So, I'd called her to remind her to do that, but if you haven't seen it and you have any of those crazy VCR's, play it back. It really bespoke a lot about values in our country. And I think we saw the decency and honor of that man right there in those few minutes where he made that presentation.

I want to salute also two that came up here with me, two Cabinet-level officers: Ed Derwinski, the Cabinet Secretary for the Veterans' Administration, and then Governor Bob Martinez, who's leading our

fight on narcotics, on drugs, both of them here with us tonight. And I'm glad they're here, and give them a welcome.

And of course, our party leaders, Anne and Elsie and Herb. It's always a pleasure to be with them. I'm just recovering from the way Elsie Hillman, and to some degree, Anne and Herb also, killed me when I was running for President. Dick, be careful of these now; they're going to wear you out. But they're good. They're the best, and you're lucky to have such good party leaders here.

I'm kind of the entree here, leaving and afraid you're going to have broccoli later on. So, what I'm—[laughter]—going to do is to just give a few comments, because along with Ed and Bob Martinez, we're off to a veterans event back in Washington. I do bring Barbara's love and affection. And if I might say something that might sound a little prejudiced, I am very proud of Barbara Bush and the work that she's doing for literacy in this country. And she's a darn good First Lady. And she is as strongly convinced that Dick Thornburgh is the man for the job as I am. And so, you'll be seeing her up here campaigning. I guarantee you that. She loves Ginny, and she sends her love. And I expect you'll see her on the campaign trail.

But I'm here tonight—this is called brief remarks, you'll be happy to know—to just say a few words about Dick. Seven weeks to go until election day. This race, compressed into that timeframe, is a sprint right from the beginning to the end which is just over the horizon. That, I believe, is important. Dick comes out of having done a fantastic, substantive job for the whole country. And he earned the respect of the country. And I believe people are relieved to have a short timeframe for this election. But I believe the fact that he's come here from Attorney General, he knows how to campaign in this State, he's had a great record as Governor of this State, means that he will win that Senate seat. And boy, do we ever need him

in the United States Senate.

And I think when it's all over, and you all are better analysts of your own politics than I am, but if you had to go through a bunch of words, one that would come to my mind is trust, trust of the people of this Commonwealth. And I believe that's going to come through loud and clear.

I will say that there's a certain sadness amidst this celebration tonight—and it is a celebration—due to the absence of a man that many of us in this room knew as a friend, all of you, I expect. And I'm talking about Senator John Heinz. When this State lost him, we lost a man whose integrity and ethic of selfless service inspired us all. My heart still goes out, as yours does I know, to Teresa and those wonderful boys. But it's a tribute to the candidate that we champion tonight that when this party faced the daunting prospect of selecting a successor to John Heinz, the first name, the one that came forward with this resounding support, was Dick Thornburgh.

It is no mystery. Just go back and take a look at the record. As Governor, he fought hard for the working men and women of this State. When he took office in '78, Pennsylvania strained beneath the weight of what had become a chronic deficit and suffered a crisis in that word I used, in public trust. Dick came in, and he took action. He cut the bureaucratic bloat. He cut taxes on individuals and business to spur growth, economic growth. He restored integrity to a State government that had been plagued by corruption and scandal. When he left the statehouse in 1986, he left Pennsylvania in enviable good health: a State government with a budget surplus of \$350 million and a State making the difficult economic evolution from the smokestack era to the age of high tech.

His next contribution, as we all know, came on what I just referred to as the national level. As the Nation's number one law enforcer, he turned his crusade against corruption into a war on white-collar crime. He fought to make life tougher on the criminals and a bit easier, this is the compassionate side, a bit easier for the victims of crime that are scarred by crime and scarred by violence. Let me just cite one recent statistic that Bob Martinez, our drug

czar, and I were talking about coming over here: Over the past 18 months, drug use in this country is down by 11 percent. And I really firmly believe it's because of Dick and others like him that we are really beginning now to win this war on drugs. And I salute him. He never gave up, never said that it couldn't be done.

He took care of the law enforcement side. We've increased to something like—almost a 75-percent increase in the number of Federal prosecutors, and nearly doubled the number of prison beds. And he expanded initiatives like this Asset Forfeiture Program that I think many of you have heard about, to prove the old adage that crime does not pay. It's a marvelous program, and it's working. Under this program, last year Federal law enforcement officials seized more than half a billion dollars in ill-gotten gains and turned over \$200 million of that amount to State and local governments to wage the fight against crime and drugs right on the local level.

And for Pennsylvania and for the Nation, Dick Thornburgh fought tirelessly, as I mentioned, for decency, for decency in government and the dignity of the individual. And again, I think these qualifications make him the clear choice for the United States Senate.

Permit me one personal note, one that I believe relevant in a very real way to Dick's approach to public life. Many of you know how Dick led the effort to pass last year's civil rights legislation. He referred to it, the Americans for [with] Disabilities Act. Dick and Ginny and their sons knew firsthand what it means to triumph over disability. At the age of 4 months, tragedy struck Peter Thornburgh in the form of a near-fatal head injury. Every day since, he's waged a battle using all of his ability. The Thornburghs pulled together as a family, triumphed over hardship, held fast to hope. As a dedicated public servant but also as parents, they and I know how much it meant for them to help welcome Peter and 43 million citizens with disabilities into the American mainstream as we passed that act.

And when I saw this kid up here tonight, I said, thank God Dick Thornburgh took the leadership in the Americans for Disabil-

ity Act. This kid's got a future, a real future. You could tell it when you heard that performance up here.

So, the guy's been tested. He's mastered some of the most difficult challenges that government has to offer. He pulled Pennsylvania out of that economic tailspin, and he's done battle against society's criminals and the drug traffickers. And now he's ready for the toughest assignment of all, going to Capitol Hill without combat pay. *[Laughter]* And believe me, that is a challenge. In a world where the pace of change seems constantly to accelerate, to me—and I'm not in a Congress-bashing mood tonight, I'm not really warmed up—*[laughter]*—Congress seems inert. They go after me on the domestic agenda, and yet they refuse to take up and support the new proposals that this country needs. Their domestic agenda is to attack my domestic agenda, and that's not good enough for the United States.

And so, we need more people that understand the fundamentals that I've talked about here tonight. And Dick will become a key Member, right from the day he is there—because of that magnificent service in the Cabinet—of the GOP shock force, trying to shake things up, working for things he believes in, trying to get something done and shake loose that Democratically controlled logjam of the legislation that he helped shape and that we both believe in. It's Republican legislation that's been gathering dust on the desk of the Democratic leadership. And I'd like to see more like him in the Senate, enough Republicans to swing the Senate firmly back so we have control and can at least take the offense on legislation, at least bring to a vote the things that I was elected to try to perform on, get moving on this domestic agenda.

America's seen now what the Democrats do when they control both Houses, and it isn't a pretty picture. It's simply not a pretty picture. And I really think the time has come to get control of the Congress, certainly to get control of the United States Senate. And this race, this first race that will have an effect on 1992 elections, is absolutely critical. So, look at the big picture, as well as what's best for Pennsylvania, and

you'll also then conclude once again that Dick Thornburgh is the right man for this job.

You know, the charge is leveled against me, sometimes in kindness and sometimes with a little edge to it, that I'm interested in foreign affairs. I expect the whole world is, when you see the change that has taken place, the crushing of aggression that Saddam Hussein brought to bear on Kuwait, see the remarkable changes that have taken place in Eastern Europe and democracy in our own hemisphere and what's happening in the Soviet Union, monumental changes. So, I plead guilty; yes, I'm interested in that. But there's something wrong when we can push the foreign forces out of Kuwait, but we can't even get our domestic programs through the United States Congress. We need more people that look at these issues the way you and I do.

And we've known for a long time that our party is really the party of the American ideals. But more important, we stand as the party of ideas. And I just think that we need to get moving. We've got a great child care program with choice in it. We've passed a good clean air bill. We've done other things in the Congress in the environment that I would have to thank them for, for their cooperation in getting them passed. But we're stalled on a lot of our ideas. I want to see more tenants turned into homeowners in this public housing across this country. I want to see more ways to enlist the ingenuity of the marketplace to clean the air and provide new sources of energy. We've got a good energy program. Dick knows this well as head of our Domestic Policy Council. He helped shape the energy program and the transportation bill.

So, when he talks about agenda, that's what he's talking about. And our problem is, it gets stalled in an old-thinking United States Congress. We want to clear the path, though, through this maze, and I really believe we must succeed in creating more opportunities for individuals and families to shape their own destinies and to secure their own freedom.

And so, it's not just that Barbara and I are friends of Dick and have total confidence in his decency and in his integrity, but it's

more than that. It's that we really believe and I really believe as your President that he can do more to shape this legislative agenda and help get this country moving than if he hadn't been in Washington and if he hadn't been the great Governor that he was of this Commonwealth.

So, it's a great pleasure for me to be here to salute him, to urge you all on. I don't know how much money you gave to come have this meal. I don't know how good the meal is going to be. But I know you're here for a good cause. And believe me, do everything you can in the last 7 weeks to send this good man back to Washington as a Member of the United States Senate.

Thank you, and God bless all of you. And let me just say as I end, this comment: If

you get the feeling I'm enthusiastic about the job that many of you helped me get into a few years ago now, you're absolutely correct. I love this challenge. I love every single day going to that Oval Office and going to work. But it would be one heck of a lot better if we had this great man in the United States Senate.

Thank you very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 6:47 p.m. at the Hotel Atop the Bellevue. In his remarks, he referred to Senator Arlen Specter; Anne Anstine, chairman of the Pennsylvania State Republican Committee; Elsie Hillman and Herb Barness, State Republican committeemen; and Mr. Thornburgh's wife, Ginny, and son Peter.*

## Letter to Congressional Leaders Reporting on the Cyprus Conflict September 12, 1991

*Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. Chairman:)*

In accordance with Public Law 95-384 (92 Stat. 739; 22 U.S.C. 2372(c)), I am submitting to you this bimonthly report on progress toward a negotiated settlement of the Cyprus question. This report covers the period from April through May 1991, during which the United States made continued high-level contacts with the leaders of both Cypriot communities in support of the efforts of the United Nations Secretary General to complete an outline for a Cyprus settlement.

In mid-April Mr. Rauf Denktash, leader of the Turkish Cypriot community, traveled to the United States. On April 15 he met in Washington with various Members of Congress and with Secretary of State Baker and Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Robert Kimmitt. During these meetings Mr. Denktash expressed his views concerning the Cyprus problem. In turn, both Secretary Baker and Under Secretary Kimmitt urged Mr. Denktash to be flexible and creative in the U.N.-led process of completing an outline for a Cyprus settlement. Specifically, Secretary Baker requested that Mr. Denktash present to the United Nations

clear Turkish Cypriot positions on the issues of territorial adjustments and the return of displaced persons. He also told Mr. Denktash that the political objectives of the Turkish Cypriot community could only be secured through the negotiation of a political settlement.

As the Department stated publicly, these meetings did "not imply a change in US policy toward Cyprus. The US recognizes only a single state of Cyprus and does not accept that there is or can be an independent Turkish Cypriot state on the island." Mr. Denktash was seen "in his capacity as leader of the Turkish Cypriot community and as one of two equal participants in the intercommunal negotiations, conducted under the auspices of the United Nations . . . ."

On April 17 my Special Cyprus Coordinator, Ambassador Nelson Ledsky, testified on the Cyprus issue before the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on European Affairs. He told the Subcommittee that the United States had been working to facilitate a Cyprus settlement and would intensify its efforts, in support of the U.N. Secretary General's good offices mandate, in the

months ahead.

In early May Ambassador Ledsky traveled to Europe where he discussed the Cyprus problem with the German and U.K. Governments, as well as with representatives of the European Community and the Council of Europe. He also met with a representative of the Soviet Union.

During April and May Secretary Baker continued his correspondence with Turkish Foreign Secretary Alptemecin in an effort to assist the United Nations in moving the negotiating process forward. At the same time the United Nations continued its efforts to lay the basis for completing an outline for a settlement. During the week of May 20 representatives of the Government of Turkey and of the Turkish Cypriot community traveled to New York for consultations with Mr. Gustave Feissel, the Secretary General's Director for Cyprus Affairs. During these consultations the Turkish side made proposals on the issues of territorial adjustments and the return of displaced persons.

On May 22 Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs Under Secretary Ozceri met with Secretary Baker and Under Secretary Kimmitt. They discussed the proposals of the Turkish side, and Secretary Baker reemphasized the importance of continued flexibility by all the parties concerned.

On May 29 President Vassiliou met with Secretary Baker for a full discussion of the Cyprus problem. Then, on May 30, President Vassiliou met with me in the Oval Office. During these meetings both Secretary Baker and I discussed with President Vassiliou recent developments affecting the intercommunal negotiations and urged him to be flexible with respect to completing the outline for a settlement.

Based on the developments of the last 2 months, I continue to believe that a moment of opportunity exists to finish the long overdue outline of a Cyprus solution, and that its completion can lead to a final settlement of the Cyprus problem in the foreseeable future. While many obstacles remain before the outline can be concluded, I am convinced that each of these obstacles can be removed, and the path to a just and lasting settlement cleared, if the leaders of both communities on the island will make the difficult decisions required to make agreement possible. It is my earnest hope that they will do so.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

*Note: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Claiborne Pell, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.*

## Nomination of James Ashley Endicott, Jr., To Be General Counsel at the Department of Veterans Affairs

*September 12, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate James Ashley Endicott, Jr., of Texas, to be General Counsel for the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs. He would succeed Raoul Lord Carroll.

Currently Mr. Endicott serves as court master of the 3d Judicial Region of Texas. From 1982 to 1989, he served as an attorney in private practice in Temple, Belton,

and Killeen, TX.

Mr. Endicott graduated from the Citadel (B.S., 1960) and George Washington University (J.D., 1968). He was born June 21, 1939, in Kansas City, MO. Mr. Endicott served in the U.S. Army, 1960-1982. He is married, has one child, and resides in Harker Heights, TX.

## Nomination of John A. Shaw To Be an Assistant Secretary of Commerce

*September 12, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate John A. Shaw, of Maryland, to be an Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Export Enforcement. He would succeed Quincy Mellon Krosby.

Since 1988 Dr. Shaw has served as Associate Deputy Secretary of the Department of Commerce. Prior to this Dr. Shaw served as senior adviser to the Administrator of the Agency for International Development,

1988, and as vice president for Washington operations for the Hudson Institute, 1987–1988.

Dr. Shaw graduated from Williams College (B.A., 1962) and Cambridge University (M.A., 1967, and Ph.D., 1976). He was born July 1, 1939, in Philadelphia, PA. Dr. Shaw is married, has two children, and resides in Washington, DC.

## Nomination of Albert Peter Burleigh for the Rank of Ambassador While Serving as Coordinator for Counter-Terrorism

*September 12, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Albert Peter Burleigh, of California, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, class of Minister-Counselor, to be accorded the rank of Ambassador during his tenure of service as Coordinator for Counter-Terrorism. He would succeed Morris D. Busby.

Since 1989 Mr. Burleigh has served as Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for the Bureau of Intelligence and Research at the U.S. Department of State.

Prior to this, he served at the Department of State for the Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs as: Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, 1987–1989; Director of the Office of Northern Gulf Affairs, 1985–1987; and Deputy Director of the Office of Analysis and Research, 1982–1985. Mr. Burleigh joined the Foreign Service in 1967.

Mr. Burleigh graduated from Colgate University (A.B., 1963). He was born March 7, 1942, in Los Angeles, CA. Mr. Burleigh resides in Washington, DC.

## Address to the Nation on the Central Intelligence Agency Nomination of Robert Gates

*September 13, 1991*

*My fellow Americans:*

This week millions of you watched and listened as Judge Clarence Thomas appeared in his Senate hearings as my nominee for the Supreme Court. And now the Nation knows what I know: Clarence Thomas is a magnificent American. The hearings have revealed his warmth, his grace, his intellectual vitality. And above

all, Judge Thomas is driven by a passion for fairness, deepened by life experience, disciplined by profound understanding of our Constitution and the wisdom of our forefathers.

This is no time for special interest agendas to block this important appointment. As the Senate continues its deliberations, I am confident it will agree that Judge Thomas is

the right man for the Supreme Court.

Next week, the Senate will begin its deliberations on another nomination crucial to America's well-being for many years to come, my choice of Bob Gates as Director of Central Intelligence.

Our victory against Saddam's aggression and the extraordinary changes in the Soviet Union have our spirits soaring. But we must recognize that while the coming years offer great hopes, they pose challenges as well. The times demand a vigorous, experienced Director of Central Intelligence. We have that man in Robert Gates.

Bob Gates was nurtured in the love of American democratic values in the Kansas community that he called home. He studied at three of our best universities, earning a doctorate in Russian and Soviet history. Twenty-five years ago he entered the "silent service" of the CIA. He became CIA's Deputy Director in the 1980's. The achievements of American intelligence during that decade owe much to his innovative and effective leadership.

As one who once had the privilege to serve as Director of Central Intelligence, I have boundless admiration for the women and men of our professional intelligence services. I deeply believe Bob Gates is the man best qualified to lead our intelligence community through the challenges of the 1990's.

During my hours of decision in Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm, Bob Gates stood by my side every step of the way, giving wise counsel, helping bring the best out of our civilian and military commanders.

I need Bob Gates now at the helm of our intelligence services. As hearings on Bob Gates's nomination begin in the Senate next week, I hope all Americans will join me in asking the Senate to approve his nomination promptly.

Thank you, and may God bless the United States of America.

*Note: The President spoke at 4:01 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House.*

## Message to the Senate Transmitting the Mongolia-United States Consular Convention *September 13, 1991*

### *To the Senate of the United States:*

I am transmitting, for the Senate's advice and consent to ratification, the Consular Convention Between the United States of America and the Mongolian People's Republic signed at Ulaanbaatar on August 2, 1990. I am also transmitting, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Department of State with respect to the Convention.

The signing of this Convention is a significant step in the process of improving and broadening the relationship between the United States and Mongolia. There currently does not exist a bilateral agreement on consular relations between the two countries. The Convention sets forth clear obligations with respect to important matters

such as notification to consular officers of the arrest and detention of nationals of their country and protection of the rights and interests of nationals of their country.

The people of the United States and Mongolia have begun to establish ties of friendship and cooperation. I welcome the opportunity through this Consular Convention to promote good relations between the two countries. I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the convention and give its advice and consent to ratification.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
September 13, 1991.



## Nomination of Alan M. Dunn To Be an Assistant Secretary of Commerce

*September 13, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Alan M. Dunn, of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Import Administration. He would succeed Eric I. Garfinkel.

Since 1990 Mr. Dunn has served as a Deputy Assistant Secretary for Science and Electronics at the International Trade Administration of the U.S. Department of Commerce. Prior to this, he was Deputy Assistant Secretary for Basic Industries at the International Trade Administration,

1989–1990. Mr. Dunn has served as an attorney with O’Conner & Hannan, Attorneys at Law, 1987–1989; as general counsel of Temps & Co., 1985–1987; and as Executive Assistant to the Chairman of the U.S. Consumer Product Safety Commission, 1984–1985.

Mr. Dunn graduated from George Mason University (B.S., 1975) and the University of Virginia School of Law (J.D., 1980). He was born February 16, 1953, in New Haven, CT. Mr. Dunn resides in Arlington, VA.

## Remarks on Designating the Solar Energy Research Institute as the National Renewable Energy Laboratory

*September 16, 1991*

Good to see you all. Please be seated. Let me just welcome everybody here. And special thanks to Henson Moore, our Deputy Secretary at Energy, who, along with Jim Watkins who’s not here today, has been such a driving force for our national energy strategy. Dr. Sunderman, we salute you, sir, the Director of the Solar Energy Research Institute; Hank Habicht of the EPA Administration; Mike Deland; and of course, Dr. Bromley, our Science Advisor.

And may I pay my respects to the Members of Congress who are with us. Senator Johnston has taken a leadership role early on, on this Senate energy bill; Senator Hank Brown, very active in it. And Congressmen Hefley and Schaefer and Skaggs, all of you, a warm welcome to the White House.

Before we get started, let me congratulate the Senate Energy Committee on approving a comprehensive energy bill that incorporates many of the key elements of our strategy. I urge the full Senate to act on this bill swiftly. I also hope that the House Energy and Commerce Committee will complete action on energy legislation this fall. The country needs an enacted energy strategy.

For 7 months now, we’ve been highlighting the strengths of our national energy strategy, a comprehensive, we feel, balanced approach to accomplish the goals of continued economic growth, increased energy efficiency, strong environmental protection, and a reduced dependence on foreign oil.

One of the most important themes in our national energy strategy is the more efficient use of energy resources. We must keep America on the cutting edge of new technologies like alternative fuels, electric cars, solar and geothermal energy, high-speed rail, and advanced, even safer nuclear energy facilities. We must encourage environmentally responsible development of all U.S. energy resources, including renewable energy. Renewable energy does reduce demand upon our other finite natural resources. It enhances our energy security, and clearly, it protects the environment.

Cost-effective renewable energy technologies can contribute in their way to a strong and growing economy domestically, by spurring competition and innovation in U.S. markets, and in our balance of trade, by

displacing more expensive imported energy and providing new services and products for export. We saw during the past year how important this is to our national security.

We don't have to wait for scientific breakthroughs to capitalize on renewable energy technologies. We just need to translate our success in the lab into progress in the marketplace. And we must continue focused, industry-driven R&D to realize the full potential of these technologies.

In the last 2 years, we have increased the Federal budget for renewable energy research and development by 78 percent and have started construction on a new Federal lab. This funding has supported R&D in a number of important areas: Photovoltaic cells that convert sunlight to electricity; advanced turbines that harness the power of the wind; and new ways of producing ethanol and methanol for our cars and trucks.

It's easy to criticize and complain that we're not doing enough in promoting renewable energy. We will leave that to others, while we quietly here do the hard work which will make renewable energy technologies a reality in the marketplace.

Much of this progress, I call it outstanding

progress, has been accomplished in Golden, Colorado, at the Department of Energy's Solar Energy Research Institute, SERI. SERI has excelled in R&D and in technology transfer. This year SERI scientists have won four of the prestigious R&D 100 awards.

In recognition of SERI's success and its important role in strengthening our energy future, I am pleased to announce the elevation of SERI to the status of a national laboratory. SERI, which will now be known as the National Renewable Energy Laboratory, joins an elite group of our Nation's finest scientific facilities. This designation symbolizes our commitment to finding new ways to produce and use energy that is cleaner, more efficient, and more sustainable.

So once again, thank you all for joining us this morning to mark this special occasion. And let me end where I began with congratulations to Secretary Moore, Henson Moore, and Dr. Duane Sunderman. Thank you very, very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 10:02 a.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Michael R. Deland, Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality.*

## Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the National Medals of Science and Technology September 16, 1991

Thank you. Please be seated, and let me welcome the dignitaries; that's almost everybody. I don't know who is excluded, but—[laughter]—first, Secretary Mosbacher and Secretary Lujan here, Bob over my shoulder; Allan Bromley, my Science Advisor; Henson Moore I believe is to be here, of Energy; and of course, Rock Schnabel of Commerce; Walter Massey, the Director of the National Science Foundation. And then finally and perhaps most important today, our honorees and their friends and families. It's my pleasure to welcome all of you to this steamy Rose Garden. [Laughter]

And with us today are five Nobel laure-

ates, leading engineers of the information age, authors of some of this century's world-changing discoveries and inventions, men and women whose quantum leaps of learning compress generations of knowledge within a single lifetime of achievement. From the first moments of creation to the frontiers of the solar system and now, with *Voyager*, beyond, your knowledge spans the broad canvas of human endeavor. Some of you are not only experts in your field, you invented your field. Your quests and questions produced new disciplines, new knowledge, new ways of looking at our world.

And today, your Nation recognizes your

monumental accomplishments, honors the differences you have made: Advancing human understanding, improving the human condition, helping mankind conquer ignorance and illness, helping this Nation compete and prosper.

Today's award winners range in age from the Pegasus Team, a group of precocious 40-something scientists and one 37-year-old who designed and built the world's first private space rocket, to Admiral Grace Hopper, born in 1906, who pioneered the revolution that put personal computers on the desks of millions of Americans and dragged even this President into the computer age. [Laughter]

I was asked for a report. It's been almost 6 months since my first computer lesson, and I'm making progress. I make the same mistakes, but I do it five times faster. It's marvelous. [Laughter]

The men and women we honor exemplify not simply the life of the mind but the spirit of adventure and risk that accompanies the quest for advancement.

Take Stephen Bechtel, whose vision helped a city spring from the Saudi desert, helped turn the Arctic waters of James Bay into a source of energy for millions of North Americans, and who's now helping Kuwait rise up from the ashes of war.

Consider Colonel Stapp, John Paul Stapp, expert on the human impact of G-forces stress. When his experiments became too dangerous to impose on others, Colonel Stapp became his own subject. And as a former Naval aviator, I can hardly believe he's withstood 40 G's. That's the same as going from 632 miles per hour to a dead stop in 1.4 seconds. Colonel Stapp put himself on the line and made flying safer for everyone from passengers on commuter shuttles to the astronauts now orbiting the Earth on *Discovery*.

From the work of a single individual come benefits that can banish suffering and prolong life for many millions of people. Consider the career of Gertrude Elion, Nobel prize-winning biochemist. Her life's work spans the quest to defeat leukemia and malaria to today's battle against AIDS and other immune system disorders.

Together, your efforts transformed our world. And yet, as a Nation, our honor for

all you've done falls short if we fail to sustain your forward march. This administration has proposed what progress demands, record funding levels for research and development with funds channeled to the individual investigator and small research teams that so often redefine state-of-the-art. To advance technology, we've focused funds on the areas of energy and aeronautics, biotechnology and advanced materials, high performance computing and communications.

To advance science and engineering research, we've urged Congress to approve an 18 percent increase in funding for the National Science Foundation, keeping us on track with our commitment to double spending on that vital research arm by the year 1994. Our commitment to science and technology proves beyond doubt we will not shortchange the future.

In the words of astronomer Edwin Powell Hubble, "Equipped with his five senses, man explores the universe around him, and calls the adventure science." Well, science and technology hold open the hope of infinite possibility, of answers that eluded Einstein, of a new world free from fear and want. And that same shining future, the new world of possibility, exists within every child. In the end, progress of enlightenment comes down to education, and what are we doing to cultivate the children sitting today in classrooms around the country, the generation we'll ask to provide solutions to the challenges of a new century, answers to questions that haven't even yet been asked.

Unless we act immediately, the next generation may not be equipped to follow in your footsteps. All of you know our national education goals and the strategy that we call America 2000, our challenge to everyone with a stake in our schools to literally reinvent American education. Well, right now, in some studies of math and science aptitude, U.S. students rank dead last amongst the industrialized nations. And that one statistic alone should shake us out of our complacency and show us the scope of the challenge that we face.

If we're going to be first in the world in math and science by 2000, there's not a moment to waste. Because we're serious,

next year's budget targets \$661 million for precollege math and science education, a 1-year increase of 28 percent.

And today, I salute every one of you who has taken the time to share your wisdom in the classroom. I mentioned earlier that we have five Nobel laureates with us today. Let me recognize another medal-winner for a singular distinction: Elvin Kabat, who's had the satisfaction of seeing one of his students go on to win a Nobel.

We must preserve the vital connection between teaching and research. That's the idea behind the Commerce Department's Technology Heroes Program, to turn Medal of Technology winners into role models for our kids. And that's why today I am pleased to announce the establishment of the Presidential Faculty Fellows Program to provide 5-year grants totaling \$500,000 to as many as each of 30 young faculty members each year. These grants will support young scholars in their path-breaking work in science and technology and their teaching in the classroom. Perhaps years from now, some of those Presidential faculty fellows will have their own day here in the Rose Garden.

In honoring each of you, this Nation honors the boundless horizons of the human mind, the soaring spirit of inquiry, the special genius of the architects who fashion today's fantastic idea into tomorrow's usable tool. Your work stands as its own reward; so let me simply add your Nation's thanks.

Once again, welcome to the White House. Congratulations on your well-deserved honors. Now, with the help of Dr. Massey and Secretary Mosbacher and Dr. Allan Bromley, we will present the awards.

Thank you all very much.

[At this point, Director Massey presented the awards.]

Well done, to the presenter. I guess that concludes it, doesn't it?

Thank you all and, again, my congratulations. I think that concludes the ceremony. And the person that's in charge of the weather, please meet me inside. [Laughter] Thank you all very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 10:30 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his remarks he referred to Rockwell A. Schnabel, Deputy Secretary of Commerce.*

## The President's News Conference With Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany

September 16, 1991

*The President.* Once again, it's been my pleasure to welcome the Chancellor of Germany. We had a wide array of subjects that were discussed. The United States position and the German position are very, very close on all these major issues. And I will let the Chancellor, if he wants to, describe the issues we talked about, but it was every one that you would imagine would be on the agenda.

So, I wanted to thank the Chancellor here, thank him and thank those that traveled with him. He was wonderfully received out in California. And this visit has given me an opportunity, and our experts, to be brought up to date on how Germany looks at these changes that are taking place

all around the world.

So once again, Mr. Chancellor, thank you, sir, for coming. And the floor is yours.

*The Chancellor.* Mr. President, thank you very much for these warm words of welcome. And I would like to use this opportunity to also extend another word of gratitude because in about 2 weeks' time it's going to be one year since we have attained German unity. And it's almost like a dream come true, all of these dramatic changes that we've seen occurring in Central and Eastern Europe.

And I've said it in all my speeches that I gave during this trip here and the speeches that I gave in California at the University of California and at numerous other occasions,

that we have not forgotten that the Americans have always stood shoulder-to-shoulder with us as friends and partners, just as all the American Presidents have ever since Harry S Truman up to the present President, my friend George Bush.

And Mr. President, let me mention once again how important I think it is that in view of these dramatic changes occurring in the world of today, that we work together so closely as we have and as partners and friends.

I would only like to mention a few points here, points that occurred during the very long and very thorough conversation that we had just now. And I would like to mention a subject here that I think is very much on the agenda in the United States right now. It is in our interest, it is in my interest that we come to a positive conclusion of the GATT round. Free world trade and the fight against protectionism are important prerequisites for freedom in the world.

I would like to mention the other important subject that we discussed not only today but in the numerous telephone conversations that we had over the past few weeks. And here again I see that we are in total agreement. We want to see a situation in the Soviet Union come about where there is freedom, democracy, and the rule of law. And we know that such a liberal democratic society can only be established in the Soviet Union if a federal framework is found as by way of political structure for the Soviet Union.

And I hope that the treaty that is going to be signed this week, about the treaty governing the relationship between the central authority and the Republics, that this is going to be signed in the next future by as many Republics as possible. Because the precondition for everything else is that in the Soviet Union a sound and stable economic framework and economic development is launched, that sound and stable framework conditions exist there, because only on the basis of that is then the West be in a position to actually help and assist the Soviet Union in its further development.

But I would like to add here, I think it is wise to help and it is reasonable to help now so that a free and liberal order can be established in the Soviet Union. Later on I

predict that things will get far more expensive than they are now. In London during the G-7 meeting, we discussed this topic. The decisions will have to be implemented quickly. And the two of us were in agreement today that if we look ahead to the probably rather harsh winter that the Soviet Union is expecting, it is also necessary to decide in time on food aid and medical aid that we give to the Soviet Union.

Another subject on the agenda today was the dramatic development in Yugoslavia. And I can only repeat here what I've said time and again: In this country, in this situation there, as quickly as possible there must be a renunciation of the use of force, and one must come back as quickly as possible to dialog. By use of force, no side there is going to make any headway at all. There is no way that you can keep a state together by using tanks.

Mr. President, thank you once again for these very cordial and very friendly talks that we had here today.

*The President.* We have time for just a few questions here, and I'd like to have them alternated as we do, one for me and one for the Chancellor, in any order.

Yes, Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International].

#### *Aid to the Soviet Union*

*Q.* Mr. President, you said that you both are very close on the issues. Are you close, or have you developed a Soviet aid package, I mean outside of food?

*The President.* No specific aid package and no specific food or other humanitarian assistance package. But we're in agreement that, on the latter, it should go forward very soon in order to avert hunger. And certainly, there are some medical supplies that might be necessary to avert medical catastrophe this winter.

In terms of any further aid, we will move forward on that. I'm going to meet with Secretary Brady just when this meeting is over, who is going to Moscow. Secretary Baker will have some ideas on this when he comes back, having spent several days there. But we still feel, and I think the Chancellor does, you heard him say they've got to get on with the reforms, they've got

to work out this, the kind of "son of Union Treaty I," you might say, so people know who they're dealing with.

But in principle, we'd like to be able to be of some assistance. But there was no specific deal, there weren't numbers that we were talking about or anything of that nature.

*Q.* When do you think you will have something?

*The President.* We will move as expeditiously as we can, but we're not ready yet, for some of the reasons I've touched on and others as well.

Now, for the Chancellor; who has got one for Chancellor Kohl?

#### *Yugoslavia*

*Q.* Chancellor, do you think you have developed a way in which one can avoid further use of force in Yugoslavia?

*The Chancellor.* I don't think any one of us here has developed a sort of patent recipe, but I think we do stand a very small chance now. During these last few days, I do think that we stand a small chance to impress it on the people responsible and the political leadership there in Yugoslavia that a further escalation of the conflict must at all costs be avoided, that a deployment of the central forces, of the army of the central authority must at all costs be avoided.

#### *CIA Director Nominee*

*Q.* Mr. President, Robert Gates said today that he wished that he had been more skeptical, he wished he'd asked more questions, he wished he had done more to get to the bottom of the Iran-*contra* affair. Is that a feeling that you share?

*The President.* I've not seen the Gates testimony. We've been in these meetings with Chancellor Kohl. I'm disinclined to comment on, although I'm sure you're interpreting it accurately, what it is Mr. Gates has said. From any summary of what's been said, I have no feeling that his chances have been diminished, and indeed, my support for him will not waver. So, I just don't want to comment, Terry [Terence Hunt, Associated Press], on something that you're telling me he said until I know exactly what it was. But I suppose what he's saying, if that's it, is that with a lot of hindsight and a lot of

things that have come to the surface since, maybe he wished he'd done things differently. I guess we all might fit into that description.

But clearly, he's a good man, well-qualified, and I remain confident that he will be confirmed. He should be. He'd be a great Director of Central Intelligence.

*Q.* That was the question I was asking you. Is that a feeling that you have now, that you wish that you had done more—

*The President.* About what?

*Q.* Iran-*contra*, to get to the bottom of it.

*The President.* I wish the damn thing had never happened. What do you mean do I wish anything done differently? But what I might have done about it, that's something else. We spend so much time on it. I must say I was very pleased to see the Ollie North decision today, however.

For the Chancellor.

#### *Multilateral Trade Negotiations*

*Q.* Chancellor Kohl, what specifically did you recommend to get the GATT talks moving?

*The Chancellor.* I think both sides have to do something. We in the European Community but also our other partners in GATT have to do something. And I'm talking about the services part of the GATT round. I'm talking about the textile part of the GATT round where things really now should be set in motion.

The most important thing is that right now all of us have to understand that if GATT fails, we all fail. And this failure would constitute really a very severe blow against free world trade, and that would have catastrophic consequences in the present world economic situation, not last for us Germans. Thirty-five percent of our production, after all, 35 percent of our production goes into exports, and increasingly.

The second point would be a failure of GATT would be catastrophic for the Third World countries, for the developing countries because they would then enter into a vicious circle. They would enter into a vicious circle in the sense that they will not be able, if there is a failure of the GATT round, to sell their products. That means they will have to borrow money somewhere

else, and that means that in order to buy machinery, in order to buy equipment of all sorts, that means at the end of that they will have incurred so many debts that we have to launch a rescheduling of those debts.

*Loan Guarantees for Israel*

*Q.* Mr. President, polls and politicians in Israel and the United States indicate that you would have more success in delaying the Israeli loan guarantees if you linked it to settlements. Isn't that in essence what you are doing, and why not make that explicit link?

*The President.* It is my view that the less debate we have on these contentious issues now, the better. And it is my view that the peace process is enhanced overall by this deferral. And so, our policy is based on that. And I am absolutely convinced it's right. The United States views on settlements didn't originate with this administration, but I feel very strongly about the settlement question. And I've stated it over and over again. But I think rather than reiterate positions, what we need to do is simply defer consideration of that request and take it up at a later date. And I am convinced that that's in the best interests of peace.

Incidentally, I just interrupted my lunch with the Chancellor to take a phone call from Jim Baker who had just concluded 3 hours of meetings in Israel. And I expect I'll be talking to him later on.

But what I am proposing is in the best interest of peace. And peace is in the best interest of Israel, and it's in the best interest of other countries in the area. And certainly, having discussed this with the Chancellor, I know he feels it's in the best interest of all the European countries as well.

*Q.* Has this become a personal issue between you and Prime Minister Shamir and Housing Minister Sharon?

*The President.* No. I haven't talked to them lately. I've stated the position of the United States of America, and it isn't going to change. I feel as strongly about it today as I did when I made the statement and as when the policy was formulated. And we are the United States, and this is the foreign policy of the United States while I'm President. And so, there's no rancor about it.

And there's no personalities involved. But I will follow through now on what I feel is best for the United States of America. And I'm absolutely convinced it's in the best interest of the peace process.

*The Chancellor.* Mr. President, if you allow, I would like to add a brief remark, add to the subject. And let me reassure you I'm not going to interfere in internal American affairs. But I would like to make one thing very clear that I think I share with nearly all of my European colleagues. We completely and unequivocally support the President's initiative for a peace conference for the Middle East. And all of us hope and pray that this initiative is crowned by success. We all hope that at the end we will not be faced with a situation where we say we won the war but we lost the peace.

And I would like to say something here as regards the President's position that he's taken over the years. I know of no American President who has done as much for the State of Israel as President George Bush.

*The President.* The Chancellor, a question for the Chancellor?

*Iraq*

*Q.* Chancellor Kohl, what do you think the allies should do about Iraq's apparently renewed intransigence toward the U.N. inspection teams? And did you discuss that in your meeting with President Bush?

*The Chancellor.* I think that one should try to exploit all the possibilities open to us within the framework of the United Nations Security Council, and I think that this should be done in a very decisive and a very determined manner.

*The President.* Let me simply add to that: I totally agree with that. It is essential that Saddam Hussein comply with the United Nations resolutions that have been passed. And he is now, once again, going against those resolutions. And working closely with others, we now must make a determination as to what to do about this.

*Soviet Nuclear Weapons*

*Q.* Mr. President, you've said twice recently, on July 18th and again on Labor Day, that as long as the Soviets point mis-

siles at the United States we cannot be friends and allies. I'd like to know how serious you think that threat is and whether that might be an issue that would be tied to aid programs in the future.

*The President.* I think the threat is far less today, far, far less than it's been. Let's hope that the dramatic progress that has taken place over the past couple of weeks continues, and we may not have that problem to contend with. Certainly we don't have it to contend with now as we did in the past. But we still have security responsibilities, and we still have to see that they're carried out. So, we'll just have to wait and see. Things are moving so fast and developments are taking place so fast that I can't comment on what it's going to be like. But clearly, if the missiles were not aimed at the United States, it would facilitate a lot of things.

*Q.* Do you see it directly tied to food aid or to other aid?

*The President.* No, I don't see it tied to food aid.

### *Iraq*

*Q.* Chancellor, could you come back to the question of Iraq? When you say use all possibilities, does that include using military possibilities, and has the President discussed that with you?

*The Chancellor.* No, we did not discuss this last point. But I think that the truce must be kept in this and all its different parts because if this cease-fire is not abided by, then I think that would mean that the decisions of the United Nations are not taken seriously.

*The President.* One more for each, and we're finished.

### *Iran-Contra Investigation*

*Q.* I'd like to ask you why you think the Ollie North decision was a good decision. Since prosecutor Walsh says he was not going to pursue prosecution because of the North testimony with immunity up on the Hill, it appears that North may have in fact slipped a noose on a technicality. Or do you think that he was not responsible for destroying White House documents and lying to Congress?

*The President.* No, my basis is that he's

been through enough. He was acquitted once. There was an appeal. He's been let off. Now, the system of justice is working. And on a personal basis and for his family who have been through a lot, I'm very, very pleased. That's what I was basing it on.

*Q.* Do you think he was responsible for lying to Congress?

*The President.* Listen, why am I going to second-guess the court system? I've stayed out of it. All I'm saying is they've made a statement now, and I think it's a good thing for the reasons I've given you.

*Q.* Don't you see an irony here—

*The President.* You don't get two follow-ups in this league. This is the big league. You get one followup question. You tried hard, and that's it. Now you need one for the Chancellor.

### *Middle East Peace Talks*

*Q.* Mr. Kohl, a followup to what you said, sir. By your statements do you mean that if Israel comes to you for the \$10 billion guarantee, you will not accept it, the EC will not accept it? And do you think a peace conference should be held if Israel and the Palestinians refuse to come?

*The Chancellor.* We do have talks with Israel, and these talks are going on, which is why I'm not going to discuss them publicly because, as we all know, discussing these matters publicly usually always increases the asking price, so to speak, in general negotiations. But I think it is well-known that we have adopted a highly critical position as regards the settlement policy.

*The President.* I might add to that that it's very encouraging and, I think, proper that the Israelis continue to express an interest in attending the peace conference. Clearly that's true on the part of others. And so, I don't think we ought to go into this kind of negative thought that it might not happen. The whole policy is based on bringing these people together and bringing peace to the area. So, I've been pleased that the parties seem to be still going forward in terms of attending a peace conference.

And I know that Chancellor agrees with that because we've had a chance to both talk about how strongly we feel that these peace talks, when they take place, would be



in the interest not just to peace in the Middle East but world peace. I mean, a lot of other countries are involved in all of this.

Q. What did Secretary Baker say about his talks, Mr. President?

The President. Very good talks, as a matter of fact.

*Note: The President's 104th news conference began at 2:37 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. Chancellor Kohl spoke in German, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. In the news conference,*

*the following persons were referred to: Robert M. Gates, Central Intelligence Agency Director nominee and former CIA Deputy Director; Oliver North, a former National Security Council aide who had charges against him concerning the Iran-contra affair dropped earlier in the day; and Lawrence E. Walsh, independent prosecutor for the Iran-contra investigation. Prior to the news conference, the President and the Chancellor met privately in the Oval Office and attended a luncheon in the Old Family Dining Room.*

## Nomination of Steven E. Steiner To Be United States Representative to the START Joint Compliance and Inspection Commission

*September 16, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Steven E. Steiner, of Maryland, to be accorded the rank of Ambassador during his tenure of service as United States Representative to the START Joint Compliance and Inspection Commission.

Since 1988 Ambassador Steiner has served as the U.S. Representative to the Special Verification Commission. Prior to this, he served as Director of Defense and Arms Control for the National Security Staff at the White House, 1983–1988; Director of

Public Affairs for the Bureau of European Affairs at the U.S. Department of State, 1981–1983; and as Deputy Director of Theater Military Police for the Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs, 1978–1981. Ambassador Steiner entered the Foreign Service in 1966.

Ambassador Steiner graduated from Yale University (B.A., 1963) and Columbia University (M.I.A., 1966). He was born July 14, 1940, in Kittanning, PA. Ambassador Steiner is married, has three children, and resides in Chevy Chase, MD.

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on Senate Confirmation Hearings on the Supreme Court Nomination of Clarence Thomas

*September 16, 1991*

President Bush today telephoned his nominee to the Supreme Court, Judge Clarence Thomas, in Senator Danforth's office, and congratulated him on the completion of his testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee. The President said that Judge

Thomas' testimony showed the American people that he has an outstanding record, is committed to the rule of law, and will preserve and protect the Constitution.

The President is confident that Judge Thomas will be confirmed.

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on President Bush's Meeting With President José Eduardo dos Santos of Angola *September 16, 1991*

President Bush used the occasion of the private visit of President José Eduardo dos Santos of Angola to review with him the status of the Angola peace accords. President Bush reiterated our firm commitment to the Angola peace process and to the full and timely implementation of all aspects of the accords. In light of the recent difficulties concerning the assembly and cantonment of troops and the slow pace at which discussions are proceeding toward agreement on an electoral calendar, including a precise date for elections, President Bush urged President dos Santos to resolve these

issues quickly so that the peace process will maintain its momentum and genuine national reconciliation can finally be established in Angola. President Bush informed President dos Santos that we remain committed to establishing diplomatic relations with the government which emerges from free and fair internationally monitored elections. President Bush noted that he is looking forward to Angola's elections next year and reiterated our preference, also contained with the accords, that they be held in September.

## Letter to Congressional Leaders Reporting on Iraq's Compliance With United Nations Security Council Resolutions *September 16, 1991*

*Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)*

Consistent with the Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution (Public Law 102-1), and as part of my continuing effort to keep the Congress fully informed, I am again reporting on the status of efforts to obtain compliance by Iraq with the resolutions adopted by the U.N. Security Council.

Since my last report, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the Special Commission created under Resolution 687 have continued to conduct inspections and other activities related to Iraqi weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles. With strong support from the United States, these bodies have been working actively under difficult conditions to identify, inspect and arrange for the elimination of these weapons and related items. As a result, Iraq has permitted some access to facilities related to these weapons, and inspectors have viewed the destruction of some ballistic missiles and chemical munitions, and catalogued large volumes of equipment related to Iraq's nuclear and

other programs.

Iraq continues, however, to misrepresent the scope of its programs in these areas, to use deception and concealment to prevent inspection teams from locating equipment subject to elimination under Resolution 687, and to deny inspection teams full and unrestricted access to facilities associated with weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles. This pattern of behavior, as well as other Iraqi violations of the requirements of Resolution 687, resulted in the adoption on August 15 of Resolution 707, which condemns Iraq for these actions and holds it in material breach of its obligations. In addition, the IAEA Board of Governors voted on July 18 to find Iraq in violation of its Safeguards Agreement and thus of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Recently, Iraq has refused to permit the U.N. to base helicopters inside Iraq for these purposes, contrary to an explicit Security Council demand contained in Resolution 707. The United States will not tolerate the continuation of this situation, and if necessary will take action to

ensure Iraqi compliance with the Council's decisions so as to fully implement Resolution 678's call for the restoration of international peace and security to the Persian Gulf region.

Significant progress has been made since my last report toward implementation of the resolution of the Security Council concerning compensation for the victims of the unlawful invasion and occupation of Kuwait. The first session of the Governing Council of the new U.N. Compensation Commission met from July 22–August 2 in Geneva, and adopted criteria for the first category of claims to be considered by the Commission—namely, claims of individuals for up to \$100,000. The Executive Secretary of the Commission and his two deputies have been appointed, as well as a number of experts on the oil industry, banking and claims processing. The next session of the Governing Council will begin on October 14, and will focus on the adoption of a mechanism for collection and monitoring of Iraqi oil export revenues, as well as criteria for other categories of claims.

On August 15, the U.N. Security Council adopted Resolution 705, which approved the earlier recommendation of the Secretary-General that the ceiling on contributions to the Compensation Fund be set at 30% of Iraqi annual oil export revenues. On the same date, the Security Council adopted Resolution 706, which authorized sales of up to \$1.6 billion of Iraqi oil, the proceeds of which would be paid to a U.N. escrow account and used as follows: (1) 30% would go to the Compensation Fund; (2) the U.N.

would retain the amounts necessary for costs incurred by the Special Commission, the Boundary Commission, and other U.N. efforts pursuant to Resolution 687; and (3) the remainder would be used for the food, medicine and other items for essential civilian needs, which would be provided under strict U.N. supervision to ensure their equitable distribution in Iraq. We are currently working with the Secretary-General and other Security Council members to implement this resolution as soon as possible.

As I stated in my previous reports, the United States remains concerned about the situation of the Kurds and other internal population groups that have been the object of repressive measures by the Government of Iraq. We have informed the Government of Iraq that we will continue to monitor carefully the treatment of its citizens, and that we remain prepared to take appropriate steps if the situation requires. To this end, an appropriate level of forces will be maintained in the region for as long as required by the situation in Iraq.

I remain grateful for the support of Congress for these efforts, and I look forward to continued cooperation toward achieving our mutual objectives.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

*Note: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Robert C. Byrd, President pro tempore of the Senate. This letter was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on September 17.*

## Remarks Following Discussions With President Alberto Fujimori of Peru

*September 17, 1991*

*President Bush.* Mr. President, it has been a great pleasure and a privilege to meet with you today and exchange views on the important issues that our two countries must overcome together. You, sir, you, Mr. President, are Peru's hope for the future.

We have spoken openly, discussing the tough challenges Peru faces, from economic hardship to renegade insurgencies, from the war against drugs to the battle to preserve human rights. Much has been done on all these fronts, but much more waits to be

achieved.

Mr. President, since taking office, you have cut government spending, eliminated price controls, knocked down barriers to trade and investment. Those reforms have begun paying off. They've begun paying dividends. Inflation has eased; net international reserves have risen. Peruvians feel confident in themselves, their economy, and their nation. We want to be a full partner in your efforts to restore Peru's economy because your people deserve the fruits of economic growth after so many years of suffering.

We also discussed narcotics trafficking and production, a scourge that blocks Peru's path to a peaceful and prosperous future, drains its resources, drives insurgency, and dampens its hope for a better tomorrow. Under your leadership, sir, Peru has moved to combat this deadly threat. You've both strengthened policy and military operations against the drug industry and stressed the need for alternative crop production. The U.S. and other nations have joined to support Peru's efforts with training, resources, and equipment. And in this spirit, I was pleased to reaffirm last May's accords in which we agreed to cooperate closely in combating drug trafficking.

To support these efforts, my administration wants to send \$94 million in economic and military assistance to fight drugs. Unfortunately, Congress has placed a hold on disbursement of these funds, chiefly because of stated human rights concerns. We share these concerns, and so do you, Mr. President. But you have made progress on human rights. And let's also, then, see progress on releasing these funds. Without this needed aid, cocaine traffic will continue unabated, and violence and abuses will increase unredressed. So, I urge Congress to help Peru and the Andean nations create economic alternatives to coca production by passing my Andean trade preference initiative.

Mr. President, you've combined strong leadership with swift action. You've replaced police officers suspected of corruption and abuse, begun to open up detention centers to prosecutors, and pledged to strengthen your military code. Your reforms have begun to help improve the human

rights record of the security forces, and your deeds echo the words of your country's constitution: "That all men, equal in dignity, have rights of universal validity." Rights abuses have fallen sharply since you took office last year. And Mr. President, your leadership and your nation deserve our support, and you have it.

Our Government is pleased to cochair with Japan an international group to help Peru with its debt problems and hasten its reintegration into the international financial community. A number of other countries, including several in Latin America, have joined this process which is so important for Peru's future. We hope the democratic community will rally generously to support your people.

Mr. President, you are confronting the challenge of change with courage and vision. And you're building a new Peru with a sound economy, respect for law, and a new sense of social justice and national reconciliation. You're steering your country steadily toward a place of renewed leadership in the community of democratic nations which Peruvian patriot Juan Pablo Viscardo y Guzman once called "the great family of brothers."

And so, once again, sir, it has been an honor to welcome you and, yes, your family to the White House and your excellent team that you brought with you. We welcome you once again, and let me just say may God bless you and the people of Peru.

*President Fujimori.* Mr. President, as President of Peru, I would like to express my appreciation and that of the Peruvian people for all your hospitality during our trip and for the considerable assistance that your Government has provided to my country through your leadership of the refinancing group. Thanks to your support, Peru will be able to resume normalized relations with the international financial community.

As we have discussed together, Peru and the United States have joined in a terrible intimacy in the war against drugs. Our country can play a significant role in the effort to wipe out drug trafficking. Peru produces 60 percent of the world's coca leaf, while the United States consumes 80 percent of the world's cocaine. The efforts

on the part of both our countries to fight this scourge, within the framework of the antidrug agreement which we have signed and with the support of the coca-growing farmers of Peru, are critical. And we all recognize that each victory in this fight will benefit the youth of the entire world. In order to replace the coca leaf with other crops in Peru, it will be necessary to change our systems and create the conditions for a true market economy. It is only in this manner that the coca-growing farmer can switch to alternative and profitable crops.

We are making progress in this difficult war. We have achieved a national consensus, which includes all of the coca-growing farm organizations, for a move to legal crops and alternative development. Through intelligent efforts based on the shared vision between our two countries, we can consolidate a relationship which will vanquish drug trafficking.

As I informed you, we have established a new policy in Peru for the protection of human rights which will complement our fight against drug trafficking and terrorists and will guarantee the full respect of those

rights.

We are committed to ending the problems in Peru without abandoning the rule of law and democracy. Our plan for fighting drugs in Peru calls for identifying the coca-growing farmers. By identifying the coca farmers, we will also be able to identify the drug traffickers. I wish to assure you that our efforts to put an end to the activities of drug trafficking will be implacable.

I am certain that with the cooperation of the United States of America, with its friendship and fraternity, together we will be able to free humanity of the terrible scourge of drug trafficking.

Mr. President, again, my sincere thanks. Your support and concern for the reconstruction of my country will long be remembered by myself and the people of Peru. Many thanks.

*Note: President Bush spoke at 1:22 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. Prior to their remarks, the two Presidents met privately in the Oval Office, met with U.S. and Peruvian officials in the Cabinet Room, and attended a luncheon in the Old Family Dining Room.*

## Teleconference Remarks to Schoolchildren During the Annual National Space Science Symposium September 17, 1991

*The President.* Well, Dick, Admiral Truly, thank you very, very much; and to Charlie here and Tammy down there someplace, Lisa.

I was watching part of the program before we came in. I saw some of you all there. And let me say how exciting I think the efforts of the spacemobilers and the astronauts are to teach students about space and space exploration. When I was a kid, we had some idols we thought were out of this world. With people like Charlie and Tammy Jernigan, they really are out of this world. And you know what I mean.

It's also a privilege to be with so many fine students interested in learning about the future of space. And I especially want

to salute the national winners of the Space Science Student Involvement Program who are in the studio with us here today. You guys can learn from them. Their academic achievement deserves real special recognition.

So looking forward to today, for a few minutes I was a hero with one of my young grandkids, younger guy than you. When I told her I was going to be on television, she thought I'd finally made it onto "Sesame Street." [Laughter]

And as you begin the school year, just think of what you can make of the future. Many of you are the class of the year 2000. In NASA lingo, that means "T" minus 8 years, 3 months, and 13 days. And you, the

students of today, will help keep America the world's leader. And all of you, if you work hard, but all of you can turn learning into an adventure. And to do this you have to prepare not just by studying, but by studying hard, especially math and science. And that means doing what I too often fail to do, that means homework. And it means setting goals both for you and for America.

This is why our administration and the Nation's Governors created six national educational goals, one of which is to be the first in the world in math and science. And together you can help say of American education, "All systems are go."

And since this telecast began, the astronauts orbiting in the space shuttle *Discovery* have traveled halfway around the planet Earth. Just think about that: Just since the program began, about 12,000 miles. Even if you don't end up working in space, what you learn about math and science and all the rest of the subjects you study will help you for the rest of your life. So, do your best. Make America proud. Help achieve a lift-off to learning.

And now, Charlie, having heard some questions, I understand they've got a few more questions. And maybe you and I can answer them. I hope they give the tough ones to this guy, and I'll take the easy ones. [Laughter]

*Mr. Bolden.* Well, Mr. President, I think they're ready, and we're going to give you two questions from here before we switch down to Texas for some. So, who has a question for the President?

*The President.* There she goes. What is it?

*Q.* I go to Stevens Elementary School. My teacher is Miss Hamilton.

*The President.* Is she a hard teacher?

*Q.* No.

*The President.* No? Okay.

*Q.* Do you want your grandchildren to live and work in space?

*The President.* Oh, I'd love it if one of them would do that. We've got 12, so we've got a lot to choose from, girls and boys. But I think it would be wonderful. I don't know whether they'll make it, but if they're going to, they've got to start in, as I'm sure some of you are, recognize the importance of school first, and then as they get a little older concentrate on that math and science

and all the things that Charlie can tell you about that are important to it. But I think it would be wonderful because I think the challenge for our country, a lot of it, lies out there in space.

*Mr. Bolden.* Next question. Let me see your hands. And Admiral Truly, I think there's one right by you.

*Q.* I would like to ask you: How is space technology helping you as the President?

*The President.* Well, there are many ways it helps. I'm not sure exactly in terms of my day-to-day responsibilities as President, but space technology helps in so many practical ways. One I think of is, and I guess it affects whether you're President or whether you're just a plain citizen, is in medicine. Some of the research that they have done has a direct application to medicine.

Other parts of research that interest me, I guess again not just because I'm President but citizen, is what they learn about weather, what they learn about crops internationally in terms of feeding the world. One of the worries I have is there are a lot of hungry people in the world. And how do we, as the United States, use our advanced science that NASA taught us so much about to help other people? And we've got to help people at home, but we also have an obligation: Somebody is hungry halfway around the world, we need to help them. And the science that comes out of the space program in terms of agriculture is very, very important.

So, that is just a couple of ways, but I'm sure there are many, many more.

*Mr. Bolden.* Mr. President, we're going to switch now down to Tammy Jernigan and the crew in La Porte and give them an opportunity to ask us about four questions. So Tammy, if you would go around the room and give us your question.

*Ms. Jernigan.* Thank you, Charlie. Mr. President, I've been so really excited here at College Park Elementary to ask you some questions.

*Q.* Mr. President, how will you know that we're first in science and math?

*The President.* Well, I don't know. There are all kinds of objective ways of measuring. But one of the goals that we have is to have voluntary testing at various levels: 4th, 8th,

and 12th grade. They have measures now to determine what countries are ahead, and regrettably, we're about 12th in that special field. So, in addition to just getting a feeling of it by the results, by how well people do in life, there will be, under our national education goals, there will be national testing. And I think this will help. I think the schools are interested; the Governors are interested. And I think it will help us answer your question better, once that starts.

*Q.* Mr. President, how did you come up with your goals?

*The President.* I didn't hear you. Tell me one more time. I was listening, but I just didn't get it. What was it?

*Q.* Mr. President, how did you come up with your goals?

*The President.* The education goals, a very good question. I'll tell you what we did. We met with all the Governors. And I went down to Charlottesville, Virginia, and met with the Governors. And then they went back to the States. And working with the White House staff and the Governors' staffs, we came up with these national goals. They made suggestions. We'd offer our suggestions. And 50 Governors came together with the White House to set, for the first time in our history, national goals. And they are: To be first in math and science. We talk about "ready to learn," and that means Head Start program. We talk about "nobody is too old to learn."

That includes me. I'm trying to learn a computer. Everybody in this room probably knows how to do it better than I do. But I'm not too old to learn even though I'm getting up there, 67 years old. I remember when I was your age, I thought if I got 67, wow, over the hill, gone, history. [*Laughter*]

But we've got these good sensible goals now. And now the thing we're going to try to do is get each State to work with their communities to solve these, to come up with solutions so that we meet these education goals.

Who else has got it? Nice to see you again, incidentally.

*Q.* Mr. President, why do we want to put a person on Mars?

*The President.* Well, I think it's going to just go to the cutting edge of the science.

And everything that's happened in space, from the very first vehicle into space to the very last, has taught us a lot about the real world and all outside our own world.

And so, I think it would just be a quantum leap forward in terms of our knowledge as to what the universe is about. And I hope that in addition it would have very practical answers to some of the problems we face on Earth. So, it's going to what they call a cutting edge. It's going out front. It's exploring. It's like the guys in the wagon trains that used to go across this country. They were the pioneers. Now, the pioneers are Charlie and Lisa and Tammy and others. And it's a wonderfully exciting thing.

So, it's expensive; it's going to take a while to do it. But we've always got to be in the forefront. As the United States, more and more countries are looking to us for everything in the world, including being the leader in science and technology.

*Q.* Mr. President, what if you are talented in art and you drop out of school because you can make a bunch of money?

*The President.* Talented in art and you drop out of school to make a bunch of dough? Well, first place, I hope—maybe if you're asking about yourself or someone in your family, I hope they are talented in art. But I don't think you ought to drop out of school. You can have one discipline. You can have one area of expertise. But to be a full human being you need a wide array of knowledge.

And so my advice to somebody that fit that description—really good in art, maybe good enough to start selling paintings or doing sculpture, or whatever it is, is a grade school or a high school student—finish your education. That's only a part of your life, a vital part of your life. But you need to be a whole person, a whole man, a whole woman. And you can't do it if you are less than fully educated.

So, if you know somebody, if you asked me the question because you know somebody that fits that description and they were looking for a little advice: Keep up with the art. Do what you do best. But don't neglect being a whole person. And you only get that from a full education.

Good question, though.

*Ms. Jernigan.* Mr. President, we understand we're out of time. We really appreciate the time that you've spent with us here today. Bye.

*The President.* All right. Thanks. You guys had good questions.

*Mr. Bolden.* Tammy, thanks very much to you and the kids down there in La Porte. And we're going to swing back up here and give our kids an opportunity to ask just a few more questions before the President has to leave. So, how about more questions?

*Q.* My question is, do you think current problems like drugs and crime will follow us to space?

*The President.* I'll tell you, I've got some good news. We're making dramatic progress in the fight against narcotics. It's just beginning to happen, but we're making great progress. And the best progress is amongst kids your age and a little bit older who are turning away from drugs because they know how bad it is. But no, there would be no room for drug use in space. The life that Charlie's described for you and you've heard about from La Porte, Texas, today, is too complex. One person's life depends on another. And you can't have any kind of thing like drug use in space.

What grade are you in?

*Q.* Fourth.

*The President.* Fourth grade. Can't have it in the fourth grade. You ruin your lives. And the good news is, as I say, is people are beginning to understand this more. The bad news is, we're not there yet. I just met with the President of Peru before I came over here. And they grow something like 40, 60 percent of the coca leaf, and we're working with them to try to eliminate this. And they say to us, "Hey, you help us eliminate this coca leaf." That's where the cocaine comes from. "But you use 80 percent of the narcotics in the world. The demand in your country, Mr. Bush, is 80 percent."

So, what we've got to do is continue with the education programs and the neighborhood programs and the State programs and the community programs and, yes, the White House programs. So we teach people you simply can't use drugs, whether it's space—it's not going to go out into outer space—nor cities, nor homes, nor families,

wherever. We just can't do it.

*Q.* Would you like to go on a trip to space to help build a space station?

*The President.* Yes, I'd like to. I don't think I'll make it though. [Laughter] I don't think they'd let me in. I don't think Admiral Truly, who's the boss of this program, would have a guy my age. I think health-wise I might be able to make it. And I'm not sure Charlie would want an old guy up there with him on his next space mission which he's going to undertake what, next spring?

*Mr. Bolden.* Next spring sometime.

*The President.* Your question wasn't am I going to do it, but would I like to. I'd love to do it. I really would love to see the world as these people have seen it. And I think I'd be a better President if I had.

*Q.* I want to ask you, how difficult is it to be our President?

*The President.* It depends on what's happening out there, I'll tell you. And some days it's very difficult, and some days it's not so bad. But I think the answer is: In the first place, it's exciting; it's fun; I like it. There are so many things to be done both here and abroad. And the thing about that one is to get good people with you. One of the reasons our space program has been successful, the leader in the whole world, is because we've attracted really good people. And the same thing is true for the White House.

So, you know, at times like during the war and stuff, it gets a little complicated and difficult. And then at times you just feel, look, we can do anything we set our sights on. But I think the advice is, get good people around you.

*Q.* I want to know what kind of work—is the work hard that you do?

*The President.* You mean President? Well, it's pretty long hours. I get up every morning at 5 a.m. This might be of real interest to you. Our dogs are like alarm clocks. We have two dogs, you know, Millie and Ranger. They're like alarm clocks. They wake at 5 a.m. every morning. And so I have a long day. So, I go home and go to the Oval Office. Then in the evening I work. I have an office in the White House, the big White House part, the Residence.



And sometimes it's very difficult and complicated, and you worry about people and how they're doing: drugs or the cities or whatever else it is. But I don't know that it's harder than your teacher's job or the astronaut's job. I don't think it's a question of difficulty. Again, it's a question of, "Are you up for it? Do you think you can do it? Do you want to make a contribution?" Something like that.

Q. And I want to know, how do you feel about sending people into space?

*The President.* Sending people in there? Well, in the first place, clearly people don't go into space unless they want to, unless they've got a drive, unless they've got a mission. And then, you worry about it, as President. But I think their neighbors worry about it, his friends. It's something when you see something dramatic like a lift-off. But I view it as a challenge. I think Charlie's lucky. He's a good man. I think he's lucky to be in space.

*Mr. Bolden.* We have time for one more question, and you've been having your hand up, so go ahead.

Q. Mr. Bush, would you consider letting Millie be the first American dog in space? [Laughter]

*The President.* First dog in space?

Q. American.

*The President.* I don't think I'd let Millie do it because I don't think she could pass the physical. She has lupus, and that's a disease. And I don't think any of the doctors at NASA would let her go. Other than that, if they were going to take a dog out there, I'd let Ranger. I've got a dog named Ranger, Millie's son. He could go maybe. But I don't think people would like the President's dog getting to be the first dog in space. They'd all say, "Hey, how come my dog didn't get to go." You know what I mean? So, I don't think Millie's going to go either. But anyway, that's an interesting question be-

cause they do take different kinds of animals. I guess you do, or don't you?

*Mr. Bolden.* Different kinds of animals. Yes, sir, Mr. President.

*The President.* No dogs yet?

*Mr. Bolden.* No dogs yet that I know of, like you said, on an American space flight.

Mr. President, we want to thank you very much. I know you've been very, very busy. And you've taken a lot of your personal time out to be with us today. And I know the kids are excited. So, I thank you for them.

Admiral Truly, we thank you very much. I want to thank Lisa McLeod. Tammy, I'd like to really thank you and the kids down there in La Porte. I want to thank our television audience because you've been superb. We've had lots of fun here together. We want to thank the public television stations who've chosen to carry us today. And we want to encourage all of you to take heed at the words that you heard today: study, study, study; read, read, read. We really appreciate your being with us. So, so long.

*Note: The President spoke at 2:38 p.m. from the auditorium of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration on NASA Select TV. In his remarks, he referred to Richard H. Truly, NASA Administrator, and Lisa McLeod, NASA Aerospace Education Specialist. Astronauts Charlie Bolden in Washington and Tammy Jernigan in La Porte, TX, were the teleconference moderators. Students from the following schools participated in the teleconference: Stevens Elementary School, Washington, DC; Bucknell Elementary School, Alexandria, VA; Ashburton Elementary School and Harlem Park Elementary School, Baltimore, MD; and College Park Elementary School, La Porte, TX. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

## Nomination of Elaine L. Chao To Be Director of the Peace Corps September 17, 1991

The President today announced his intention to nominate Elaine L. Chao, of California, to be Director of the Peace Corps. She would succeed Paul D. Coverdell.

Currently, Ms. Chao serves as Deputy Secretary at the U.S. Department of Transportation in Washington, DC. Prior to this, Ms. Chao served as Chairman of the Federal Maritime Commission, 1988–1989; Deputy Administrator of the Maritime Administration at the U.S. Department of Transportation, 1986–1988; and vice presi-

dent for syndications of BankAmerica Capital Markets Group, 1984–1986. She was selected as a White House fellow and worked in the Office of Policy Development at the White House, 1983–1984. From 1979 to 1983, she worked as an international banker at Citicorp in New York.

Ms. Chao graduated from Mount Holyoke College (B.A., 1975) and Harvard Business School (M.B.A., 1979). She was born March 26, 1953, in Taipei, Taiwan. Ms. Chao is a resident of California.

## Exchange With Reporters at the Grand Canyon, Arizona September 18, 1991

*Q.* Mr. President, a question about Iraq while you're there, sir? Could you take a moment?

*The President.* No, I can't.

### *Environmental Policy*

*Q.* Can we ask you an environmental question?

*The President.* No, not right now. I'm in a learning process here.

*Q.* This is a great photo op, but your critics say your policy doesn't measure up, sir.

*The President.* That's not what we're hearing today, Jim [Jim Miklaszewski, NBC News]. If you listened carefully to the briefing, you'd see great progress has been made. That's a very important point.

That's the last question I might take because we're getting a good briefing here.

### *Iraq*

*Q.* Mr. President, with all due respect, sir, could you at least tell us if time is running out on Saddam? Has he run out of time?

*The President.* A long time ago.

*Q.* We're told that you're moving troops back to Saudi Arabia, sir. Is that true?

### *Environmental Policy*

*Q.* Mr. President, on the environment, are your critics just wrong about the admin-

istration's record on the environment?

*The President.* Now we're doing—now we're focusing on domestic.

*Q.* Are your critics just wrong?

*The President.* Wrong about what?

*Q.* About their criticism of the administration's policy on the environment.

*The President.* Yes, they're wrong. They're wrong. You've heard about the progress.

*Q.* Why wasn't this plant cleaned up years ago?

*The President.* We've got the Clean Air; we've got the revision of the Clean Air. We're signing an agreement today, and progress is being made. That's the good point. But I think the critics are—you can't respond to the extremes in the critics. We've got some critics and perfect reason to say we can do better, but we're making real progress.

*Q.* The environmentalists pushed the administration into doing this.

*The President.* No, no. No, no. We're doing what's right.

### *'92 Election*

*Q.* Is this a warm-up for your campaign '92, sir?

*The President.* No. No, no.

Q. Not even a——

*The President.* I'll let you know when that comes. You'll know it when you see it.

Q. You mean you're not running?

*The President.* You'll know it when you see it.

*Note: The exchange began at 9:10 a.m. at Yavapai Point on the Grand Canyon. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.*

## Remarks at an Environmental Agreement Signing Ceremony at the Grand Canyon, Arizona September 18, 1991

Thank you, Governor Symington. And thank all of you here for the warm welcome. And let me just salute the two members of the administration that are with me on the platform here: Our Secretary of the Interior, Manuel Lujan, and of course, the man you just heard from, our able EPA Administrator, Bill Reilly. I particularly want to thank the Members of Congress from Arizona that are with us today: Senator McCain, Senator DeConcini over here, and of course, Representative Stump and Representative Kyl, also greeting us here today. So, we have a good turnout. I'm glad you all are seated. And I wish you all were, but I will—this isn't the shortest speech I've ever given either, so—[*laughter*].

But look, I love coming back to this general area, though this will be my first trip down inside the Canyon. This spot where I was sitting reminds me of the old political adage, "Never move backward." [*Laughter*] It kind of reminds me of—looks like something that started out in Washington as a trench and went over budget. [*Laughter*]

I love the outdoors. I hope that's clear to the American people by now, the sports and the recreation and the sheer beauty of it. Let me tell you, I've been privileged to travel all around the world, and I don't believe that anywhere you can find a better outdoor attraction than this. Many times what you don't see is as impressive as what you do. Here, as we look over the south rim of the world's greatest natural wonder, we see Arizona skies, a kaleidoscope of beauty of the Grand Canyon, we see a place that has made even the most calloused observer gasp with awe.

We don't see smog, today. But sometimes smoke and fumes obscure this lovely view. And we're here to say today: No more. The Navajo visibility rule, the rule that we will sign today, honors Teddy Roosevelt's admonition about the Grand Canyon. Here are his words; they apply to today: "Leave it as it is. You cannot improve on it. The ages have been at work on it, and man can only mar it. What you can do is to keep it for your children, your children's children, and all who come after you, as one of the great sights which every American, if he can travel at all, should see."

Well, the visibility rule will help ensure cleaner skies and more breathtaking vistas for visitors. It helps preserve the spectacular treasure without shutting down the electricity-generating industry and without forcing people to choose between environment and their jobs.

If people think the revolution in the Soviet Union was spectacular, they ought to come here. Who ever thought that we'd be able to get the Grand Canyon Trust, the Environmental Defense Fund, the Salt River Project, and the Arizona Public Service Company to share the spotlight. But it's so good that they did. It is so wonderful that they are cooperating in this forward-looking manner, partners in an historic agreement. And so many people here deserve a hand. Bill Reilly singled out some. I want to just mention, again, Governor Symington, the representatives of the environmental community and of the utility industry as well.

I think we owe a special thanks to Bill Reilly of the EPA, our Administrator. He

has tried to promote a series of cooperative ventures based on the common-sense view that you can get further by seeking people's help than suing them. And the EPA's Green Lights program encourages the voluntary use of energy efficient lighting. Green Lights promotes energy conservation, which saves electricity and cuts down on pollution. Our voluntary program to reduce toxic emissions has enlisted more than 200 companies, who together have promised to cut toxic emissions by more than 200 million pounds a year.

And today's agreement offers further proof that Bill's own brand of shuttle diplomacy has helped eliminate environmental gridlock and produce the kind of consensus that enables us to take care of our planet and our economy. These agreements illustrate a crucial element of our administration's vision for America's future. Before I go further, I just have to ask some of the critics out there: How's this for the vision thing? *[Laughter]*

Today's event celebrates the kind of civility and cooperation that our administration has tried to promote for our entire society. For too many years, Americans have divided into feuding camps, people sparring over causes, special interests battling it out against special interests, and so on. We have overlooked the fact that most Americans share a broader set of goals and beliefs, which I think we would all call the American dream. We need to revive that dream and invite people to join us in pursuing it, regardless of their party, their background, or their ideology.

Most of us want a lot of the same things. Around here, for instance, everyone wanted to preserve the Canyon and the local economy. And no one wants an environmental policy that permits the wanton destruction of our natural treasures. Nor can we afford a policy that makes the American worker an endangered species. Our policies should promote economic growth, create new jobs, and still let everyone enjoy the grandeur of the outdoors. And believe me, it can be done. It is being done.

We can achieve our most important goals only by working together, taking advantage of our diverse skills, abilities, commitments, and passions. And if we divide up like the

Hatfields and the McCoys, we don't accomplish anything worthwhile. We just destroy ourselves and those causes that we hold dear.

Ten years ago, I was Chairman of the Presidential Task Force on Regulatory Relief, then Vice President, and I called for greater use of informal negotiation techniques instead of litigation and for market-based approaches to controlling pollution. And this agreement shows that those innovations work. And so does the landmark Clean Air Act, which I signed last year and in the process broke a logjam that had prevented progress for a dozen years.

Our administration has crafted a new, commonsense approach to environmental issues, one that honors our love of the environment and our commitment to growth. And in just the last year, we've signed bills to prevent oilspills, protect the Antarctic. We've initiated a program to plant a billion trees a year around the country. And it's going well. We've launched a massive effort to protect our public lands.

And our cooperative efforts still go further. Just this summer the EPA and key environmental groups and the petroleum industry reached an extraordinary agreement on reformulated gasoline, another giant step toward cleaner air and another step toward improving visibility right here at the Grand Canyon.

Recent world events make it clear that free markets and economic growth provide the firmest foundations for effective environmental stewardship. People tend to forget that environmental stewardship is a high-tech business and it requires great ingenuity and insight. Science and technology give us tools for cleaning up our environment and keeping it clean. They help us identify our problems precisely and develop efficient solutions. Our genius will open up new frontiers of clean energy: nuclear power, solar power, geothermal power, and others that exist only in the imagination of our dreamers and innovators.

It's no surprise that the poorest nations, those not blessed with prosperous, growing economies, suffer the worst, most sweeping environmental degradation. It's also natural that nations weighed down by these cen-

trally planned economies, nations that don't enjoy free markets, would experience horrendous pollution. Take a look at Eastern Europe. Or as we get a bigger window into the Soviet Union, take a hard look at the Soviet Union, the whole former Socialist world: Clean air and water have been more scarce than consumer goods.

And in contrast, our economic expansion of the eighties was accompanied by an unprecedented improvement in air quality. Here's some figures. I don't want to bore you with statistics, but here are some EPA figures: Sulphur dioxide levels fell 24 percent in the eighties, carbon monoxide levels dropped 25 percent, suspended particulate emissions decreased 15 percent, and we had 87 percent less lead in our air at the decade's end than we did in 1980. And I promise you, we must and we will do even better in the nineties. Today's agreement represents a good start. And it will reduce sulfur dioxide emissions from the Navajo generating plant by 90 percent.

And in years to come, we will face tougher challenges, and our administration has taken steps to meet them. We've devoted significant resources to gathering crucial data about global warming, deforestation, ozone depletion, and the polar icecaps, all elements of global change. And we've begun using satellites to develop subtle, sophisticated, and useful models for studying our planet, for determining just what problems exist, and suggesting ways in which we can address them. And that is the key to sensible solutions.

The space shuttle *Discovery* just this week, just back, placed in orbit a satellite that will measure ozone depletion. This launch got our Mission to Planet Earth off the ground, so to speak. And the National Space Council, chaired by the Vice President, has pushed for ways to get space-based environmental research going now, not 10 years from now, so we won't have to wait for these answers.

We want to use science to help us solve our chief environmental problems. And Bill Reilly put it best in a recent newspaper piece that he wrote: "The environmental debate has long suffered from too little science. There has been plenty of emotion and politics, but scientific data have not

always been featured prominently in environmental efforts and have sometimes been ignored even when available." That was his quote, and I believe he is 100 percent on target. Good science hastens our progress toward a cleaner environment, and we ought to use it to our best advantage.

But we also must put our money where our mouth is. And in this year's budget alone, I asked for nearly \$1 billion for acquiring park land, protecting wetland and endangered species, and enhancing recreation. But Congress has tentatively cut this budget by more than \$200 million. And today I'd like to call on the United States Congress to join me in a crusade to preserve America's outdoors. On this year, the 75th anniversary of our Park Service, politicians shouldn't fund special interest projects at the expense of such national treasures as the Grand Canyon. But after we talk about toxins and taxes, expenditures and innovations, we owe it to ourselves to stop and remember just why we're here: We care.

Dave Beal, for many years the Chief Naturalist of the Grand Canyon National Park, has offered us all some simple advice: "Go out along the Canyon rim alone to watch dark shadows climb the colored walls as the sun drops to the horizon. Think about the eons of time represented by rock formations exposed to your view and the fossil record of life through the ages. Feel the bite of the wind on your cheeks, and listen for the sound of distant rapids on the river far below. And finally, dwell for just a moment on thoughts about yourself and the role you play on this Earth." Real, philosophical, practical, wonderful words.

A wise environmental policy enriches everyone. And that's what so many of you here today have done. You've enriched the American people with your coming at it from a cooperative side of business, whether you've dedicated your life to the environment through one of these environmental organizations represented today or whether you're part of the marvelous public servants that serve the parks of this country. This park and this Nation and certainly this President owe all of you a great debt of thanks. And thank you all.

And now, I'd like to ask the representa-

tives of the Grand Canyon Trust, the Environmental Defense Fund, the Salt River Project, and the Arizona Public Service Company to witness Bill signing this historic agreement. And isn't this a fitting, wonderful time to say, may God bless the United

States of America. Thank you very, very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 9:50 a.m. Prior to his remarks, he received a briefing on the Grand Canyon National Park.*

## Exchange With Reporters at the Grand Canyon, Arizona, on the Situation in Iraq

September 18, 1991

*Q.* Mr. President, on Iraq just for a second, are you thinking about a deadline?

*The President.* On the campaign?

*Q.* No, for Saddam Hussein.

*The President.* No, no, there's no deadline, but I'm thinking about seeing the will of the international community complied with. And it's so clear what he has to do. So, we're just doing what's right here. And there's no threats; there's just determination, that's all there is, firm determination that he will comply to the letter of the U.N. resolutions.

And it's not just the United States; a lot of other countries feel this way, too.

*Q.* Do you foresee a situation where conflict resumes?

*The President.* I don't think Saddam wants any of that. I don't think he does. I'm confident he doesn't, absolutely confident.

*Q.* Do you think the international community will be with you, though—

*The President.* Yes.

*Q.* —if you decided to take action again?

*The President.* Well, it depends what "action" is, but yes, I'm confident—

*Q.* Military action?

*The President.* Well, I'm confident that the international community will be with us in whatever is done. But there's no—we're not in a threatening mode here. This isn't what this is all about. So—

*Q.* Have you been talking to people, France, Germany, the British?

*The President.* There have been some contacts. I personally have—I don't want to say haven't—I have had what I would call limited contact on that with foreign leaders

so far. But it's not—no, but it's not all—we're not into this kind of emergency mode here.

Brent, did you discuss the statement that the Pentagon is going to be putting out on that?

*Mr. Scowcroft.* No, I have not. In general, the statement is going to be that there is military planning going along, and it seems to be to our demands that Saddam Hussein permit U.N. helicopters to fly on their inspection trips. And there's been no execute order, and if you will comply with the U.N. resolutions there won't need to be an execute order. But it's an escort mission. And in addition, the Saudi Government has asked for the deployment of—

*The President.* Patriot—

*Mr. Scowcroft.* —of some Patriot, and we're going to accede to that request.

*Q.* What do you mean by escort mission?

*Mr. Scowcroft.* Well, you send—the U.N. helicopters have a right under, I think, U.N. Resolution, I think it's 707.

*The President.* It's 688, isn't it?

*Mr. Scowcroft.* It's 689 and 707, to fly anywhere they want in Iraq. The Iraqis have said originally, no, they couldn't, they had to use Iraqi helicopters. Now they've said, well, they can, but they've put some conditions on it. Now, if the U.N. helicopters fly there in a nonpermissive environment, then they need some kind of protection. And that's what it is we're talking about.

*The President.* I don't believe it will come to that, and I don't think you do, and I don't think the Defense Department does. So, this is what we would call prudent plan-

ning.

*Q.* So, you're saying that the planes are not necessarily going to begin the escort mission unless needed?

*Mr. Scowcroft.* No, that's right. This whole thing is precautionary, incident to this dispute over the use of U.N. helicopters.

*Q.* Well, why would the Saudis ask for military—

*The President.* I think it's a safeguard. I mean, they just don't want to feel threatened.

*Mr. Scowcroft.* They don't want to be—

*The President.* I don't think they feel threatened now.

*Mr. Scowcroft.* They feel uneasy, they feel exposed, and they—

*The President.* Their civilian populace was pummeled by this reckless man, and they just don't need to go through it anymore. But that's quite different than the story that came out this morning. I'll say no more about that one, but just take your guidance from what General Scowcroft said and what the Pentagon will be saying or maybe has said by now and what I've just told you here. That's what it is. If somebody tried to make more out of it, they're making a big mistake; they're doing something that is wrong.

*Q.* It's not an effort to finish the job, Mr. President?

*The President.* Well, we finished the job in compliance with the United Nations resolutions, which was to set back the aggressor, get him out of Kuwait. That was the job. And that was finished. Now, if there's something starting up again, there's another part of—I might have to take that back a little, Ellen [Ellen Warren, Knight-Ridder Newspapers], because there's another part of the job. The original part of the job was to put an end to the aggression. That was done, and done with total finality, and done beautifully.

Now there's some other United Nations

resolutions that have not been complied with. One of them has to do with his trying to go forward with or trying to conceal any weaponry that comes under the resolutions. And so, the job is unfinished in this sense, that we are going to do our part, along with other countries, to see that he does comply with these resolutions.

So, maybe I answered a little too quickly in the beginning.

*Q.* But no more military action?

*The President.* Only what General Scowcroft has referred to, and I don't think it will come to that. I think the man will see that we are very serious about this, and he will do what he should have done in the first place, disclose and comply.

*Q.* Aren't you getting a little fed-up with him? I mean, he—

*The President.* Oh, yes, I'm plenty fed-up. I'm plenty fed-up with him.

*Q.* Why are the Saudis threatened?

*Q.* I mean, this isn't the first time—

*The President.* No.

*Q.* —that you had to remind him that he's not complying with them.

*The President.* That's right. He's a very difficult fellow, as we've all seen. Very difficult. But we intend to see that these resolutions are complied with. He's not going to question our resolve on this. I mean, he may be testing and probing here and there, but he knows better than to take on the United States of America in this regard.

So, there's no point threatening. We just do a couple of things and then make certain demands, and we think they'll be complied with.

Thank you very much. Now if you'll get off my pet rock here—[laughter]—I've got to get on.

*Note: The exchange began in the morning while the President was hiking on the Kaibab Trail. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.*

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on Iraq *September 18, 1991*

Under U.N. Security Council Resolutions 687 and 707, Iraq is obligated to eliminate its weapons of mass destruction and its ballistic missile capabilities. Iraq is also required to permit U.N. Special Commission and International Atomic Energy Agency inspection teams to verify Iraqi compliance.

In order to fulfill its inspection responsibilities, the U.N. Special Commission needs to be able to use its helicopters and other aircraft over Iraq. Iraq has refused to allow U.N. helicopters to operate unimpeded in Iraq. This is a clear violation of U.N. Security Council Resolution 707, which permits the use of helicopters without condition. The United States and other members of the U.N. Security Council have therefore been discussing the most appropriate means to continue inspections in Iraq.

Consistent with those discussions, military planners have examined options to provide helicopters and support necessary to contin-

ue U.N. inspections. But there has been no decision to deploy these U.S. forces, nor will such a decision be required if Iraq complies with the provisions of U.N. Resolutions 687 and 707.

In the meantime, the Government of Saudi Arabia has requested deployment of U.S. Patriot units to the Kingdom as a deterrent against the continuing Iraqi missile threat. The United States has granted the request for this purely defensive system in light of the current Iraqi threat and continued Iraqi noncompliance with U.N. Security Council resolutions.

Iraq continues to employ concealment and deception to evade U.N. Special Commission inspection teams and thus to preserve a residual capability to produce and deploy these weapons illegally. We believe Iraq still possesses several hundred Scud missiles of the type used against Saudi Arabia during the Gulf war.

## Remarks Upon Arrival in Salt Lake City, Utah *September 18, 1991*

Thank you very, very much. Governor, thank you so much. I don't know how you feel about it, but every time I climb on that airplane I get a tremendous thrill about seeing it as a symbol, a symbol of the United States of America as we travel around the world. I hope you felt the same way when you saw that thing taxi up here.

I keep hearing and reading about the amount of time traveling I do, but I'll tell you something: I don't spend near as much time going through the air as Ty Detmer does. [*Laughter*]

Let me salute the Governor, my friend, and thank him for this—Governor Bangerter and his Lieutenant Governor, Val Oveson. And of course, our Members of Congress that are with us: Congressman Hansen over here and, of course, our two nationally famous, wonderful Senators, Jake

Garn and Orrin Hatch. What a job all three of these are doing for your State back in Washington, DC.

You know, a serious note, one thing that does constantly impress me is the sheer greatness of the United States as I travel in this plane around the world. We've witnessed staggering changes recently, positive changes for the most part. And we ought to be very, very proud that it was our country, the United States of America, that has led the global revolution towards democracy, free enterprise, and yes, human rights.

And everywhere you go, it doesn't matter if it's Africa or the Soviet Union or Eastern Europe or what used to be called the Republics and now are free States in the Baltic States, people look to the United States of America. It's your country and mine that they look to for their freedom.



And I wish I were this guy's age right here—the two flagmen. You can't see them. How old are you? He's 6, this guy is 6; I wish I were 6 years old and could think of the wonderful life that lies ahead as you see this world moving towards democracy and freedom. I believe that the things that have happened in the world just in the last few months guarantee that this guy won't have to be looking over his shoulder worrying about nuclear weapons. All he can do is think about having a good and strong and prosperous life in the great United States of America.

We still marvel at the courage of Utah's settlers more than a century ago, and Norm touched on it, harnessing faith and muscle and technological ingenuity to build a civilization and make the desert bloom. Well, today Utah takes its brave place in America's special mission in the world, affirmed once again by the heroic service of the State's sons and daughters in Operation Desert Storm.

I might say, two sons of Utah came out with me on this airplane. From Provo is Roger Porter over here, one of our top assistants in the White House. And next to him, General Brent Scowcroft, who was at my side during Operation Desert Storm. He's the head of our National Security Council. So, we brought two Utahns back home today.

But it's not all national security. Utah is a leader in involving parents and families in education. And it's a leader in the results we are seeing through America 2000's education strategy. And among many of your impressive achievements is your first place ranking among all the States in the percentage of high school grads passing the Advanced Placement exams. You should be very, very proud of that.

And I think you've proved, and your Senators and this Congressman keep reminding me of this, that Utah proves that a tax-and-spend is not the formula for quality education. Actually you spend less per pupil and receive less Federal aid per pupil than any other State. But you promote the values of hard work, and that equips students with the knowledge and the skills necessary to adapt to changing times and conditions and helps them develop those abilities, incidentally,

that they'll need to compete in the international economy of the 21st century.

Your economy is growing. It's vibrant. You're creating jobs. You're showing what a dedicated, skilled work force can produce. And your workers are recognized across the country as efficient and as innovative. You bring entrepreneurship and hard work together in an inspiring formula for success.

I might also say that you shine with the achievements of volunteers. The propensity of one American to help another is voluntarism. We call it Points of Light. And I'm honored to greet, in a minute, George Simmons, Marykaren Harward, Lucille Isakson, representatives of the Bridgerland Literacy Program and the Salt Lake City Community Shelter and Resource Center. They are the true heroes, joined by many of you, the true heroes of community service.

From here I'll be going down to see one that's a favorite of Jake Garn's. I'm going to the Primary Children's Medical Center to celebrate their new expansion. And there I'll announce a key new feature of our Healthy Start initiative to improve the health of babies. And I'll announce help for 15 communities that face a problem Utah does not suffer: high infant mortality rates. We will stress good prenatal care including healthy lifestyles for expectant mothers. And we will point to the communities such as yours where the public works to ensure that babies are born healthy.

It is a great treat for me to be here. I have only one regret, and that is that Barbara Bush didn't climb down those stairs with me today. She would have loved this, believe me. I can tell I'll have a good visit. It'll be short.

In Utah, people live by the code that success in life must include serving others. And you understand something that I wish everyone around our country did. You understand that we are a nation of family. And I can see this in the values that your State reflects, your good schools, your respect for God's creation.

And again, thank you for this warm, warm welcome. And may God bless the people of Salt Lake City, the great State of Utah, and of our United States of America. Thank you all very, very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 3:04 p.m. on the tarmac of the Salt Lake City International Airport. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. Norman H. Bangert and Lt. Gov.*

*W. Val Oveson of Utah; and Ty Detmer, quarterback of the Brigham Young University football team.*

## Remarks to the Staff of the Primary Children's Medical Center in Salt Lake City, Utah September 18, 1991

Thank you very, very much. Thank you for that warm welcome. And let me just say how pleased I am to see Secretary Sullivan here today, to be with him. He's doing a superb job at HHS. He's just back from a trip, significant trip to Africa with the Vice President, was in Colorado yesterday. And when jet lag catches up with this guy, he's going to go like that, I think. *[Laughter]* But nevertheless, Lou, we're glad you're here.

And may I salute, of course, the Governor, who greeted us so kindly, and the Congressman, Congressman Hansen, and our two great Senators, Orrin Hatch and Jake Garn, who were earlier on, and the Lieutenant Governor of the State. And also I want to single out another man to whom Barbara and I still feel very close, the former Secretary of Education, Ted Bell, I see sitting over here. And to Mr. Anderson, the center chairman here; and to Dave Salisbury, who gave us that fascinating history of how all this came about, the chairman here; Mr. Parker, the CEO; and Dr. Simmons, the medical director of Primary Children's Medical Center; I want to particularly salute all of them. And to ladies and gentlemen and kids over here, it's a pleasure for me to be here today. And I really have enjoyed this brief but most informative tour of this magnificent facility.

An old adage counsels, live and let live. This adage says, live and let live. Well, this facility helps give life to kids. It's a state-of-the-art pediatric care center. It also towers as a monument to America's volunteer spirit. For many years, the children of this area, the Intermountain area, supported Primary Children's with pennies, nickels, and dimes given on their birthdays. This

selfless spirit of charity continues today with the giving of your time and of yourselves. I think of and salute hundreds of volunteers who donate more than a quarter million hours a year to children and those community representatives serving without pay as members of the governing board of the hospital.

I think, too, of your staff and physicians, a handful of whom I just met, one of whom, Dr. Floyd Seager, we have honored nationally as a daily Point of Light. He's sitting right over here. That's talking about voluntarism at its finest. That same generosity of his moved thousands of area residents, that volunteer spirit, to help build this facility. All helped Intermountain Health Care win the health care industry's highest honor for quality, the Healthcare Forum Witt Award.

On my tour of the hospital, we started by visiting the rehab unit. And then I saw many sick kids who have won their first battle, the battle for life, and are now fighting a second battle, and that's the battle for recovery. These kids really depend on your trust and your affection and your caring. And you, in response, fulfill the old Bible verse: "We were gentle among you, like a nurse taking care of her children."

Nowhere is this more important than in reducing infant mortality rates. We must reverse the factors that cause preventable infant deaths. That's why I've personally made what we call the Healthy Start program a Presidential initiative and a top national priority. It's also why I'm pleased, with Dr. Sullivan, to award Healthy Start program grants today to 15 communities that have shown urgent need, have developed excellent plans for addressing those needs, and have organized communitywide

efforts to achieve results.

I asked the Congress for \$57 million this year to help curb infant mortality; Congress appropriated only \$25 million. We will use it as best we can; between \$1 million to \$2 million will go to each of these 15 communities. I am pleased that the Healthy Start program can begin immediately, but Congress must appropriate more money for this initiative next year. Together, let's show how America's most precious resource is America's ability to care.

In that spirit, let me close these brief remarks with a story about one of Barbara Bush's predecessors, a First Lady, in my view, a great First Lady, Pat Nixon. And once she toured a medical center and stopped to embrace a little girl blinded by rubella. For a few minutes, she talked to the girl and held her close. And then later, someone came over and told her that the child was deaf, as well as blind. Pat answered that she'd known that. "But she knows what love is," Mrs. Nixon said. "She

can feel love."

Well, at Primary Children's, you feel that the minute you walk in here. Kids feel love every day of their lives. For that, we owe a debt of gratitude to everyone here who helps. I know you will remain, I'm confident that you will remain one of the finest pediatric care centers in the entire world.

It has been so inspirational to be with you. Congratulations, and best wishes to all of you, and best wishes especially to all of you. Thank you very, very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 4:30 p.m. at the center. In his remarks, he referred to Arthur S. Anderson, chairman of the center's board of trustees; David Earl Salisbury, chairman of the board of trustees, and Scott Smith Parker, chief executive officer, Intermountain Health Care; and Michael Anthony Simmons, medical director of the center. A tape was not available for the verification of the content of these remarks.*

## Remarks at a Republican Party Fundraising Dinner in Salt Lake City, Utah September 18, 1991

Thank you very, very much. Please be seated. And Norm, thank you, sir, not only for that warm welcome but to you and Colleen for your hospitality ever since we arrived at that magnificent airport rally out there. We felt the warmth of your hospitality, and I'm grateful to you. And don't apologize for this podium. Remember how the Queen of England did with the same podium—all you could see was her hat, so you came off pretty well compared to her. [Laughter]

I want to welcome also, as Norm generously did, Sam Skinner, who is our Secretary of Transportation. And once in a while the Democrats make a charge: no domestic agenda. And if they would only listen to our Secretary of Transportation, we would have had in place a fantastic new transportation program, in place and operating. But we're fighting a lot of old thinking in Washington.

I'm convinced Sam is going to prevail, and he's doing a first-class job for transportation in this country. And I'm glad he's with us.

And let me salute, as warmly as I can, your two Senators. We don't control the United States Senate; we're playing defense a lot of the time. You've got to beat back bad ideas before you can get good ideas to even have a chance with the makeup and the political persuasion that controls the Senate. But in Jake Garn and in Orrin Hatch, we have two principled people who are not afraid to stand up against the current and who, because of this standing they have on both sides of the aisle, are able from time to time to get noble things accomplished. And I am grateful to both of them. I depend heavily on them and when it comes to holding the line up there in the Senate and moving forward as best we can. And so I want you to know how strongly I

feel about the Utah representation in the Senate. And of course, Jim Hansen is with us, too, tonight. And he's doing a first-class job in the House. So, you've got good, strong representation in Washington.

I salute Governor Ashcroft, another dear friend that's got his responsibilities now in the National Governors' Association as well as doing the second-best job in the Nation according to Norm running his State, so—[laughter]—so, John, welcome to you and Janet.

And ever since I've gotten here, for the party types, the political people upon whom we all are going to depend so much next year, people are saying, we've got the great new chairman, a party chairman in the State of Utah. And you do. And he can't throw a curve ball maybe or a knuckle ball like Charlie Hough, but Bruce Hough is doing a first-class job. And I'm glad we have this young, energetic leader heading our party.

I want to salute Jack Roberts, who's with us tonight, the national committeeman. If I might be permitted a personal reminiscence of sorts, my dad served in the Senate with Senator Wallace Bennett. And they were good, close friends. And Wallace Bennett, I understand, is in the hospital, and I just would ask that his son and others convey to him not only my respects but my affectionate greetings because we have great warmth of feeling in the Bush family for that former Senator of yours who did such a superb job nationally.

Of course, Bonnie Stevens, to whom I owe a debt, and also Delonne Anderson are here, for helping back in 1988, chairing the Bush-Quayle effort and giving me the opportunity to be President at this fascinating time in history. And so, I've got a lot of people I'm grateful to here tonight. It's a pleasure to be here.

When you first came up with your State slogan, "Utah: A Pretty, Great State," the mail poured into the White House. And one guy suggested a new slogan we could use: "Barbara Bush: A Pretty, Great First Lady." [Laughter] And I really wish that she were here, but I know that when we see the spirit of voluntarism that strengthens the concept of family in this State, I know that she wants to be a part. I know that she

wants to help and do her best, and she isn't going to turn her back on politics either. So, invite her out, and be careful because she's apt to show up. But I'm sorry she's not with us today.

History records that when Brigham Young first stood overlooking the Wasatch Front and saw Salt Lake, he uttered the now-famous words, "This is the place." And he was right, this is the place. And it is, as Norm mentioned in his opening remarks, the home of strong family, of hard work, of good education and good health. And these values have built a community like none other in America. And they're values that I am convinced, in spite of the turmoil in the cities or the consternation caused by the use of narcotics, I am convinced that they are the values that a vast majority of the American people share.

Traditional values and then this concept of public service, they have been the hallmark of the Utah Republican Party. Governor Bangerter was a small businessman who has given nearly 20 years of elected service to the people of this State. He's done a fantastic job as Governor, and I think some of it is he hasn't forgotten the grassroots. He understands where he came from to be Governor of the State and stays in touch. And I think there's an important message in that for all politicians including the President of the United States.

In Jake Garn you had a war veteran, space explorer, kidney donor, key member of our Republican team in the Senate, as I mentioned. And he's now leaving the Senate for the noblest cause of all, to spend more time with his wonderful family. And we will miss him very much in the United States Senate. But I think there's a wonderful example he's setting for a lot of us in his dedication to his own family and his willingness to give up the glamour of the Senate to return to these values that mean so much to him. He's been a great strength, as I say.

And I'm delighted that Orrin is out here with us. He's been in Washington standing by a man—and doing a first-class job of it—who will be the next Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, Judge Clarence Thomas. And he's done a first-class job. And we have a first-class nominee for the Court. I'm

grateful to you, Orrin, for that.

And so, you have good leadership. I mentioned Jim Hansen. You got good leadership who have made this Republican Party what it is today, one of the best State organizations in the country. But in order to achieve excellence at home and competitiveness abroad, we need more like them in the House, in the Senate, and in the statehouse. And we really do need more people who think as they do.

I was elected by the American people, with I must say wonderful support from this State, to perform on certain things, to accomplish certain things in certain ways. And the great frustration has been that because I don't have control in both Houses of the Congress, our party, as I said, we are playing defense. And I would like to see that change. We do need more Republicans in office, and I'm going to do my level-best to guarantee we get more Republicans in office next year.

There's something remiss when you can push Iraq out of Kuwait but we can't push a good bill out of the United States Congress. And here's how Republicans define a good bill: not by dollars spent and redtape created but by lives enriched and families strengthened. And you see, I think there should be one question in every decision that comes before a President, comes before Members of the United States Congress. And it should be: Does this strengthen the American family? Whether it's in terms of keeping Americans on the job or ensuring that they live in a safe, clean environment or guaranteeing a quality education for our kids, we must do absolutely everything we can to preserve and strengthen the American family.

And I know how tough it is to be a parent these days, to keep a family together. Although I will confess I was a father who raised our kids using those three magic words, "Ask your mother." [Laughter] But we must preserve working families. And our child care law provides low-income parents with the means to select the best care for their children because parents know best what kind of care their children need. We can't figure that out in a bureau or a department in Washington, DC.

Parents know best, and that's what choice

is all about. They don't want their kids in some Federal warehouse. They want to have the option of having relatives look after them or a church participate or a neighborhood sitter. And we're the party that can proudly say we put choice into the hands of parents with our child care legislation that these Members of Congress helped us pass.

And now we're fighting for choice in education. We want choice in education as well. We think that parents and students, not the bureaucrats, should choose which school is best for them. And they're the ones who know best. Parents are a child's first teacher. Their first classroom is often the kitchen table. And we want to help parents do the best they can. And one of our national education goals that John Ashcroft and Norm help set, one of those education goals, is that by the year 2000 every child should arrive at school ready to learn. And to do it, we're proposing increased funding for Head Start and good nutrition and health care programs. We've got to have these kids ready to learn.

So, we want choice; then we want more opportunity to be prepared to learn. You might say, what happened to our education bill? Well, it's almost like the Congress has been listening to that favorite group of mine, Alabama, the country group: "I Ain't Got No Business Doing Business Today." And that's the way it is. And we've got some very good education programs up there. We've got a great Education Secretary under Governor Lamar Alexander. And we are fighting against big odds up there, but I think we're going to win this one. I believe we are going to get a good, sound Federal education program, not to superimpose itself on the States or the localities but to supplement what's done best at the local level. And that's the philosophy behind our education program.

And our bill has been gathering some dust, a hostage, in some case, to the lobby, the education lobby. The teachers unions oppose some of what we're trying to do. But I'll say it again: For the sake of our children we need choice in education, and therefore we need choice in Congress. And we need more Republicans who think as we

do to try to get the job done.

We must strengthen the health of the American family. I mentioned that. And earlier today it was very moving for me when I visited the Primary Children's Medical Center here in town and saw that infant ward. I don't know how many of you all have had a chance to visit there. It's nothing to do with Republicans or Democrats; it has to do with love, and it has to do with caring. And for me, it was a very emotional experience. It's a sad fact: We can prevent one-quarter of the infant deaths in America every year. And to ensure that young people get as good a start in life as possible, we have proposed increased funding for the prevention of infant mortality, to improve prenatal care and nutrition programs and target communities with the highest infant mortality rates and educate would-be parents.

You see, it isn't simply enough to treat newborns. Strong families mean a strong America. As Republicans, we're fighting to preserve this family by fostering an environment in which working parents can make ends meet and can raise healthy kids from the very, very beginning and can send them to the school they want, ready to learn. We're a nation of families. And here in Utah, I have this feeling that you understand it, you understand it far better than most. And I can see it in your values, in your good schools, and in your faith, your respect for God's creation.

In fact, let me put it in the words of someone who says it best, not a famous writer or singer, a 20-year-old from here who served in the Persian Gulf, Mike Averett, Jr., one of four kids in his family. And he said of Utah Valley: "I would do anything to defend this place. I want it to stay just as it is."

And I want that for a lot of America, too. Where the values are strong and the schools are good, we want it to stay as it is. But there are many that don't have, many kids in this country who nobody knows their name, nobody cares about them, where the

schools are lousy. And our job is far from unfulfilled.

So, I salute your values. I hope that I can find a way to strengthen the family and these fundamental institutions and help strengthen it in other parts of this great country of ours. The challenge is absolutely enormous. And the reward will be great.

I have had a fantastic day out here on the road. It is good for the soul, and I think I'll be a better President for getting out around this great country of ours. I feel that way every time I go. Today we started at the Grand Canyon, and then we landed to be received at this wonderful nonpartisan rally, then the hospital, and now this political dinner. It's been a wonderful outing. And I'd like to stay here for dinner, but I looked at the menu, and it said *bouquette*—my French is very good—*bouquette*, fresh seasonal vegetables. And I thought in some subtle way that meant broccoli, so I will only tell you—[laughter]. You call it what you want. And knowing of my commitment to choice now, I hope you'll excuse me.

But it's been a great day. And I salute the party leaders and those of you who are rolling up your sleeves and getting active in the political process. You know, it's fashionable to knock politics. It's the way it has been; it's the way it always will be. But God bless those people that are willing to roll up their sleeves and get involved, whether it's helping elect good people or whether it's serving in the United States Congress or at the local level or being a great Governor of a State.

I've enjoyed being here, and I feel refurbished, slightly tired but refurbished for being around such wonderful people. Thank you, and may God bless the United States of America.

*Note: The President spoke at 6:50 p.m. at the Salt Lake City Marriott Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. Norman H. Bangerter of Utah and his wife, Colleen, and Gov. John Ashcroft of Missouri and his wife, Janet.*

## Nomination of Kathleen Day Koch To Be Special Counsel of the Office of Special Counsel

*September 18, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Kathleen Day Koch, of Virginia, to be Special Counsel of the Office of Special Counsel for the term of 5 years. She would succeed Mary F. Wieseman.

Since 1988 Ms. Koch has served as General Counsel of the Federal Labor Relations Authority in Washington, DC. Ms. Koch served as Associate Counsel to the President at the White House, 1987–1988, and as

a senior attorney in the Personnel Law Division at the Department of Commerce, 1984–1987.

Ms. Koch graduated from the University of Missouri in St. Louis (B.S., 1971) and the University of Chicago (J.D., 1977). She was born November 27, 1948, in St. Louis, MO. Ms. Koch has three children and resides in Annandale, VA.

## Statement on the Resignation of J.R. Thompson, Jr., as Deputy Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration

*September 18, 1991*

I have today regretfully accepted the resignation of J.R. Thompson, Jr., as Deputy Administrator of NASA.

During his distinguished 25-year career with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, J.R. has proven himself a man of exemplary dedication and vision. He played a key role in returning the shuttle safely to flight and restoring the integrity of the space shuttle program following the 1986 *Challenger* accident. In recent years, he has been at the forefront of setting the course for the Nation's space program for the next century.

Throughout his career, J.R. has had tre-

mendous impact on our Nation's space program. From his initial efforts at improving propulsion engineering, to managing the Marshall Space Flight Center, to his most recent and notable position, J.R. has been a leader and an innovator. He has rightfully earned numerous awards for his efforts. Among his many honors, he has twice earned the Presidential Rank of Meritorious Executive and this year received the John F. Kennedy Astronautics Award from the American Astronautical Society.

Barbara joins me in wishing J.R. and his family the very best as we salute his proud service to a grateful Nation.

## Remarks at a Fundraising Breakfast for Senator Bob Packwood in Portland, Oregon

*September 19, 1991*

Senator Packwood, thank you for that warm and personal introduction. May I salute Bill Packwood down here on the end, lest some of you don't recognize this recent graduate of Penn State who flew out with us today. I was just delighted to see him.

Also pleased that our Secretary of Transportation, Sam Skinner, sitting over here, is with us. And he's doing a superb job. We're going off to Los Angeles right after this breakfast to do a little more on the transportation front.

I understand that Senator Seymour is here. I haven't seen him, but Senator Seymour of California is with us. John, why don't you stand up if you are because I've—well, so he's not. Where is he? Oh, way back there. He'll be flying down with us to his State of California.

And may I salute Craig Berkman, my friend of long, long standing, who the Senator and everyone else tells me is doing a superb job for this party. And Tim Lee, the event chairman, he's done a mighty good job also, and I salute him. Don't let him rest up too much. We're going to need him for more of these events before this is over, I'm sure.

I also thank the band, the Wilson High School Band over there; the Waverly Children's Home, who led the Pledge of Allegiance; and of course, the choir that put great life into our complicated but wonderfully moving national anthem. All of them did a first-class job.

Portland, Oregon, the "City of Roses," Portland is a very special place. But I was thinking if you had to borrow a name from the State of Maine, how about Kennebunkport? Nice ring to it.

But let me say it's been an amazing month or so in our world. I focus going back to Maine this summer in the month of August. Before Congress went on recess, a few remnants of the cold war remained intact. By the time it had returned, that Congress had come back, a coup tried to unseat Mikhail Gorbachev, and instead of that, the coup de grace was given to communism itself.

And I couldn't help note, Reverend, your special appeal about the Baltic States. It's most appropriate as these countries, once considered satellites, never by the United States but considered satellites in the Soviet Union, are now free, independent countries, their flags flying at the United Nations as well as over their own capitals. And that is historic. It's long overdue. And I take great pleasure, as I know all Americans do, in their independence. So, I'm pleased you mentioned them in your fitting and lovely invocation.

The changes in the world are indeed staggering and, for the most part, positive. I am very proud of the fact that it is the

United States of America that is leading the way. You travel abroad, and many of you have, and you see clearly that it is our country which is out front helping many new fledgling democracies find their way in Africa, in South America, and Eastern Europe, and yes, in what used to be an iron Marxist state called the Soviet Union. It is mind-boggling to think of the changes that have taken place just in the last 6 or 7 weeks.

We have an unprecedented opportunity to build a new era of peace and prosperity here and abroad, to build a new world order where the rule of law prevails over the use of force. None of these changes would have taken place if the United States had not remained firmly committed to the cause of freedom. Over the years we stood firm. And in this year's tense debates about the Gulf, these changes couldn't have taken place if Congress hadn't authorized the use of force to stop a brutal dictator.

Bob Packwood was one of those who, against those public opinion polls of the moment, stood with me in that historic debate. And that's just one reason, one of many, that I'm happy to join him here today because he is a force for positive good on Capitol Hill.

You know his accomplishments as chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, where he's now the ranking Republican, his influence on tax reform and employee benefits. You know the impact he's had on free enterprise, on trade, and on deregulation, especially when he was chairman of Commerce, Science, and Transportation Committee. But I want to tell you this and tell you urgently, and yes, this is a political gathering to honor him, but you must return Bob Packwood to the United States Senate. His 23 years, it will be 24 at election time, of seniority make him a solid leader of strength and experience. So, we need him. The party needs him as a spokesman, as a leader.

And Bob effectively works behind the scenes sometimes to make sure that our message is heard. And it's not easy when you're up against an automatic moving majority that wants to do things just the opposite from the way I was elected to perform.



And so, I'm delighted he's up there doing that. And one other point: He has a sound record. He hasn't forgotten the human equation. The fact that people need jobs and must not be thrown out of work by extreme environmental positions is known to him. And I don't believe we need extremes to solve the problem.

If that overall message of his is not listened to, we do face trouble. I spoke of Congress 197 days ago, and I issued a simple challenge and here, if I might, repeat it: "If America can defeat a brutal dictator in a matter of weeks, then surely its legislative body can manage to pass two bills, the administration's crime and transportation bills, within 100 days." That was in the State of the Union Message 197 days ago.

Well, almost twice that time, that 100 days, has elapsed, and we still do not have those two bills. And it's clear that the Democrats have no desire to help us advance what is a sound and strong domestic agenda. Their alternative is not a domestic agenda. It's a political one: to block our agenda. And we cannot let that succeed.

Occasionally, we have been able to break the logjam. We're proud of the Clean Air Act that was passed. I think it's good environmental policy. I think it's just good plain national policy. I'm proud of the Americans with Disabilities Act that we managed to pass last year, the most forward-looking piece of civil rights legislation in years. And I'm proud with our success in child care. But we can succeed only with the help of the American people. To continue the fight, we need you to elect and reelect leaders who care deeply about this country, who care about the approach that I've outlined here, strong, competent, principled men like Bob Packwood.

And to continue this Nation's victories, the American people must rediscover their own genius. That's the heart of our domestic philosophy that overlies our domestic agenda, the concept that the true power and potential in this land must rest in the hands of the people. Our domestic policy begins by trusting you.

Let me elaborate. Our domestic agenda tries to carry that faith forward into the future. Our housing proposals, for example,

would turn housing residents into homeowners, would emphasize tenant management, letting people in the area itself manage their own affairs. It relies on the belief that our public housing citizens can care for themselves and contribute to our society. Our energy package attempts to conserve energy while encouraging innovation. The transportation package that Sam Skinner has been so inventive in gives more power to local authorities, who know their own needs. The national drug strategy is all encompassing, with lots of the most effective work being done by the private sector and at the local level. And our crime package, the most comprehensive in American history, tries to give our streets back to the people.

In each case, we want Washington to give power back to the people and give them a chance to shape their own destinies rather than having to answer to distant bureaucrats. And this philosophy serves as the foundation for an issue that I'd like to just touch on in a little more detail. I'm talking, of course, about education. Our democracy can remain vital only if we continue to grow in knowledge and wisdom, understanding the increasingly complex and competitive world in which we live. We Americans can and must revitalize our education system for our children, for our future. We don't want just a good education system. We want the best. We deserve a system that will give every citizen the power to throw open his or her own door of opportunity.

I came to this job believing that education is our most enduring legacy, vital to everything we are and everything we can become. I believe it with even more conviction now. Five months ago we issued a challenge that we call America 2000, a call to reinvent, revolutionize if you will, American education. This initiative sketched out the framework for a national education strategy made up of four elements: Accountable schools for today, and I emphasize that word "accountable"; a new generation of schools for tomorrow, not do it the same old way, each community find a new way to approach the education challenges in that community, that State; a

Nation of students committed to a lifetime of education—I'm floundering around trying to learn how to use that computer a little better, and I'm getting up there in years—nobody is too old to learn; and a community where learning can happen. And by that I mean an environment in which education can take place, in which kids feel free from fear and they can go on about the business of learning.

Now, you play the critical role in making that strategy work. You must ensure that each of your communities as a whole engages in this commitment to education. People who want Washington to solve all problems are simply missing the point. What happens there doesn't matter half as much as what happens in each hometown. Remember, on the total figures for education, 6 percent is Federal Government spending, 94 percent by local and State, private entities. Every person, every school, every town must join this special national army, an army undertaking the most important crusade of all: the crusade to prepare our children and ourselves for our country's future. You can, you must make our communities places where learning can happen.

Let me give you just a handful of examples of what Oregonians are doing to help improve education around them. The National Guard, a Willamette University fraternity, Kiwanians, and individuals joined together to "adopt" Salem's Richmond Elementary School, which serves a large migrant population. This community so enriches the lives of the students and the school that they won this year's Governor's Volunteerism Award and the district award for outstanding business-school partnership.

In Albany, more than 2,000 residents have come together to focus on the district's 22 schools through a remarkable business partnership program begun, in this case, by the Chamber of Commerce. In West Linn, not only do parents assist teachers in classrooms, but over 50 percent of middle school science students have been given the chance to strengthen lessons learned in schools through local internships as a part of a program called Future Makers.

And then there's my favorite place, I like the name at least, Salem's Bush Elementary

School. [Laughter] Everyone there in that community has joined to give this school new life and make it a centerpiece of community life. In this school, where 75 percent of the families live below the poverty level and one-third speak no English, residents set up an Even Start literacy program for kids and parents. Local college students provide tutoring, mentoring, and helping with therapy groups. Volunteers from businesses, hospitals, and the community contribute to weekly tutoring programs. Anyone can join: 85-year-old Esther Wilson has been working with at-risk kids in Salem for 9 years. Members of a local church help students with languages, but they're also building a playground. In Salem, you see, people understand that you must help kids be students without forgetting that they are kids. That's because kids ought to experience education as one of life's great joys. The community also encourages parents to volunteer at the school; this enriches the school and makes citizens feel more a part of their children's education.

There are thousands of stories like this, tens of thousands across this country. This could never happen if somebody tried to design a program in a subcommittee on education in the House of Representatives or in the United States Senate. It couldn't happen. You cannot generate that kind of love and that kind of concern by some Federal legislation back in Washington, DC.

There are thousands of stories like these. And you can write your own versions in your own neighborhoods. America cannot afford to wait or to waste an entire generation. As we look ahead to the year 2000 we must answer the call: Let tomorrow begin today.

I will stay personally involved. Our new Secretary of Education, Governor Lamar Alexander, is taking a crucial leadership role in advocating and promoting our program called Education 2000. I don't want to turn what is an upbeat, enthusiastic rally for Bob Packwood into a lecture on education. But I feel so strongly about this, I urge you to take a hard look at it. It's not partisan. It gets all across partisan lines. And it really answers the future challenge and says that these kids sitting right over here are going

to have a better shot if we get this program fully implemented and fully into effect.

Here in Oregon, you can do something about it also because it is part of the philosophical underpinning of our administration, and that is to reelect Bob Packwood to the Senate.

You know, I am delighted to be back here in Portland. I'll remember this day next spring when I welcome the Trailblazers to the White House after they win the NBA title. But I reserve the right to change these remarks when I get to Los Angeles. *[Laughter]* And then tomorrow I'm going to be in Chicago, so—*[laughter]*.

But listen, let me just say this. I am very privileged to be President of the United States at this historic time. The change around the world is so rapid, the ferment and turmoil and change in our country so challenging. I am blessed. And Barbara feels exactly the same way as First Lady. And if I might say a word about her, I think she is doing a superb job as she travels around teaching literacy in this country.

But the longer I'm in this job, the more convinced I am that to get the job done, to finish what so many of you helped me begin, I need good people that look at these broad views philosophically the way we do. Sure, there are going to be differences on one issue or another. But the big thing is Bob Packwood and I share this philosophical underpinning that the best answer is to keep government as close as possible to home. That's education, fighting drugs, whatever it is. And so, let me just say: Please, go all out in '92 and return this good man to the United States Senate.

Thank you all very, very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 8:25 a.m. in the Oregon Ballroom of the Oregon Convention Center. In his remarks, he referred to William H. Packwood, son of Senator Packwood; Craig L. Berkman, chairman of the Oregon Republican Party; Rev. Edgars Petrevics of the Oregon Latvian Lutheran Church; and the Portland Trailblazers basketball team.*

## Remarks to Green Line/Interstate 105 Project Construction Site Employees in Los Angeles, California September 19, 1991

Thank you very much. Governor Wilson, thank you for that introduction. And may I pay my respects to Secretary Skinner and Senator Seymour with us here, Mayor Bradley, also two other Members of the United States Congress over here, Glenn Anderson, Dana Rohrabacher, well-known to everybody around these parts. I salute them. And to the California State secretary for transportation and housing, Carl Covitz, who was explaining much of this to me today. My sincere thanks to Jerry Baxter, to Neil Peterson, and to all of you guys that helped me eat my lunch out there, whoever you are, and who are doing the work on this project. It's a pleasure to be here.

We've got some great humorists at the White House. One of my aides, when I told him we had been invited to visit the transportation project, he said, "Well, would you

like to have a moving experience?" And I am moved to be here. And I'm very grateful for this reception, the conversation I had with the people doing the work, and especially grateful that all of you are here.

I suspect the traffic jam that Los Angeles is most concerned about breaking up these days is the one that is at the top of the National League West. And I wish I were going to get to go see the ball game tonight, but unfortunately, I am not.

And I'm here today, though, to congratulate Los Angeles and California for their leadership, its national leadership. You're setting an example for the whole country in advancing a project which symbolizes the kind of transportation planning, high tech, and teamwork that America needs to compete in the world marketplace. This project will improve the movement of people and

goods not just within this great city but between modes of transportation: rail, car, bus, and air transportation. With links to both Los Angeles International Airport and Southern California's port facilities, Interstate 105 and the Green Line will help speed goods to markets throughout the global economy.

Interstate 105 dramatizes the Federal, State, and local partnership at its best, showing that together we Americans can do anything. The Federal role is focused on construction of the interstate, including HOV line. State and local governments have joined to help commuters move more efficiently and to unclog Los Angeles area roads and highways. And I salute California and the Los Angeles area for their commitment of over \$1 billion, including local funding for the total price tag for the new Green Line.

This project embodies America's need for greater infrastructure investment at every level. It shows why, when we unveiled our transportation plan more than 7 months ago, we proposed at the Federal level investing 39 percent more in highway funding, primarily by focusing Federal investment on roads of national importance, the 150,000-mile National Highway System.

The state of some of our highways was reflected in an updated version of an old song that some cynic sang to me the other day: "You take the high road, and I'll take the low road, and I'll hit a pothole before you."

Well, we've got to change that. And our transportation plan will, indeed, help improve America's roads. Look at this one, look at Interstate 105, a crucial link in our new highway system. Especially with the Green Line using its median strip, it will prove how investment in high tech can ease local congestion and other problems as well.

The Green Line will be a state-of-the-art, fully automated system, one of only four such systems in the world. I-105 makes special accommodations for high-occupancy vehicles, which encourages carpooling by commuters. All over America, including California, we are seeing "smart car, smart highways" programs which help drivers move more safely and more freely.

And there are other innovations in our

transportation plan including more flexibility for State and local transportation officials on how Federal dollars are spent, more capital investment for transit, and incentives for greater use of private funds to support our road system.

But we still face one big hurdle that needs to be cleared, and I'm talking about congressional inaction today. Last March I challenged the Congress to pass our bill in 100 days. And it's now 197 days and counting. Let me tell you what we want and what we don't want. We want a bill that works. We don't want a bill that paves America with special projects, with pork. We want a transportation system that spends our money effectively, one that truly addresses national needs. And we don't want one that simply furthers political careers by spending money on hundreds of special interest projects. We want a good transportation bill, and I am going to do all I can to keep the heat on to get such a bill.

Many special interest projects often are not even on the local and State priority list. But I-105 and the Green Line are certainly projects that argue the other way. They are projects where there's a need, projects that people want. And they are examples of how transportation infrastructure can make us much more competitive in the global economy. They also demonstrate how State and local governments can take a lead role in financing and managing of important transportation projects and, in the process, get fantastic results. And they show California is leading the way toward a brighter tomorrow.

I want to thank you all once again for your hospitality. The novelist John Steinbeck once wrote, "The spring is beautiful in California." Well, I'd like to add, so is September. And thank you for a great day. Thank you for this fantastic contribution to the infrastructure of our great country. And may God bless you and our wonderful country. Thank you very, very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 1:21 p.m. at the site. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. Pete Wilson of California; Jerry Baxter, director, California Transportation District; and Neil Peterson, executive director, Los*

*Angeles County Transportation Commission. Prior to his remarks, the President had lunch with the construction site employees, attended a briefing, and toured the project.*

## Exchange With Hispanic Journalists in Los Angeles, California, on the Situation in Iraq *September 19, 1991*

*Q.* Mr. President, you talked yesterday about the situation with Iraq in the monitoring of the cease-fire agreements. Do you think it will be necessary to have a substantial show of force, of weapons, and perhaps troops in that region to make sure that those agreements are fulfilled, implemented?

*The President.* At this juncture the answer to your question is no, I don't think so. I do think that Saddam Hussein must comply willingly or reacting to pressure with the United Nations resolutions. There is too much at stake. The international community has too much at stake. The very meaning of a new world order with the U.N. playing an active role in it has too much at stake. The United States has a disproportionate responsibility for this. We do the heavy lifting. We're the only ones that can. And we saw that clearly when your sons and daughters went off to that war in the Gulf.

We don't need lots of troops and to mobilize a whole "Son of Desert Storm" operation. The way to diffuse it is for Saddam Hussein to do what the U.N. is calling on him to do. One way to have him to do it is to understand that if he doesn't, he is going to find that we are prepared to use military action to see that he does comply. And we're not going to be doing this alone if it comes to that. We'll have others with us.

But to allay the concerns of America, I would simply say we're not talking about massive troop movements. What we are talking about, if required—and if you ask me whether I thought it will be or not, I'd say no—what we are talking about is accompanying helicopters with some air power. And we got a lot of air power there. And we've demonstrated, thanks to our technology and to the ability of our pilots,

that we can be very specific as we apply this air power.

And so, I'm glad you asked that because there's a lot of interest in the country, and a lot think that we're talking about a massive mobilization. I saw one of the networks interviewing some families down at Shaw Air Force Base, "Oh, please, we don't want to go through this again." That's not what we're talking about here. And I don't see it escalating that we would be talking about it.

But I will say this: I am determined that he comply with these resolutions. And when a President makes a statement like that, he ought not to do it without being willing to back that up. And I think the reason we ended up having the war in the first place was twofold. One, Saddam Hussein never believed we'd use power. He just didn't believe it. He listened to the debate in this country. He read the editorials. He'd misread a sign, and he didn't believe it. And the second miscalculation was, he believed that if we did use power, he didn't think we would, but he believed that if we did, that he would prevail either by a standoff emerging as the new Nasser or in some way beating us. He had no idea what was going to happen to him.

That's now history. He knows what we can do. And so, it is my gut feeling that he will do that which he should have done long ago, and that is comply with the letter of the United Nations resolutions.

And I would just like to take this opportunity to say to him through your outlets: He should comply. He should not miscalculate again. And we don't need to threaten. That's all we have to say: You ought to comply. And I've never been more determined. And he can interpret it any way he wants to.

Q. Are you imposing a deadline for him?

*The President.* No, no deadlines. Just a simple statement of determination in which I'm sure I would be joined by countries all around the world. I mean, this isn't just the United States. Just as the strength of Operation Desert Storm came from the fact that it had an international sanction, his compliance and demand for compliance comes not just from the United States but from the

Security Council of the U.N.

So, there's no deadline, no lines in the sand. Just to say: Hey, go ahead and do what you ought to have done some time ago.

*Note: The exchange began at 1:55 p.m. in the Benedict Room at the Four Seasons Hotel. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.*

## Remarks at a Fundraising Dinner for Senator John Seymour in Los Angeles, California September 19, 1991

Thank you all very, very much. And thank you, Senator Seymour. Thank you, John, for those kind words. And thanks all of you for this very warm welcome back, my 10th trip to California as President. And let me thank Andy Williams, for starters, for blessing us with that beautiful anthem of ours and the way in which he did it. I salute his wife, Debbie. My respects to Reverend Robert Schuller for tonight's invocation. And Reverend, I know I speak for everyone when I wish your father the speediest of recoveries.

And let me salute the stars of the GOP galaxy with me here tonight. With me is our Secretary of Transportation, Sam Skinner; Governor Pete Wilson, of course, and Gayle, making the tough decisions up there in Sacramento; the honorable George Deukmejian, a long-time friend of all of ours; Jim Dignan, our State GOP chairman; and his vice chairman, Tirso Del Junco. And I'm just pleased to be with all of them.

And it's a pleasure to be here, back here at the Century on the Avenue of Stars with so many of LA's brightest lights. Let me just start with tonight's emcee, the honorary mayor of Hollywood. He's a national figure these days, Johnny Grant; always a pleasure to be with him. I want to thank A.C. Lyles, who worked to pull together this star-studded cast. And I, of course, would genuflect before and salute Bob Hope and Delores. It's a great pleasure to see them up this late. *[Laughter]* And to Gene Autry and his

wife, Jackie; and to John and Connie Gavin; and to Sly Stallone and Chuck Norris and Loretta Young and Delta Burke and Gerald McRaney.

And of course, Kevin Costner is here. He was my partner in golf. I'm surprised he showed up after my poor showing there in Washington, DC. But he and his wife, Cindy, are here. Kevin's working on the sequel to "Robin Hood: The Prince of Thieves." It's called "Robin Hood: Chairman of the Election and Reapportionment Committee." *[Laughter]* He'll steal your seat right out from under you. *[Laughter]*

And last but not least, the reason we're here tonight: the rising star of the Senate, a man whom I respect and in whom I believe totally, and that is John Seymour. I think we all know John's story, his transition from successful businessman, active in his community, to mayor of Anaheim, and later, member of the California State Senate. Then, Governor Pete Wilson came back to California, tapped John to take his seat in Washington. And tonight we're here unified in our desire, in our dedication to make sure that John Seymour stays in the Senate.

He mentioned, really, that he wasted no time in making a mark for himself on Capitol Hill. It was 48 hours after his arrival that he took part in that solemn debate that he referred to. And that debate was conducted in the highest traditions of the Senate. And he did cast a momentous vote to authorize the use of force to free Kuwait.

And it wasn't an easy vote. You've got to think back now. Given the superb performance of the force, it looks like it might have been easy, but it wasn't at the time. And to John and to all of you who stood with me with our fighting men and women during the days of Desert Storm, my heartfelt thanks for your prayers and your support.

It was a fine moment for our country. It turned things around. And let me just say I am confident that what happened then will be the guarantor that we don't have to do all that again. I believe, no matter how bad he is, Saddam Hussein is not going to miscalculate once more. He's not going to do that. And we are going to stay firm as we can be the way I spelled out the policy yesterday. It isn't going to change one single bit. And he is going to comply with every single resolution of the United Nations.

We live at a time of just extraordinary change, at a moment in history when old gives way to the new. In August 1990, the world's attention was riveted on Iraq. And this August, the epicenter of change shifted over to Moscow and to the rest of the Soviet Union. And what began as the Old Guard's attempt to turn back the clock ended up as the last gasp of a dying ideology. And the coup failed, and communism stood exposed and empty at its core. I was very pleased when both Yeltsin and Gorbachev gave the United States credit for standing firmly with them, thus helping to guarantee the coup's failure.

And it is true that the collapse of communism stands as a triumph for freedom-loving men everywhere, a victory for the principles all of us here hold dear, principles we've pledged to defend: freedom, democracy, and the dignity of man.

The aftershocks of that ideological earthquake have made themselves felt around the world, even right here in California. Just last night the citizens of Santa Monica stormed city hall and knocked down their statue of Tom Hayden. [*Laughter*]

Speaking of democratic change, your Governor, Pete Wilson, tells me that this very day, this very afternoon, every Republican member of the State assembly voted against the Democrats' gerrymander. And I applaud them and the Governor. And I

fully expect them to support their Governor, their party, and their President by also voting no on the Democrats' effort to override Governor Wilson's veto. The Governor is right to insist on fairness. The people of California are entitled to fairplay on redistricting. So, enough of outrageous gerrymanders.

But even in times of tremendous change, some things still stay the same. And next time you're in Washington, visit Capitol Hill and note the differences between the political parties. The party in charge of Congress may not see that Americans want action, but I really believe our party does. Yes, we're outnumbered. Yes, we cannot take the offensive because of the numbers on both Houses of Congress. But we want action. And we're waging a battle to take back the Senate in 1992 and get Capitol Hill moving on our domestic agenda. We can start right here. Help California keep its edge by electing this fine man, sending him back to the Senate.

In his 9 short months of office, John has adapted well to the strange new world of the Senate. John won passage of five amendments, I think Pete referred to this, to the crime bill, five key tough-on-crime provisions, more amendments than any Senator not on the Judiciary Committee. And thanks to John Seymour, California's and this country's streets may just get to be a little bit safer.

And I might also say that John has been a key supporter of America 2000, our revolutionary national education strategy. You take any number of problems we cope with today from crime and drugs to economic competitiveness, education really is part of their solution. And right now, our schools can't pass the test. Take a look at this State's graduation rate. Just 65 percent of California's students graduate with their classes. One in every three kids falls through the cracks, and that's a crime.

America 2000 offers answers, not excuses. America 2000 demands revolutionary change. And the very idea of change strikes fear in the hearts of the education establishment in this country. Our critics in the establishment and their friends up on Capitol Hill sing the same old refrain, "We aren't

spending enough on our schools." Well, it's time for them to check their math. In the last 10 years, in current dollars, total education spending went from about \$200 billion to over \$400 billion, and we're still 12th in the world in math and 9th in science achievement. The American people are not stingy, but they know that a fistful of dollars will not fix the problems plaguing our schools.

And real reform begins with raising expectations, setting our sights on our national education goals, and freeing our schools to meet them. And it means making today's schools better and building break-the-mold schools to serve the students of tomorrow. It is important that these communities decide what is best for them, start from scratch, redesign the schools, the school curriculum, the length of the term, whatever it is. But each community should start from scratch and try. Real reform recognizes that teachers and schools can't do the job alone. And we've got to call on parents and communities and private sector companies. In California and all across this country, we want to see every city and town become what we call America 2000 communities.

Earlier this month, I generated some controversy with my remarks about television and its effect on kids. But the fact is, TV shouldn't be an electronic babysitter. Even the best educational TV, and there's some tremendous programs, cannot substitute for parents who care. Kids who sit in front of the tube all day may be great for the ratings, but they won't help our SAT scores. And they certainly won't be able to compete in the 21st century, when brains, not brawn, will determine the destiny of nations.

So, real reform means taking responsibility, challenging our communities to get involved, giving parents the power to choose which school is best for their kids. And that is what we call America 2000: common sense. But then again, as Tom Paine understood, sometimes in the right circumstances common sense can be revolutionary.

In California, across this country really, a Republican revolution has begun. We've known for a long time our party is the party

of American ideals, that our faith in freedom reflects the special magic of America. And just as important, right here at home, the Republican Party stands as the party of ideas. From reinventing our schools to turning tenants into homeowners, from enlisting the marketplace to clean our air, to promoting ways of finding new energy sources, to waging a drug war that is making dramatic headway, on one issue after another: When Americans ask for solutions, Republicans deliver. And that's the secret behind our success in this great State, the secret that makes John Seymour effective in the Senate.

And tonight we reaffirm those powerful ideals that give this party its sense of direction and its strength of purpose. I am very sorry that Barbara Bush isn't out here with me tonight. I know she would have loved the glitter and the wonder of it all. And she just plain likes coming out to California. But she and I talk about the problems that our country face. And we often come back to the fundamental values that we all learned when we were kids: the importance of family, the importance of faith, the importance of community values. And so, it starts from square one, but I like to feel that our party now is in the forefront of all of this.

So, my plea tonight is: Let us wage a Republican revolution here in California and across this country. And let's start by guaranteeing that John Seymour remains in the United States Senate.

Once again, thanks to you for this warm welcome. And may God bless the United States of America. Thank you very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 8:02 p.m. at the Century Plaza Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to George Deukmejian, former Governor of California, and the following entertainers: Bob Hope and his wife, Dolores; Gene Autry and his wife, Jackie; John Gavin and his wife, Constance Towers; Sylvester Stallone; Chuck Norris; Loretta Young; Delta Burke; Gerald McRaney; and Kevin Costner and his wife, Cindy. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*



## Nomination of Mary Jane Maddox To Be Deputy Director of ACTION

September 19, 1991

The President today announced his intention to nominate Mary Jane Maddox, of Texas, to be Deputy Director of the ACTION agency, the Federal domestic volunteer agency. She would succeed Jane A. Kenny.

From 1982 to 1991 Ms. Maddox served as administrative assistant to Representative Steve Bartlett of the Third District of Texas. In addition, her civic activities in Texas have included serving as president of the PTA, Wake Village Elementary School, Tex-

arkana; cochairman, Employ Youth Program, Marshall Chamber of Commerce; and board member of Camp Fire Girls, Port Arthur. She currently serves on the bazaar committee for St. Alban's Episcopal Church in Washington, DC.

Ms. Maddox attended the University of Texas at Austin, 1957-1960. She was born August 7, 1939, in Corpus Christi, TX. Ms. Maddox is married, has two daughters, and resides in Washington, DC.

## Remarks at the Annual Convention of the United States Hispanic Chamber of Commerce in Chicago, Illinois

September 20, 1991

Thank you very much. And I really want to thank you for that warm reception here. First, may I salute two Secretaries of my Cabinet: Secretary Lujan, who many of you have known over the years, is with us today; and also Secretary Sam Skinner, who just came in with us from California, a son of Chicago in a sense, and doing a great job as Secretary of Transportation.

May I also thank the Governor of the State, Jim Edgar, and the mayor of this great city, Mayor Daley, for greeting me at the airport here and welcoming us to Illinois and to Chicago. And this is, as I view it, certainly not a partisan gathering. And I think their both showing up together, side by side, was a manifestation of that. [*Laughter*]

But may I thank José, José Niño, who just introduced me, your very able president; Gabe Aguirre, the outgoing chairman. And thank you all, ladies and gentleman, for, once again, that very warm welcome. Let me congratulate my fellow Texan, Delia Reyes, your newly elected chair. And warmest greetings to the many dignitaries that are here.

I'm here a little later than originally

scheduled. Would you believe we experienced a slight flight delay? [*Laughter*] I know it happens all the time. We had to circle the city while Michael Jordan practiced takeoffs and landings out here. [*Laughter*] And there's a second reason, too, if I may be candid. I know you've just heard Jack Kemp speak, and I thought you'd want to catch your breath for a little bit. [*Laughter*]

If you're still feeling winded, it's my fault. It goes back to our first Cabinet meeting, and I asked Jack, "Can't you generate, can't you work up a little more enthusiasm?" And you saw it today. But he's doing a great job for us as Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. His concept, our concept of tenant management and home ownership offers, really, hope to millions. But then, Jack and all our administration believe in the greatest and most visionary of American ideals, the ideal of real equality, ensuring that people can go as far as their abilities and their hard work will take them.

Five centuries ago, men crossed the great ocean and brought Hispanic America into being. Ever since then, we have called the

combination of European and American peoples on these vast lands not a new territory, not a new colony, not a new settlement; we've called it a new world. Hispanic America arose out of risk and romance. Several forces fed its growth: Transoceanic trade, the movement and mingling of people, the grand enterprise of discovery and development. On September 20, this very date, but in 1519, Magellan and his party set sail from Spain to sail around the globe. Next month we begin a year of commemoration leading to the 500th anniversary of Columbus' daring journey.

We must not think of these achievements as somehow antique and irrelevant. Frontiers don't close when men settle the wilderness, when they build cities and factories and schools. Subtle but braver adventures confront advanced civilizations, the adventures of creating families, educating children, knowing that no matter how hard or how comfortable our circumstances, we must make our world better. In the life of the Americas, in our mission of discovery and development, 1492 was only yesterday.

How true this is in the case of commerce. Voyagers charted the trade routes of the Americas centuries ago, but we've only now begun to explore their full potential.

Your convention theme sings with this spirit: "Launching New Partnerships." America's more than 400,000 Hispanic-owned firms provide new jobs and generate new wealth. In 1987, the latest date for these statistics, our Hispanic-owned businesses pumped nearly \$25 billion into our economy and created half a million jobs.

You believe in yourselves, in your abilities, your determination, your excellence. Because you believe in yourselves, you helped our administration get congressional approval to extend our Fast Track procedures for trade negotiations. Armed with that powerful tool, and as you heard this morning from an able team from three countries, we are negotiating a North American free trade agreement.

I might say that Mexico, under President Carlos Salinas, has been a powerful leader and ally. And I would also say that relationships between Mexico and the United States have never in history been better. And that is in the best interests of the United States

of America. When we complete that accord, and I'm confident we will, we'll build a free trade zone that ranges from the Yukon to the Yucatan, a market of 360, get the figure, 360 million consumers and a present annual output of \$6 trillion.

When we seal the free trade agreement, Hispanic-owned firms in the United States will enjoy strong natural advantages. Bonds of family, language, understanding the culture, already cherished in the families represented here today, all of these will gain value as business assets.

Because you believe in yourselves, you also have supported our Enterprise for the Americas Initiative, aiming to establish a network of expanded trade, investment, and cooperation from Hudson Bay to the Straits of Magellan.

The North American free trade agreement and the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative incorporate the great lesson of our age: Trade and enterprise can build wealth and preserve freedom. Protectionism and Government control only create poverty and backwardness, and yes, a denial of freedom.

Consider the case of Mexico. Since 1986, when Mexico joined the GATT and dropped tariff rates from 100 percent, 100 percent, to little more than 10 percent, U.S. exports to Mexico have more than doubled. Exports of automobiles and auto parts have quadrupled. Exports of iron and steel, which were running a \$12 million deficit just 4 years ago, now are achieving a \$300 million surplus. And this rise in exports created almost 300,000 jobs in the United States. Each additional \$1 billion in exports will translate into nearly 20,000 American jobs.

But these reforms, it's not a one-way street; these reforms have helped Mexico, a classic win-win situation, if you will. Fidel Velazquez Sanchez, the head of the Mexican Labor Confederation, recognizes that increased trade will create new jobs, indeed, new industries in Mexico, and he strongly supports the trade agreement.

What's good for Hispanic America will be good for the United States. And with open trade, by the year 2000, United States firms will be doing a robust business with dynam-

ic economy of 100 million Mexican consumers.

The prospects seem equally exciting south of Mexico. True, we've heard a lot about the Mexican free trade agreement. We've heard about the negotiations. They are our friendly neighbors on the border, and parenthetically I might say, we should never just take those friends for granted, whether it be to our north or to our south. We are blessed by peaceful borders. But we're already advancing creative plans now to reduce debt, boost investment, and increase trade. We've now signed framework trade liberalization agreements involving 28 countries in the hemisphere. So, it's not just Mexico.

But we need your help. Congress still has failed to give us debt reduction authority and funding and to give us the ability to contribute to the Multilateral Investment Fund. This would help stimulate investment and build stable democracies within our hemisphere. So please, speak out in support of the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative. And join me in urging Congress to pass the legislation to put it into full effect. Enterprise for the Americas is not a slogan. It will strengthen democracy and freedom in those friendly countries south of the Rio Grande. And it will be good for American exports, and that means it will be good for American jobs.

Our efforts to expand U.S. exports will get another boost when my friend José Martínez becomes Director of the United States Trade and Development Program.

And of course, one more event will demonstrate to one and all that we really have entered into a new era of freedom and opportunity. I'm speaking of Cuba's becoming free and democratic. Today we hear the creaking and crumbling of that Castro dictatorship. And the day is coming, I'm absolutely convinced of this, sooner than Castro dares to believe, when the people of Cuba will reclaim their destiny and rejoin the Western Hemisphere's family of free nations.

And if we want to make our hemisphere a neighborhood of peoples, we must do more than lift economic and political barriers. Our administration also has promoted educational and cultural exchanges between

our country and our neighbors in the hemisphere. As in commerce, the natural leaders in this enterprise will be Hispanic Americans. You see, something more than mere geography unites us. Common cultural roots enable us all to seek a shared destiny for our hemisphere, for ourselves.

And I want to thank the Hispanic Chamber of Commerce for its endorsement of our America 2000 education strategy. I am grateful for your initiatives to teach economics and entrepreneurship to our kids, beginning in the kindergarten. And now, if only someone could do the same for economists, I think we'd be in pretty good shape around here. *[Laughter]*

America 2000, like our economic proposals, begins with an article of faith: We believe that parents care about their children, care about education, and can help find schools that will help their children reach their potential. So, we want to expand parental choice so that parents will have as much choice in the crucial matter of education as they now have when they wish to purchase peanut butter. And if we want to make the most of ourselves, we must invite competition and show just how well we can do.

America 2000 will enable Hispanic communities to draw upon their natural strengths and values. And it will enable parents, teachers, and yes, church and business leaders to help reinvent American education.

To further this goal, I have announced the membership of the President's Advisory Commission on Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans. Chicago's own Andrés Bande, CEO of Ameritech International, will chair the panel, and its work will play a major role in unleashing the America 2000 revolution in education. I understand Andrés is here today, and I'd like him to stand up, right there. Thank you for undertaking this. This is important work he's about to be engaged in. And I know, on his behalf, I'd like to solicit your ideas and your full cooperation.

Let me close with a few comments on a concept we talked about earlier, development. It's a term of art, of course, in international economics. We tend to use "devel-

oping country" as a sort of fuzzy euphemism for "poverty," for a nation short on material or financial wealth.

But when we use the term "development" in this way, we forget its deeper meaning. Isn't the United States—must it not be still developing? For all our present wealth, can we afford to become static or stagnant? And if we're not giving our children a moral and intellectual inheritance as good as our parents gave us, are we a developed society?

I think again of the explorers on our continent five centuries ago. Some were wise, some were foolish. And we remember the effort wasted in trying to find the imaginary Seven Cities of Gold. And those adventurers were not just looking in the wrong place; they were searching for the wrong treasure. The treasure was, and is, in men and women, in "human resources," in mind and muscle and soul. And these, not unearned bonanzas, build civilizations.

Our work never ends. That's the key to life's excitement. In these hopeful times, as we tear down economic barriers and liberate ourselves from ideological confines, we must continue supplying our own sons and our own daughters with the values, the fundamentals of a good society. Together, I know that we shall.

You know, the longer I'm in the White

House and privileged to serve as President of the United States, and the more Barbara and I discuss these enormous problems that Mayor Daley confronts in his excellent way every day, or Jim Edgar, the Governor of this State, confronts in his very effective way as Governor, the more we contemplate those problems and the more I look at this great country of ours that I'm privileged to lead at this point in history—and I must say it's a very exciting point—the more Barbara and I conclude that family is absolutely essential to our success. We have got to stay involved, we have got to stay fundamentally involved. And when I speak to this group, it's almost like preaching to the choir because I think if you exemplify one of the prime values and principles that this group and, indeed, Hispanic American culture all across our country exemplifies, is love of family and its faith and its conviction about our great country, the freest and fairest on the face of the Earth.

So, thank you very much for letting me come by and visit this highly successful convention. And let me tell you that it's a great joy to be back with you again. And may God bless our great country. Thank you very, very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 1:45 p.m. at the Hyatt Regency Hotel.*

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on Peru's Drug Interdiction Efforts

*September 20, 1991*

After talking with President Fujimori of Peru, President Bush told him that the Government of Peru's agreement with the coca farmers opposing drug trafficking and in favor of alternative development represents an imaginative approach which we would

like to support. He also said that President Fujimori's interest in attacking the drug traffickers in an "implacable interdiction effort" offers hope for the future and that the United States wishes to assist in the most helpful way possible.

## Nomination of Lanny Griffith To Be an Assistant Secretary of Education

September 20, 1991

The President today announced his intention to nominate Lanny Griffith, of Mississippi, to be Assistant Secretary for Intergovernmental and Interagency Affairs at the Department of Education. He would succeed Michelle Easton.

Since 1989, Mr. Griffith has served as Special Assistant to the President for Intergovernmental Affairs at the White House in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he served as the southern political director for George Bush for President, 1987–1988; regional political director for the Republican National

Committee, 1984–1986; and as campaign manager for Haley Barbour for Senate, 1983. Mr. Griffith served as executive director for the Mississippi Republican Party, 1979–1981 and 1983. From 1976 to 1979, Mr. Griffith served as an associate with the law firm of Freeland and Gafford in Oxford, MI.

Mr. Griffith graduated from the University of Mississippi (B.B.A., 1973; J.D., 1976). He was born August 13, 1951. Mr. Griffith is married, has two children, and resides in Alexandria, VA.

## Exchange With Reporters

September 23, 1991

### *Unemployment Benefits*

*Q.* Mr. President, do you have any indication Saddam Hussein is doing the right thing in Iraq today?

*The President.* I've been working on unemployment benefits this morning. Been on the telephone. And we strongly support Bob Dole's package, which is budgetarily sound, forward-looking, takes care of those that really need help. So, I've been focusing on that this morning and calling several Senators about it, and I just hope that the Senate will do what's needed, and that is help these people, but also do something that is budgetarily sound, and that is—where we have offsets and we stay within

the budget agreement. So, that's what I've been concentrating on.

Now, as I leave, I'll be focusing in the United Nations on these other questions.

### *Iraq*

*Q.* Mr. President, do you think—

*The President.* Well, I'm going to be focusing on all that when we get up there, and I'll have something to say about it later this morning.

*Note: The President spoke at 10:05 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House prior to his departure for New York, NY. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.*

## Address to the 46th Session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York, New York

September 23, 1991

Mr. President, thank you, sir, Mr. Secretary-General, distinguished delegates to the United Nations, I am honored to speak with

you as you open the 46th session of the General Assembly.

I'd first like to congratulate outgoing

President Guido De Marco of Malta and salute our incoming President Samir Shi-habi of Saudi Arabia. I also want to salute especially Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, who will step down in just over 3 months. But let me say, Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar has served with great distinction during a period of unprecedented change and turmoil. For almost 10 years we've enjoyed the leadership of this man of peace, a man that I, along with many of you, feel proud to call friend. So today, let us congratulate our friend and praise his spectacular service to the United Nations and to the people of the world: Mr. Secretary-General.

Let me also welcome new members to this chamber: Two delegations representing Korea, particularly our democratic friends, the Republic of Korea; the Republics of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania; and new missions from the Marshall Islands and Micronesia. Twenty years ago, when I was the Permanent Representative here for the United States, there were 132 U.N. members. Just one week ago, 159 nations enjoyed membership in the United Nations. Today, the number stands at 166. The presence of these new members alone provides reasons for us to celebrate.

My speech today will not sound like any you've heard from a President of the United States. I'm not going to dwell on the superpower competition that defined international politics for half a century. Instead, I will discuss the challenges of building peace and prosperity in a world leavened by the cold war's end and the resumption of history.

Communism held history captive for years. It suspended ancient disputes, and it suppressed ethnic rivalries, nationalist aspirations, and old prejudices. As it has dissolved, suspended hatreds have sprung to life. People who for years have been denied their pasts have begun searching for their own identities, often through peaceful and constructive means, occasionally through factionalism and bloodshed.

This revival of history ushers in a new era teeming with opportunities and perils. And let's begin by discussing the opportunities. First, history's renewal enables people to pursue their natural instincts for enterprise.

Communism froze that progress until its failures became too much for even its defenders to bear. And now citizens throughout the world have chosen enterprise over envy, personal responsibility over the enticements of the state, prosperity over the poverty of central planning.

The U.N. Charter encourages this adventure by pledging "to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples." And I can think of no better way to fulfill this mission than to promote the free flow of goods and ideas. Frankly, ideas and goods will travel around the globe with or without our help. The information revolution has destroyed the weapons of enforced isolation and ignorance. In many parts of the world technology has overwhelmed tyranny, proving that the age of information can become the age of liberation if we limit state power wisely and free our people to make the best use of new ideas, inventions, and insights.

By the same token, the world has learned that free markets provide levels of prosperity, growth, and happiness that centrally planned economies can never offer. Even the most charitable estimates indicate that in recent years the free world's economies have grown at twice the rate of the former Communist world.

Growth does more than fill shelves. It permits every person to gain, not at the expense of others but to the benefit of others. Prosperity encourages people to live as neighbors, not as predators. Economic growth can aid international relations in exactly the same way. Many nations represented here are parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The Uruguay round, the latest in the postwar series of trade negotiations, offers hope to developing nations, many of which have been cruelly deceived by the false promises of totalitarianism.

Here in this chamber we hear about North-South problems. But free and open trade, including unfettered access to markets and credit, offer developing countries means of self-sufficiency and economic dignity. If the Uruguay round should fail, a new wave of protectionism could destroy

our hopes for a better future. History shows all too clearly that protectionism can destroy wealth within countries and poison relations between them. And therefore, I call upon all members of GATT to redouble their efforts to reach a successful conclusion for the Uruguay round. I pledge that the United States will do its part.

I cannot stress this enough: Economic progress will play a vital role in the new world. It supplies the soil in which democracy grows best. People everywhere seek government of and by the people. And they want to enjoy their inalienable rights to freedom and property and person.

Challenges to democracy have failed. Just last month coup plotters in the Soviet Union tried to derail the forces of liberty and reform, but Soviet citizens refused to follow. Most of the nations in this chamber stood with the forces of reform, led by Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin, and against the coup plotters.

The challenge facing the Soviet peoples now, that of building political systems based upon individual liberty, minority rights, democracy, and free markets, mirrors every nation's responsibility for encouraging peaceful, democratic reform. But it also testifies to the extraordinary power of the democratic ideal.

As democracy flourishes, so does the opportunity for a third historical breakthrough, international cooperation. A year ago, the Soviet Union joined the United States and a host of other nations in defending a tiny country against aggression and opposing Saddam Hussein. For the very first time on a matter of major importance, superpower competition was replaced with international cooperation. The United Nations, in one of its finest moments, constructed a measured, principled, deliberate, and courageous response to Saddam Hussein. It stood up to an outlaw who invaded Kuwait, who threatened many states within the region, who sought to set a menacing precedent for the post-cold-war world. The coalition effort established a model for the collective settlement of disputes. Members set the goal, the liberation of Kuwait, and devised a courageous, unified means of achieving that goal.

And now, for the first time, we have a

real chance to fulfill the U.N. Charter's ambition of working "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and nations large and small to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom." Those are the words from the charter. We will not revive these ideals if we fail to acknowledge the challenge that the renewal of history presents.

In Europe and Asia, nationalist passions have flared anew, challenging borders, straining the fabric of international society. At the same time, around the world, many age-old conflicts still fester. You see signs of this tumult right here. The United Nations has mounted more peacekeeping missions in the last 36 months than during its first 43 years. And although we now seem mercifully liberated from the fear of nuclear holocaust, these smaller, virulent conflicts should trouble us all. We must face this challenge squarely: First, by pursuing the peaceful resolution of disputes now in progress; second and more importantly, by trying to prevent others from erupting.

No one here can promise that today's borders will remain fixed for all time. But we must strive to ensure the peaceful, negotiated settlement of border disputes. We also must promote the cause of international harmony by addressing old feuds. We should take seriously the charter's pledge "to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors."

UNGA Resolution 3379, the so-called "Zionism is racism" resolution, mocks this pledge and the principles upon which the United Nations was founded. And I call now for its repeal. Zionism is not a policy; it is the idea that led to the creation of a home for the Jewish people, to the State of Israel. And to equate Zionism with the intolerable sin of racism is to twist history and forget the terrible plight of Jews in World War II and, indeed, throughout history. To equate Zionism with racism is to reject Israel itself, a member of good standing of the United Nations. This body cannot claim to seek peace and at the same time challenge Israel's right to exist. By repealing this resolu-

tion unconditionally, the United Nations will enhance its credibility and serve the cause of peace.

As we work to meet the challenge posed by the resumption of history, we also must defend the charter's emphasis on inalienable human rights. Government has failed if citizens cannot speak their minds, if they can't form political parties freely and elect governments without coercion, if they can't practice their religion freely, if they can't raise their families in peace, if they can't enjoy a just return from their labor, if they can't live fruitful lives and, at the end of their days, look upon their achievements and their society's progress with pride.

Politicians who talk about democracy and freedom but provide neither eventually will feel the sting of public disapproval and the power of people's yearning to live free.

Some nations still deny their basic rights to the people. And too many voices cry out for freedom. For example, the people of Cuba suffer oppression at the hands of a dictator who hasn't gotten the word, the lone hold-out in an otherwise democratic hemisphere, a man who hasn't adapted to a world that has no use for totalitarian tyranny. Elsewhere, despots ignore the heartening fact that the rest of the world has embarked upon a new age of liberty.

The renewal of history also imposes an obligation to remain vigilant about new threats and old. We must expand our efforts to control nuclear proliferation. We must work to prevent the spread of chemical and biological weapons and the missiles to deliver them. It is for this reason that I put forward my Middle East arms initiative, a comprehensive approach to stop and, where possible, reverse the accumulation of arms in that part of the world most prone to violence.

We must remember that self-interest will tug nations in different directions and that struggles over perceived interests will flare sometimes into violence. We can never say with confidence where the next conflict may arise. And we cannot promise eternal peace, not while demagogues peddle false promises to people hungry with hope, not while terrorists use our citizens as pawns and drug dealers destroy our peoples. We, as a result, we must band together to over-

whelm affronts to basic human dignity.

It is no longer acceptable to shrug and say that one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter. Let's put the law above the crude and cowardly practice of hostage-holding.

In a world defined by change, we must be as firm in principle as we are flexible in our response to changing international conditions. That's especially true today of Iraq. Six months after the passage of U.N. Security Council Resolutions 687 and 688, Saddam continues to rebuild his weapons of mass destruction and subject the Iraqi people to brutal repression. Saddam's contempt for U.N. resolutions was first demonstrated back in August of 1990. And it continues even as I am speaking. His government refuses to permit unconditional helicopter inspections and right now is refusing to allow U.N. inspectors to leave inspected premises with documents relating to an Iraqi nuclear weapons program.

And it is the United States view that we must keep the United Nations sanctions in place as long as he remains in power. And this also shows that we cannot compromise for a moment in seeing that Iraq destroys all of its weapons of mass destruction and the means to deliver them. And we will not compromise.

This is not to say, and let me be clear on this one, that we should punish the Iraqi people. Let me repeat, our argument has never been with the people of Iraq. It was and is with a brutal dictator whose arrogance dishonors the Iraqi people. Security Council Resolution 706 created a responsible mechanism for sending humanitarian relief to innocent Iraqi citizens. We must put that mechanism to work.

We must not abandon our principled stand against Saddam's aggression. This cooperative effort has liberated Kuwait, and now it can lead to a just government in Iraq. And when it does, when it does, the Iraqi people can look forward to better lives, free at home, free to engage in a world beyond their borders.

The resumption of history also permits the United Nations to resume the important business of promoting the values that I've discussed today. This body can serve as a



vehicle through which willing parties can settle old disputes. In the months to come, I look forward to working with Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar and his successor as we pursue peace in such diverse and troubled lands as Afghanistan, Cambodia, Cyprus, El Salvador, and the Western Sahara.

The United Nations can encourage free-market development through its international lending and aid institutions. However, the United Nations should not dictate the particular forms of government that nations should adopt. But it can and should encourage the values upon which this organization was founded. Together, we should insist that nations seeking our acceptance meet standards of human decency.

Where institutions of freedom have lain dormant, the United Nations can offer them new life. These institutions play a crucial role in our quest for a new world order, an order in which no nation must surrender one iota of its own sovereignty, an order characterized by the rule of law rather than the resort to force, the cooperative settlement of disputes rather than anarchy and bloodshed, and an unstinting belief in human rights.

Finally, you may wonder about America's

role in the new world that I have described. Let me assure you, the United States has no intention of striving for a Pax Americana. However, we will remain engaged. We will not retreat and pull back into isolationism. We will offer friendship and leadership. And in short, we seek a pax universalis built upon shared responsibilities and aspirations.

To all assembled, we have an opportunity to spare our sons and daughters the sins and errors of the past. We can build a future more satisfying than any our world has ever known. The future lies undefined before us, full of promise, littered with peril. We can choose the kind of world we want, one blistered by the fires of war and subjected to the whims of coercion and chance, or one made more peaceful by reflection and choice. Take this challenge seriously. Inspire future generations to praise and venerate you, to say: "On the ruins of conflict, these brave men and women built an era of peace and understanding. They inaugurated a new world order, an order worth preserving for the ages."

Good luck to each and every one of you. And thank you very, very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 12:44 p.m. in the General Assembly Hall at the United Nations.*

## Remarks at a Luncheon Hosted by United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar in New York City *September 23, 1991*

*The Secretary-General.* Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, it is a great pleasure for me to welcome to the United Nations our guest of honor, President Bush; and also to welcome Their Excellencies, Mr. Fernando Collor, President of the Federal Republic of Brazil; Alfredo Felix Cristiani Buckard, President of the Republic of El Salvador; Mr. Amata Kabua, President of the Republic of the Marshall Islands; Mr. Bailey Olter, President of the Federated States of Micronesia; the Honorable James Brendan Bolger, Prime Minister of New Zealand; Dr. Gro Harlem Brundtland, Prime Minister of

Norway; Dr. Carlos Torres y Torres Lara, Prime Minister of Peru. I should also like to extend my warm greetings to the distinguished Foreign Ministers and Permanent Representatives accompanying them.

Distinguished guests, the General Assembly convenes this year against the background of a transformed global scene and a rejuvenated United Nations. We are, of course, faced with questions to some of which there are no easy answers. But the very nature of those questions indicates the depth and radical nature of the change that has taken place.

New horizons have been opened before us and our thinking has been unshackled. It has been an immense achievement of the world's leadership. To all who initiated, encouraged, promoted, or facilitated it, humanity pays its tribute as history will no doubt laud their accomplishment.

Among them, a great architect of change is George Bush, the President of our host country. As a former Permanent Representative to the United Nations, he knows our organization intimately and, therefore, perceives its full potential. As he said when addressing the General Assembly last year, and I quote: "Not since 1945 have we seen the real possibility of using the United Nations as it was designed, as a center for international collective security."

The world expects that this potential will be fully used to seize the unique opportunity which has now been offered. This is the opportunity to usher in a new era in which under the rule of law disputes will not be left to fester, aggression will enjoy no impunity, and oppression no license.

It should be an era in which the other dimensions of peace, protecting human rights, reducing poverty, limiting weapons, and saving the environment, will be addressed with a sense of urgent concern.

Even though I am daily reminded of the formidable difficulties in the way, I am firmly convinced that these expectations are by no means utopian. We need no magic to meet them. We need fidelity to the principles so articulated in our charter. We need patient efforts undertaken with objectivity and common sense and, I would stress, compassion. We are looking at a world scarred with suffering but also brightened by hope. We trust that world statesmanship will alleviate the one and answer the other.

Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to join me in a toast to the health of our distinguished guests of honor, to the well-being of their countries, and to peace in the world.

*The President.* Mr. Secretary-General and distinguished members of the United Nations community, excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, and dear friends: For many years, even though we left after only 2 years, Barbara and I regarded this as kind

of a second home.

And I walked into this dining room a minute ago, and I had a lot of thoughts. Some of them were kings and potentates and foreign ministers and prime ministers who were eating here elbow-to-elbow. But I remember a woman named Alice that used to wait on the tables here. And she would take a king or the lowly of us new Perm Reps and put us right in the same basket and make us all feel very much at home. And it was a wonderful experience. I don't know what happened to Alice, but I think that spirit is still prevailing here at the United Nations. And people that haven't served here, I think, sometimes don't realize that it does exist. So this is, for me, a wonderful homecoming reunion.

Somebody once observed, "The character of a people is embodied in its leaders." Mr. Secretary-General, once again, as I said to the G.A., the character of the U.N. for the last several years has been embodied in you. You and the other leaders have witnessed this great change in the past several years, changes that brought an end to, again, the superpower rivalry that dominated many of the debates here and, indeed, poisoned the international arena.

But the passing of this rivalry has enabled the U.N. to assume its proper role on the world stage, the role that was envisioned some 45 years ago by its founders. And history is going to record that at the onset of this decade, the U.N. regained the faith of its founders by responding with courage and vision to the invasion of Kuwait. And you helped the nations of the world restore peace and stability to the Gulf by reversing the tide of aggression against a member state.

So, a new wave of freedom now sweeps the globe. And in virtually every corner of the world, governments that have been repressive have been swept aside. And in their place have sprung up democracies—fragile, some—but democracies which can and must be nurtured to withstand the daunting difficulties that they confront. And I think a collective task here would be to strengthen this trend towards freedom, these democracies, affirming the rights of the individual while truly responding to the,

collective will of the people.

Mr. Secretary-General, I wrote down a quote of yours: "Resolution of conflicts, observance of human rights, and the promotion of development, together weave the fabric of peace. If one of these strands is removed, the tissue will unravel." Well, sir, you've played a central role in binding this fabric of peace. You've helped lessen tensions around the world in a time of tremendous change. And by keeping your eye fixed on the horizon, sir, you've helped the U.N. find the road to peace.

I wouldn't dare say that I speak for everybody here on most subjects. It just wouldn't work that way. But on this one, I think, I

confidently think that I speak for everybody in this room when I thank you on behalf of freedom-loving peoples everywhere. And I congratulate you, sir, on a job well-done. And so, I propose to all that we raise our glasses to the cause of peace, to the health of our dear friend Javier Perez de Cuellar, and to the liberty we can and must achieve for the children of this world.

Thank you.

*Note: The remarks began at 1:45 p.m. in the Delegate Dining Room at the Intercontinental Hotel. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

## Exchange With Reporters in New York City on the Situation in Iraq September 23, 1991

*Q.* Mr. President, are you prepared to send additional U.S. forces into the Gulf region to respond to—

*The President.* You know, I'm not going to take any questions here, Jim [Jim Miklaszewski, NBC News]. We're trying to sort all this out, exactly what the facts are. We're not going to go do anything before we understand the facts. We are determined that the resolutions will be implemented fully. And I tried to set that tone in the speech I made. But until we know a little more, why, there's going to be no decisions on what the United States would do. Indeed, a lot of other countries in the United Nations have a keen interest in this, and we're interested in finding out what they think.

*Q.* Mr. President, do you believe Brazil

could help you more in the Gulf effort again?

*The President.* I believe that Brazil was out front early on, standing up against aggression, and I see no reason to think that will change.

*Q.* Do you think—

*The President.* Thank you. Hey, listen, this isn't a press conference. Thank you very much for your interest.

*Note: The exchange began at 3:15 p.m. at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, prior to a meeting with President Fernando Collor de Mello of Brazil. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.*

## Exchange With Reporters in New York City Following Discussions With President Carlos Pérez of Venezuela September 24, 1991

*Iraq*

*Q.* Mr. President, are you all consulting with other members of the Security Council before the meeting this evening?

*President Bush.* We always consult with other members before meetings, yes.

*Q.* Have you talked to some, have you talked to any today? Any of the members

today?

*President Bush.* I'm talking to one right now.

*Q.* You mentioned Mr. Mitterrand—

*President Bush.* I talked to the President of France, yes.

*Q.* Anyone else?

*President Bush.* No, no.

*Q.* No one else on the Security Council?

*President Bush.* We have our representatives there. There's a lot of consultation going on.

*Q.* Why are you being so patient with Mr. Hussein, Saddam Hussein? Waiting for him to get the message?

*President Bush.* He'll get the message.

*Q.* Are you waiting for him to get the

message?

*President Bush.* He'll get the message. He'll understand that we're all very serious.

I agree with what the President of Venezuela just said, and that is that the United Nations has a very major role here.

*Q.* President Pérez, has the U.S. been too patient?

*President Pérez.* I think the United States has shown that they respect the decisions of the United Nations and that it is the responsibility of the United Nations to face up to the situation.

*Note: The exchange began at 2:40 p.m. at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.*

## Exchange With Reporters in New York City September 24, 1991

*Q.* How about a handshake, please?

*The President.* You've got it. You want a standing handshake or a seated handshake?

*Iraq*

*Q.* Mr. President, are there any CIA people in that U.N. inspection team?

*The President.* Can you imagine asking a question like that? You know I never discuss questions of that nature.

*Q.* Iraq says or claims that there are American spies.

*The President.* Iraq ought to simply comply with the United Nations resolutions. That's what they ought to do.

*Q.* Mr. President, do you believe that the Resolution 425 will be implemented this year?

*The President.* We want to see all the—the resolution—

*Q.* Resolution 425.

*The President.* We want to see everything implemented as best it can be, and that's our position, one of the principal positions we take with the United Nations.

Yes, and this is really the last one. This is really what we call a photo opportunity.

*Lebanon*

*Q.* You've always said that you've supported Lebanon and you support all the agreements about Lebanon. We need action. What do you intend to do?

*The President.* Well, I'm not sure the United States can take unilateral action. As I mentioned at the United Nations yesterday, this is an era where concerted international action is taking precedence over, and properly so, over unilateral steps. But in the first place, we have been supportive of accords that have taken place outside of the United Nations. I'm thinking of Taif and some of these things. But we simply want to be a catalyst, if we can, for peace. We don't have to always go in lockstep with the United Nations, but we'd like to see that be the cutting edge for these very tangled situations.

But as you know, in the whole Middle East, Secretary Baker and I are working very hard to see countries in the area take a major step forward. That's something the United States can do. That's something that would clearly be of long-range benefit for Lebanon if it works.

So, we will pursue certain courses, work-

ing with friends in these different areas. But we also think that sometimes multilateral agreements are a good way to go. I can't tell you what individual steps we'll take, but I'm anxious to know what the President thinks that we might do to be of further help.

*Note: The exchange began at 3:40 p.m. at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, prior to a meeting with President Ilyas Harawi of Lebanon. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.*

## Remarks at a Republican Party Fundraising Dinner in East Brunswick, New Jersey September 24, 1991

Thank you so much, Governor Kean and Deb, for meeting us, welcoming us back to this great State. I do feel like I've been here many times, and frankly, I wish Tom Kean were still Governor of this State.

I also want to single out Mike Castle, the Governor of Delaware, for making the trip up here in support of our candidates in these important elections that are coming up. Mike was a great leader in the battle for our education program that I'm going to mention—a minute ago—one of the Governors that was clearly out front in that, doing a great job in one of our neighboring States. And Mike, thanks for coming all this way.

And I can't tell you what a joy it is to have at my side every day in Washington another son of New Jersey, Nick Brady, our Secretary of the Treasury, so well-known.

And may I salute our chairman, Bob Franks; our Republican leader, John Dorsey; the assembly Republican leader, Chuck Haytaian; along with my old friend Bo Sullivan. You've got a good team working the problem for the fall, and I'm delighted to be with them.

May I also suggest that you look carefully at the team behind us, the delegation behind us there. New Jersey is well-represented. And I wish all of them well in their quests for the fall, and whatever you're running for, good luck. God bless all of you. Thanks for being here.

Well, I've come here today fresh from—that means “immediately from,” not necessarily “fresh feeling”—[laughter]—from 2 days of meetings over at the U.N. in New York City. And it really, as Tom said, it is

mind-boggling to contemplate the changes that have swept our world in the last few years, even in the last few months. In my address to the General Assembly I tried to provide some context to those extraordinary developments.

Freedom is an idea whose time has come in Eastern Europe, across the great land mass of Asia, in Africa, and right here in our own hemisphere, right here in the Americas. And let me tell you, every person in this room can be proud of the fact that one Nation has been in the vanguard of this exciting movement toward freedom day in and day out, year after year. And that Nation is the United States of America. And we all should be proud of it.

Just last month when a coup threatened to set back the cause of freedom and democracy in the Soviet Union, the United States stood firmly on the side of freedom, against the coup plotters, and with the people of the Soviet Union. And after the coup failed, both Boris Yeltsin and Mikhail Gorbachev called me to say how fundamentally important it had been to have the support of the American people.

We have that strength for the values that people respect all around the world. And as Barbara and I travel all around the world, we hear it time and again: America has a disproportionate responsibility to lead. And I can assure you we're going to continue to do that because I believe, and I know this, that it's good for our country. And I think it's good for the cause of world peace.

Tonight I'm here for the same reason many of you are, because we believe in the

potential of the New Jersey Republicans. I've been campaigning alongside of many of you in this State for years, and that's why. And as a matter of fact, I think my first political trip as Vice President back in '81, my first one was a State party fundraiser right up the parkway at Kean College. Exit 140, isn't it? Anyway, it's in there somewhere. [Laughter] But I like to campaign here because New Jersey Republicans typify our belief in faith, in family, and in individual initiative. And that's what New Jersey voters want in their leaders. They're not getting that now, and that's what these elections are about that are coming up just in a few weeks from today.

No matter where they live in this diverse State, the beautiful shore counties down there, and communities over in Ocean County, the suburbs of Bergen and Essex, or the sprawling open country in western Jersey, the counties of Hunterton or Warren—[applause]—I knew we'd get this crowd on that one. Chuck brought the team along here. But New Jerseyites are mainstream voters. And I can tell you the Republicans define the mainstream in this State. And because of that I honestly believe, after talking to the political leaders, reading about the problems of the State—the quest for innovation, I might add, that the people in this State want—I believe that Republicans will take back the assembly and the senate in the fall.

And I've heard about the job that's been done by the party leadership and the county leaders recruiting candidates, proof that the New Jersey GOP is forward-looking and inclusive. And in fact, more women and minorities are running for office as Republicans than as Democrats than ever before. And we'll run on the Republican record, and it's a good record both here in New Jersey and nationally as well.

You've got good top leaders: Bob Franks at the party headquarters and Chuck here in the assembly and John Dorsey in the senate. And they know the principles that Republicans stand for. We stand for free markets and free people, the power of the individual, the potential of innovation. And that's at the heart of our domestic agenda. And we believe in measuring success by how many lives we enrich, how many fami-

lies we strengthen—and thank goodness for the family—and how much faith we have in our future. And those are the building blocks for a better America, and Republicans will not forget that.

Our domestic agenda begins by an abiding trust in the American people. And it tries to carry that faith forward into the future. Take, for example, our housing proposals: Turn housing residents into homeowners; that's what it's about. Strip them of the indignity that comes from the hopelessness of living in projects with no real future. Make homeowners out of them. We believe in tenant management. We believe our public housing citizens can manage their own affairs and contribute to our society. And that's the philosophy.

And I'm a little tired of hearing Democrats say we have no domestic agenda. The problem is their domestic agenda is to crush our domestic agenda. They're doing nothing but griping, refusing to consider the new ideas, and sending me a bunch of garbage I will not sign. I'll continue to veto the bad stuff until we get good bills.

Our energy package attempts to conserve energy while encouraging innovation. Our transportation package gives more power to local authorities who know their own needs. And I believe that we're making headway now, real headway, if you look at the latest polling figures on drug usage. I believe we're making headway and winning the war on drugs. And the national drug strategy is working. And thank goodness for the people on the front lines, the community groups, the law enforcement people, the private sector, right there at the local level, the level closest to the people.

And our crime package is the most comprehensive in American history. And we're determined to give our streets and our communities back to the people. But we need more help down there in Washington to get our crime package through the Congress.

We've had our share of successes on the domestic front. I take great pride in the fact that we passed child care legislation that puts choice in the hands of parents, where it should be; a Clean Air Act, hailed by environmentalists and business alike,

that uses the power and innovation of the marketplace to clean our Nation's air; an Americans with Disabilities Act, the most far-reaching civil rights bill in decades. And that was all passed with the leadership of the Republican administration in Washington, DC.

And right now in Congress there's some debate on how to help the unemployed whose benefits have run out. The Democrats want us to pass a bill and simply not pay for it, push it on over to future generations. And our approach, the Dole substitute, it's called, helps the unemployed—they get the extended benefit—but who pays for the program. And their approach adds to an already humongous deficit, and ours does not. Ours pays as you go and takes care of those who are in need. And that is the fundamental difference between the Republicans and the Democrats.

I mentioned Mike Castle and education. I might well hark back to the leadership Tom Kean gave in education. Everyone in this State, everyone in the Nation knows of his leadership on education. But our America 2000 education strategy is generating a crusade for excellence in education in State after State and community after community. Your own Tom Kean, as I say, chairs what we call the New American Schools Development Corporation. It's an innovative part of the America 2000 strategy.

Across the board, we've got a good record on education. And if I might be permitted a word of pride, I happen to think the First Lady is doing a pretty darn good job on volunteer and literacy as well.

No, we've got a good record, I believe. The question is getting it out, doing it in a way that is going to help these candidates. I might add, it's very important, if we believe in these local answers we'd better get good people wrestling the problems in the assembly. But in order to build a better country, a better America, we've got to have more conviction and courage in Congress and in the statehouses, and certainly, as I say, in the assembly.

It's time to bring New Jersey back to the commonsense policies of the Republican Party. And I believe New Jerseyans will appreciate the GOP really does stand for growth and opportunity and prosperity, es-

pecially after the last few years. From my vantage point, I don't want to be prognosticating and be one of these guys that relies on the latest figures, but I think it looks a little shaky for the Democrats. [*Laughter*] I heard that some of the Democrats in Trenton were calling the captain of that Greek cruise liner for advice on how to abandon ship. [*Laughter*]

Our administration's economic growth agenda promotes growth and opportunity. And it's for all Americans. And our economic growth package is one that creates a right climate for business to flourish. We want to bring down the tax on capital gains so that investors will invest money in new businesses, new ideas, and new jobs. And even though I think this economy, sluggish as it's been, is recovering, the best thing to do to create new jobs would be to pass that capital gains differential. It isn't a relief bill for the rich. It's a jobs bill. And we ought to get it passed.

We've been pushing incentives to save. Tying into this unemployment compensation debate, we're going to have that on the floor. We need more R&D; we need more savings incentives like these IRA's. And that's part of the Republican approach. We want to bring that deficit down, and so I am determined—we have caps now on spending, and I am determined to enforce those caps and not let the Democrats who want to spend try to go around the budget agreement that was worked out last year.

Another area that I take pride in is that we are for free trade. We're determined that America will remain a world leader in the global economy because we want to open up the world to American products. In the last 4 years alone, some of you may not realize this, exports from the United States have increased 55 percent, more than twice the rate of import growth. And right now exports have galvanized our economy. Though our economy has been sluggish, it's the exports side that has been very vibrant. We can build on our strengths to create more growth, more opportunity, and more prosperity if we have sound and sensible trade policies.

One more point: Last year, regulations cost the economy at least \$185 billion—reg-

ulations. And we're trying to do something about that. The Vice President's Council on Competitiveness has targeted burdensome regulations; you know the ones. They strangle productivity. They defy logic and don't effectively or efficiently protect the public interests. And it's time we cut through this tangle of redtape and cleared a path for economic growth.

I know some of you don't like this nostalgia, particularly given what you're putting up with today. But during the Kean administration, New Jersey was an economic powerhouse. And it can be again. It's time to unleash this power of the imagination. Tom touched on that and worked on that when he was a Governor. And it's time to do that now. It's time to bring commonsense government back to Trenton.

And speaking of common sense, most people know Thomas Paine's famous words: "These are the times that try men's souls." But most people don't know that Thomas Paine, true story, wrote those words while in New Jersey during the American Revolution. Well, these times, let's face it, try men's souls. And once again, you can make history in New Jersey. It may not have that same context of a revolution, particularly when you compare it to the changes that are taking place all around the world still, in Eastern Europe and, hopefully, in the Middle East and other areas. But this year you can do something about it. This year this State can go Republican. And I believe

that the people of this State deserve leadership and common sense. I think that means they deserve a Republican assembly and a Republican senate.

So, I came up here tonight to thank our leaders, to wish these candidates all the best, and to tell you this parenthetically: I looked around the room, and we had a little receiving line before I walked in here, and I saw so many faces that were very supportive of me as I ran for President of the United States in 1988, probably almost everybody in this room. Maybe we've got a few converts, I don't know. [Laughter] But I would simply say this: If you get the feeling that I like my job, you're right. There has never been a more exciting time in recent history to be President of the United States. I'm proud to be there. I'm grateful for our support. Now, give me the kind of philosophical support in Trenton, and I'll be happier still.

Thank you very, very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 6:40 p.m. at the East Brunswick Ramada Renaissance Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Thomas Kean, former Governor of New Jersey, and his wife, Debbie; Assemblyman Bob Franks, State Republican Party chairman; John H. Dorsey, State senate minority leader; Garabed Haytaian, Assembly minority leader; and Joseph Sullivan, president of the New Jersey Governor's Club. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

## Nomination of Curtis Warren Kamman To Be United States Ambassador to the Republic of Chile

September 24, 1991

The President today announced his intention to nominate Curtis Warren Kamman, of the District of Columbia, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States to the Republic of Chile. He would succeed Charles A. Gillespie, Jr.

Since 1989 Mr. Kamman served as Deputy Assistant Secretary for European and Canadian Affairs at the U.S. Department of State in Washington, DC. Prior to this he served as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Intelligence and Research at the U.S. Department of State, 1987-1989.

Mr. Kamman graduated from Yale Uni-



versity (B.A., 1959). He was born January 15, 1939, in Chicago, IL. Mr. Kamman is married, has three children, and resides in Washington, DC.

## Exchange With Reporters on Unemployment Benefits Legislation *September 25, 1991*

*Q.* Mr. President, are you going to do anything about the standoff in Iraq?

*The President.* This is a photo op today, a serious one with no questions.

*Senator Dole.* We guessed right, though.

*Q.* How about on the unemployment legislation? Are you going to be able to turn around the veto?

*The President.* We've got a very good proposal on unemployment. And it extends benefits, and it's paid for. And we're not going to give up on that approach. We call it the Dole substitute, I call it the Dole bill, and it's got very strong support by good,

thinking people. And I support it. And yes, we want to help people, but also we want to see that what we do is fiscally sound. And that's what this approach is all about.

*Q.* Are you going to be able to turn around the veto override?

*The President.* We'll cross those bridges when we get to them.

*Note: The exchange began at 10:02 a.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House, prior to a meeting with congressional leaders. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.*

## Remarks at the Minority Business Development Week Awards Ceremony *September 25, 1991*

Thank you all very, very much. Please be seated and welcome to the East Room. And particularly, welcome to our Secretary Bob Mosbacher, our SBA Administrator Pat Saiki, right behind me here. I want to single out Maurice Stans who, years ago, took the real national leadership role in the minority enterprise approach that brings us together today. And I also want to thank two leaders of the Congress with us today, John LaFalce and Andy Ireland, who have been in the forefront of all of this for a long, long time.

I'm proud to take part again in this special week, as we turn the spotlight on men and women who have transformed the American dream into a series of all-American success stories. I like your theme, "Building a Stronger America Through Minority Business Development." And it touches upon two principles dear to me.

First, we cannot build an America worthy of its people if we do not extend real opportunity to everyone regardless of race, creed,

and background and give all Americans a chance to go as far as their abilities will take them.

And second, a strong and vibrant economy holds the key to our future as a Nation. And if we don't produce new products and opportunities, and if we don't give people of modest means a chance to become wealthy by virtue of their boldness and diligence and genius, then we lose the very foundation of democracy and our lives degenerate into a scramble for scarce goods, rather than in a march towards a better future.

Our free enterprise system cannot survive without the full participation of all racial and ethnic groups. And it cannot survive if it offers opportunity to some and not to others. And it can't survive if it doesn't produce new success stories, stories like yours that inspire young men and women to look up and say, "I want to be like them."

Too often we forget that hard work and success are also forms of public service. They address people's needs. They draw upon individuals' abilities. They provide role models for youngsters who too often draw their conclusions about life from television shows of brash hoods out on the street.

And your role in giving incentive to minority young people, and indeed all the youth of our country, simply cannot be overestimated. You're educators just by working to be successful. And you can do more. Seize every opportunity to give our young people the will to complete their education and to better prepare themselves to follow in your footsteps. This is one of the major goals, incidentally, of our America 2000 education initiative.

We rejoice that so much of our world now believes in free enterprise and the kind of enterprise demonstrated by the people that we honor here today. These awards celebrate the American spirit, a spirit that looks past obstacles and challenges, identifies goals, and then says, "I can do it."

Eleven years ago, college professor Richard Cheng founded Eastern Computers and said, "I can do it." His company pioneered the business of producing multilingual computer systems. It occurs to me that if he now could produce a system that would enable parents to understand their kids—[laughter]—he would be taking things a quantum leap forward. But in any event, Eastern Computers today employs nearly 350 people. It generated sales of \$34 million last year.

Hugh Brown had an idea for a technical and engineering service company, and he said, "I can do it." And with the help from SBA, its 8(a) program, he did more than compete. He found his own place in our competitive economy, and today BAMSI employs more than 1,300 people, and its sales last year exceeded \$84 million.

Raymond Haysbert had to overcome resistance to minority enterprise. He knew he could do it. And over the past 40 years, he has transformed H.G. Parks into a household name. Kids across the country call, "More Parks sausages, Mom, please,"—[laughter]—thus proving that his customers

even have good manners. [Laughter] His company consistently ranks within the top 100 black-owned businesses in America. Its sales under his leadership have risen from \$30,000 a year to more than \$36 million, and that's a great success story.

Gae Veit said, "I can do it." In a business in which women form a significant minority, the construction industry, you see, she set out to create her own construction firm back in 1982. And roadblocks surrounded Gae. The doubters accosted her, but she knew what she wanted, fought for it, and got it. And she shaped her vision by naming her company "Shingobee" which means "beautiful evergreen tree" in her Sioux language. And Gae's beautiful evergreen tree has grown from a small sapling into a thing to behold, a company that expects to do more than \$10 million worth of business this year. These winners and many more like them show that all you need to make a difference in America is a fair shot at it, a fair chance. And your lives and accomplishments speak loudly and say, take aim at an idea, and make it work.

I'm impressed to hear you're hosting a Youth Awareness Day tomorrow to give young people the chance to meet successful business men and women. You can become their role models, their inspiration. And maybe one day, and here's the highest compliment of all, maybe one day they'll become your competition.

Each leader here today and others across this land bear witness by their presence to the truth of a statement that William Jennings Bryan made nearly 100 years ago: "Destiny is not a matter of chance; it is a matter of choice. It's not a thing to be waited for; it's a thing to be achieved." And you've proven all of that.

So, thank you. Congratulations to the winners. Congratulations to all of you, and may God bless the United States. Thank you very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 11:31 a.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to former Secretary of Commerce Maurice H. Stans and Representatives John J. LaFalce and Andy Ireland.*

## Remarks at a Ceremony Honoring the Department of Education's 1990–1991 Blue Ribbon Schools *September 25, 1991*

Thank you all very, very much. Thank you ever so much, Lamar Alexander. What a job our Secretary is doing, first-class. I kind of like the music beyond the wall over there, but I don't think they could hold a candle to the Marine Band. I want to thank them very much for being here.

And I know that all of you were perhaps as disappointed as Barbara and I were by the weather today. You see, we'd planned on hosting all 800 of you on the White House lawn. And here I am, the one who ended up making the field trip, along with Bar.

But let me recognize, first off, the many corporate contributors to the Blue Ribbon Program who are here today. And of course, I'm very pleased, again, to introduce or to acknowledge or to thank our first-rate Secretary of Education, Lamar Alexander, who got us over here. And believe me, he is a real taskmaster. He is seeing to it that both Barbara and I mind our "p's" and "q's" and stay actively involved in this education program we believe so strongly about.

Barbara and I are delighted to recognize the schools that represent this Nation's Blue Ribbon best. And we've bestowed blue ribbons now for 9 years. Some of your schools are no strangers to the winner's circle. And today, we host a record 32 two-time winners.

We meet at a moment when this Nation has embarked on what really is a crusade for real reform, revolutionary reform in our schools, a crusade we call America 2000, a revolution that will ready us to enter the new world now on our horizon. As you know, right now the news for American education is anything but good. Part of the necessary business of reform is to shine a light into the dark corners of the system, focus on the schools that aren't making the grade, shake people out of their complacency, and show them we need change.

But there's another part, another part of the business of building better schools

across America: shining the spotlight on the schools that work and the people that make them work, the success stories like each one of the 222 schools here today.

Last December, with the world's attention riveted on Desert Shield, I laid out five principles to guide our efforts to restructure and revitalize our schools. With the state of our schools back in the national spotlight, those principles bear repeating today.

First, we've got to raise expectations, hold our schools and students to a higher level of achievement. Second, we must decentralize the authority, clear some room for our teachers and principals to do what they do best, make learning come alive. And third, we need responsible schools, customer-driven, and that means school choice. If we want to create a climate for change, let parents decide which school, public or private, is best for the kids. And fourth, we must make certain our schools are market-oriented. By that I mean competition. Competition works in the business world; it can spur excellence in our schools. And fifth and finally, we must make sure that our schools are performance-based. We need to measure our schools by real results, by the students they produce rather than the resources that we pour in. Quite simply, then, measure by what works.

Two years ago, I met with the Governors of your States at the Education Summit in Charlottesville, Virginia. There in the shadow of Mr. Jefferson's university we set in motion the process that identified six ambitious national education goals to prepare our children for the challenges of a new century, the challenges that that century is destined to bring. We came away from Charlottesville with a solid consensus that what matters most is results.

Now, a few days from now, the Governors and members of our administration who together constitute the National Education Goals Panel will tell us just how far America needs to go to reach our goals for the year 2000. We already know there is

bad news. And this new national report card isn't going to be one that we want to post on our refrigerators. The point is, it's a place to start, though. Finding out where we stand is the first step towards moving forward.

For a long time, too long really, we spent our time and energy talking about reform rather than taking action. And that is changing now. And again, I salute our Secretary of Education. We're charting a new course for this Nation's schools, and in that effort, your schools are the pioneers, the ones blazing a trail the rest will follow someday. The levels of achievement we're looking for in the year 2000 are the goals you're shooting for today.

And we here in Washington want to do what we can. Clearly, we can lend a hand. But the real revolution takes place in the communities that you call home. And when you come from as far away as Kalaheo High in Hawaii—here are a couple of people who have come from as far away as Kalaheo High in Hawaii back there—Alaska's East Anchorage High School or Hahn American High School on Hahn Air Force Base in Germany or as near to this place as DC's own Benjamin Banneker and Hine Junior High, you see at a glance that each school travels its own path to excellence.

One sad note for any of the kids here who made this short trip from Banneker and Hine, the problem is that right after lunch you'll have to be back in class. *[Laughter]*

Some schools here today mirror the communities they come from. Their successes reflect years of love and interest and just plain hard work from communities that care. Some of the schools represented here today triumphed against all odds in spite of tough, cruel surroundings. For their students, these schools are islands of calm in the midst of chaos. And that drives home today's lesson: There's no blueprint for the one school that works for everyone. But there is a blue ribbon for every school that works best.

Take Genesis, an alternative school for kids with special needs out in Kansas City, Missouri. Genesis began as a Vista program back in the mid-seventies. And today the vast majority of its funds come from the

private sector, from national organizations like the United Way down to local businesses. Genesis serves the kids who have fallen through the cracks, the dropouts, the teen mothers, children coping with broken homes and shattered hopes. And it turns around two-thirds of the troubled kids that come through its doors, prepares them to go back to their old schools or go on to get a GED. For these students, Genesis is literally a new beginning, a second chance that gives them their best shot at a promising future.

The schools we honor today come in all shapes and sizes, serve students of all races and creeds and colors. From America's major cities to our tiniest town, each one of you represents the tip of the iceberg, the collective accomplishment of teachers and students, principals, parents, and the communities you come from.

Consider one of the smallest schools here today, Craftsbury Academy, a 180-student public school out in the Vermont farm country, in a town called Craftsbury Common. Times are tough out there. But economic difficulties haven't stopped that community from giving its children every possible opportunity to learn.

I think it says something about Craftsbury that when the teachers voted to send someone to today's ceremony, they sent a parent, Gary Houston, a past graduate of Craftsbury whose four kids go there now. So please accept our thanks for all the mothers and fathers who understand what powerful teachers parents can be.

So today, your shining example must spark a revolution in American education, spur reform that will literally reinvent the American schools. Each of your schools is well on the way to where all of us must be. We'll reach our goals by challenging the best minds and big thinkers out there to help us create a new generation of American schools and have these schools up and running in every congressional district across America by the year 1996; by challenging every city and town to join the crusade, become an America 2000 community. And I'm proud to tell you that so far, nine States and one territory are already part of the great and growing America 2000 com-

munity. And I assure you there is room for every State, city, and town across this country.

We really have to start now, improve those schools that lag behind, and make our best schools better still. We won't write anyone off. We won't waste time wringing hands about the fact that the year 2000 is just a little more than 8 years away. Look at it from a kid's point of view, a child's point of view: Eight years is a lifetime of learning.

So, let's spend the time between now and the year 2000 opening a new world of possibility for our children. And that's the spirit that will get us to our goals for the year 2000. One community at a time, one school at a time, one student at a time, for the sake of our future we will win this American revolution.

And let me just say that if I ever let up,

and if I ever don't show the proper leadership or the proper support for America 2000, I get it both ways. I get it coming on me from the Secretary of Education who says, "You are committed, now stay that way." And you can bet your neck I get it from the person sitting on my right who's dedicated a lot of her life to helping illiteracy.

So, congratulations to all of you. And when you get home with your blue ribbons, please share my thanks with everybody, it's not just you all, but with everybody who makes your schools so successful.

Thank you, and may God bless the United States of America. Thank you very, very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 12:07 p.m. at the Sheraton Washington Hotel.*

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Meeting With Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine *September 25, 1991*

The President met with Ukrainian Supreme Rada Chairman Leonid Kravchuk today in the Oval Office and Cabinet Room for 45 minutes. The two leaders discussed developments in Ukraine since the President's visit to Kiev on August 1 and the current situation in the Soviet Union.

The President reaffirmed to Chairman Kravchuk the administration's firm support for the efforts underway in the Soviet Union to build democracy, market economic reform, and the rule of law. The President also outlined U.S. steps to promote economic reform in Ukraine, including consideration of a Peace Corps program and the provision of technical assistance. The President said the United States would continue its medical assistance to Ukraine

begun last spring and would attempt to increase U.S. trade by sending an OPIC/Ex-Im and Commodity Credit Corporation team to discuss this issue. "Ukraine has a special place in the hearts of Americans," the President said. "There is a vibrant Ukrainian community in this country."

The President also told Chairman Kravchuk that the United States would accept his invitation to send a Presidential delegation of distinguished Americans to the Babi Yar commemoration next week.

The President invited Chairman Kravchuk to return to the White House at 5 p.m. to continue his discussions with administration officials headed by Ed Hewett, Special Assistant to the President for Soviet Affairs.

## Appointment of Thomas E. McNamara as Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs and Senior Director for International Programs and African Affairs

September 25, 1991

The President today announced the appointment of Thomas E. McNamara as Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs and Senior Director for International Programs and African Affairs on the staff of the National Security Council. He would succeed David C. Miller, Jr.

Ambassador McNamara has just returned from 3 years as the U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Colombia. He joined the Department of State in 1965 and has served overseas in Paris, Lubumbashi, Bukavu, Moscow, and as Deputy Chief of Mission in Kinshasa, Zaire, 1980–1983. In Washington he has worked in the State Department's

Bureaus of European Affairs and Politico-Military Affairs and in the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. From 1983 to 1986 he was Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Politico-Military Affairs. Before his assignment to Colombia, he was Director of Counterterrorism and Narcotics on the staff of the National Security Council.

Ambassador McNamara was born in New Haven, CT. He received his bachelor of arts degree from Manhattan College and a master of arts degree from the University of Notre Dame. He is married to the former Emma Julia Fonseca and has two children.

## Remarks at the Welcoming Ceremony for King Hassan II of Morocco

September 26, 1991

*The President.* Well, it is an honor to welcome His Majesty King Hassan to the United States of America. The relationship between our two countries is rich, tracing back more than 200 years to the Moroccan-American Treaty of Peace and Friendship. And that agreement remains the longest unbroken treaty in our history. Your Majesty, under your leadership, relations between our nations continue to grow and prosper in a variety of fields, in trade and investment, in cultural contacts, and in resolving regional disputes.

This past year has seen a world of remarkable change, transformations that have reverberated across every continent. Morocco is stepping forward to meet this new world. You have lowered barriers to increased investment and trade and begun the privatization of many of Morocco's wholly owned state enterprises. Already, your nation's economic opening has meant new opportunity for American investment,

some of them generated by 1989's highly successful OPIC mission to Morocco.

Morocco is also responding to the call to all governments to recognize the rights and freedoms of their people. In this regard, the United States applauds Your Majesty's recent release of political prisoners, your establishment of the Royal Consultative Council on Human Rights in Morocco. And I know Morocco will not be deterred from this courageous course.

Your Majesty, we are pleased to see the United Nations proceeding with its efforts to resolve the Western Sahara dispute with Morocco's support. And it took a great deal of courage for you to agree to the U.N. Secretary-General's plan for a referendum, and I confirm America's willingness to play its role in promoting a just and lasting settlement in the Sahara in accordance with that plan.

In the Gulf, Morocco was among the first to commit forces in defense of Saudi Arabia.

And when the issue was still in doubt, Morocco stood on the side of justice and against aggression. And today, I can assure you, Your Majesty, that the United States will continue to work toward a lasting peace in the Middle East.

We now see the real prospect of a peace conference leading to direct negotiations between Arabs and Israelis. That process aims at a comprehensive peace based on United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and the principle of territory for peace. We seek to elaborate on this principle to provide for real security and real peace for all states in the Middle East, including Israel, and for recognition of legitimate political rights of the Palestinian people. Your Majesty, I look forward to working with you toward those objectives.

Your Majesty, once again, a warm welcome to the White House. I look forward to our talks, and I want to extend a special welcome to your daughter who has accompanied you on this visit. And I trust the fruits of our discussion will make the world a better place for her and for all of our children. Welcome once again, Your Majesty.

*The King.* Praise be to Allah. May the blessings of the Almighty be upon Mohammed, his household, and companions. Mr. President and dear friend, we are delighted to respond to your gracious invitation and to meet with you. Our visit constitutes indeed one important link in a series of previous visits during which we have come to establish excellent friendly relations with many of your predecessors. Mr. President, today's encounter will certainly renew and strengthen these relations.

We were no more than a child when we were introduced to President Franklin Roosevelt by our late father, Mohammed V. We later knew personally Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Carter, and Reagan. Today we are received by you, Mr. President, a dear friend of ours whose distinguished career we have been following attentively. We have been following attentively your career, Mr. President, first when you were appointed Ambassador to China, then CIA Director, and Vice President to our great friend President Reagan, and finally President of the United States of

America. Throughout your career, we have at all times perceived in you a man of rectitude, humility, deep thought, true foresight, and unshakeable faithfulness towards his friends.

It is true that our last visit to the United States of America dates back to 1983. However, during these 8 years, our friendly relations have never been better. It couldn't have been otherwise considering that these relations are as old as your Nation. For the 1786 Treaty of Amity and Peace, signed by President Jefferson and our ancestor Mohammed III, has always been and still remains the basis of the excellent rapport existing between our two Governments and nations.

What makes this friendship exemplary is the fact that it has never been affected by juncture or vicissitude, nor has it been changing in dimension or level. It has rather been similar to itself, unaffected by world crises and requirements of the cold war.

We are looking forward to the talks we shall have with Your Excellency and with a number of officials from the executive and legislative branch. We have no doubts that these talks will reveal the likeness of our views concerning political and economic issues.

Mr. President, you know better than anyone that the Gulf crisis has made men all over the world realize that it is mandatory to rely on international legality for the solving of world issues and for the sake of peace and understanding among the nations. We sincerely hope that the same legality is applied in the case of the Middle East. It is indeed hard to believe that the tragedy of the Middle East has lasted half a century.

As to the Kingdom of Morocco, we shall ever be ready to contribute to any peaceful solution liable to give each one his due and bring about a just and lasting peace in this area. We will constantly be on your side, mobilized in order to seek this peace in the Middle East.

I pray you, Mr. President and dear friend, to accept our thanks for your invitation, your warm welcome, and your generous hospitality. We wish you excellent health

and success, and we wish the American people much prosperity.

*Note: The President spoke at 10:44 a.m. on the South Lawn of the White House, where the King was accorded a formal welcome*

*with full military honors. In his remarks, the President referred to Princess Lalla Meryem, the King's daughter. The King spoke in Arabic, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.*

## Remarks at the State Dinner for King Hassan II of Morocco September 26, 1991

*The President.* Your Majesty, Barbara and I are truly delighted to have this opportunity to welcome you and your daughter, Her Royal Highness Princess Lalla Meryem, to the United States.

You know, the pomp and circumstance at dinners like these never grows old. As we were descending the lovely staircase this evening, I have to confess that Barbara and I felt like movie stars. To steal a line from Humphrey Bogart, "Welcome to Casablanca." [*Laughter*]

But Your Majesty, the friendship between our two countries stretches back more than 200 years, back beyond even the autumn of 1788, when the Emperor of Morocco, Mohammed III, sent warm words of support and encouragement to the then newly elected President of the United States, a brand new President receiving these greetings back in 1788. And for me, the friendship between Morocco and the United States has been quite personal.

Of course Barbara and I remember our visit. I fondly remember this visit to Morocco as Vice President in 1983, the crowds in Fez and in Rabat who welcomed us as we drove through those cities in an open car. And I recall your gracious invitation to put aside some of the pomp of state and inviting us to dine together along with many members of your family, surrounded by friends. It's something we will never forget.

And at critical moments in history, our two nations have acted in concert: earlier this century when 300,000 Moroccans fought with the Allies against the Axis powers in World War II, and last year when Morocco once again demonstrated its commitment to shared ideals by sending its

troops to the defense of Saudi Arabia.

Just as we've worked together to frustrate aggression, so we can work together to promote peace and stability in the Middle East, in the Gulf, and in Western Sahara. It will be the work of old friends, building a new world order.

So, let me ask all of you to stand and to raise your glasses to the health of King Hassan and his family, to a future blessed by peace, and to the common bonds of friendship that link the people of Morocco and the United States of America. Welcome, Your Majesty.

*The King.* Mr. President and dear friend, Mrs. Bush, Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen: I want first to ask you to pardon my bad accent, please. I am delighted to say that my present state visit in the United States of America will certainly be for me a memorable one; for not only was the welcome party very warm, but the talks we had were suffused with that same openness and sincerity which have always characterized our contacts for the last 10 years.

Mr. President, God's will has always been to grant you success in whatever position you held and in all the issues you had to handle. This is certainly due to your personal abilities and qualities, but also due in part to Mrs. Bush, a God-given companion, constant support, and dispenser of affection and serenity so indispensable to any head of state. With Mrs. Bush here present, kindly accept the expression of my sincere consideration and admiration.

Mr. President, may the United States of America enjoy under your clairvoyant leadership an era of prosperity and participate fully in the edification of harmonious and



constant free cohabitation among the nations of the Earth.

As I thank you again for your gracious hospitality, I invoke, hoping you, Mr. President, the help of the Almighty, wishing you excellent health and full success in your en-

deavors. Long life to the United States of America. Long life for Kingdom of Morocco.

*Note: The President spoke at 8:30 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.*

## Notice on the Continuation of the National Emergency With Respect to Export Controls

*September 26, 1991*

On September 30, 1990, consistent with the authority provided me under the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701, *et seq.*), I issued Executive Order No. 12730. In that order, I declared a national emergency with respect to the unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States in light of the expiration of the Export Administration Act of 1979, as amended (50 U.S.C. App. 2401, *et seq.*). Because the Export Administration Act has not been renewed by the Congress, the national emergency declared on September 30, 1990, must continue in effect

beyond September 30, 1991. Therefore, in accordance with section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)), I am continuing the national emergency declared in Executive Order No. 12730.

This notice shall be published in the *Federal Register* and transmitted to the Congress.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
September 26, 1991.

*[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 2:58 p.m., September 26, 1991]*

## Message to the Congress on the Continuation of the National Emergency With Respect to Export Controls

*September 26, 1991*

*To the Congress of the United States:*

On September 30, 1990, in light of the expiration of the Export Administration Act of 1979, as amended (50 U.S.C. App. 2401, *et seq.*), I issued Executive Order No. 12730, declaring a national emergency and continuing the system of export regulation, including antiboycott provisions, under the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701, *et seq.*). Under section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)), the national emergency ter-

minates on the anniversary date of its declaration unless I publish in the *Federal Register* and transmit to the Congress notice of its continuation.

I am hereby advising the Congress that I have extended the national emergency declared in Executive Order No. 12730. Attached is a copy of the notice of extension.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
September 26, 1991.

## Exchange With Reporters on the Supreme Court Nomination of Clarence Thomas

September 27, 1991

*The President.* The subject at hand is going to be the economic situation, the second meeting we've had this week on the initiatives and on where we stand. But I want to say to everybody around this table how important we're viewing this vote in the Senate on Judge Clarence Thomas.

He's a very good man. I do feel that he deserves to be confirmed. The support from across the country is enormously strong for him, in the minority community, majority community, whatever you want to call it. And I'd like to see that quickly voted on, and I feel that it will be.

And I do think the Senate committee has conducted itself in a very fair way. But I must say that I'd like to see the clear will of the American people be followed on this one. And certainly, I just wanted everybody here to know that I have not in any way done anything other than increase in my enthusiasm for and belief in Clarence Thomas to be an outstanding Justice, and believe he will be going on the Court.

*Q.* Mr. President, you don't even have CFE or the START treaty ratified yet. Do you think you may be jumping the gun by proposing still more missile cuts?

*The President.* Stay tuned, Jim [Jim Miklaszewski, NBC News]. We're living in a rapidly changing world. And I think what I will be saying tonight will have major worldwide implications for world peace. And just leave it in that context. I'm not going to take any questions about it. You know me, and I don't like leaks very much.

So, I might be the leaker. I look for leakees and fail to find them. [*Laughter*]

*Q.* Will there be any savings for taxpayers as a result of your proposals, Mr. President?

*The President.* You misunderstood what I said, Terry [Terence Hunt, Associated Press]. I said I don't want to take any more questions on it.

*Q.* Do you think that the Thomas nomination is in danger, sir?

*The President.* —determined—Dana Carvey, determined. [*Laughter*]

*Q.* Mr. President, do you think that the Thomas nomination is in danger?

*The President.* No. I think it's in pretty good shape. And I just wanted to reaffirm to everybody here my strong enthusiasm for Clarence Thomas. I'm bolstered in all of that when I see the American people with the same high regard, obviously. They get asked all the time. And I was very interested to see the Southern Christian Leadership Conference came out for him, not with a tremendous amount of fanfare as some organizations that opposed him have. But this was a very, very interesting endorsement, frankly, and one that deserves critical consideration by a lot of Members of the United States Senate. So, it will be all right.

Thank you all very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 9:53 a.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to comedian Dana Carvey, who did impersonations of the President. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.*

## Address to the Nation on United States Nuclear Weapons Reductions

September 27, 1991

*Good evening.*

Tonight I'd like to speak with you about our future and the future of the generations

to come.

The world has changed at a fantastic pace, with each day writing a fresh page of

history before yesterday's ink has even dried. And most recently, we've seen the peoples of the Soviet Union turn to democracy and freedom and discard a system of government based on oppression and fear.

Like the East Europeans before them, they face the daunting challenge of building fresh political structures based on human rights, democratic principles, and market economies. Their task is far from easy and far from over. They will need our help, and they will get it.

But these dramatic changes challenge our Nation as well. Our country has always stood for freedom and democracy. And when the newly elected leaders of Eastern Europe grappled with forming their new governments, they looked to the United States. They looked to American democratic principles in building their own free societies. Even the leaders of the U.S.S.R. Republics are reading the Federalist Papers, written by America's founders, to find new ideas and inspiration.

Today, America must lead again, as it always has, as only it can. And we will. We must also provide the inspiration for lasting peace. And we will do that, too. We can now take steps in response to these dramatic developments, steps that can help the Soviet peoples in their quest for peace and prosperity. More importantly, we can now take steps to make the world a less dangerous place than ever before in the nuclear age.

A year ago, I described a new strategy for American defenses, reflecting the world's changing security environment. That strategy shifted our focus away from the fear that preoccupied us for 40 years, the prospect of a global confrontation. Instead, it concentrated more on regional conflicts, such as the one we just faced in the Persian Gulf.

I spelled out a strategic concept, guided by the need to maintain the forces required to exercise forward presence in key areas, to respond effectively in crises, to maintain a credible nuclear deterrent, and to retain the national capacity to rebuild our forces should that be needed.

We are now moving to reshape the U.S. military to reflect that concept. The new base force will be smaller by half a million than today's military, with fewer Army divi-

sions, Air Force wings, Navy ships, and strategic nuclear forces. This new force will be versatile, able to respond around the world to challenges, old and new.

As I just mentioned, the changes that allowed us to adjust our security strategy a year ago have greatly accelerated. The prospect of a Soviet invasion into Western Europe, launched with little or no warning, is no longer a realistic threat. The Warsaw Pact has crumbled. In the Soviet Union, the advocates of democracy triumphed over a coup that would have restored the old system of repression. The reformers are now starting to fashion their own futures, moving even faster toward democracy's horizon.

New leaders in the Kremlin and the Republics are now questioning the need for their huge nuclear arsenal. The Soviet nuclear stockpile now seems less an instrument of national security and more of a burden. As a result, we now have an unparalleled opportunity to change the nuclear posture of both the United States and the Soviet Union.

If we and the Soviet leaders take the right steps, some on our own, some on their own, some together, we can dramatically shrink the arsenal of the world's nuclear weapons. We can more effectively discourage the spread of nuclear weapons. We can rely more on defensive measures in our strategic relationship. We can enhance stability and actually reduce the risk of nuclear war. Now is the time to seize this opportunity.

After careful study and consultations with my senior advisers and after considering valuable counsel from Prime Minister Major, President Mitterrand, Chancellor Kohl, and other allied leaders, I am announcing today a series of sweeping initiatives affecting every aspect of our nuclear forces on land, on ships, and on aircraft. I met again today with our Joint Chiefs of Staff, and I can tell you they wholeheartedly endorse each of these steps.

I will begin with the category in which we will make the most fundamental change in nuclear forces in over 40 years, nonstrategic or theater weapons.

Last year, I canceled U.S. plans to mod-

ernize our ground-launched theater nuclear weapons. Later, our NATO allies joined us in announcing that the alliance would propose the mutual elimination of all nuclear artillery shells from Europe as soon as short-range nuclear force negotiations began with the Soviets. But starting these talks now would only perpetuate these systems while we engage in lengthy negotiations. Last month's events not only permit but indeed demand swifter, bolder action.

I am therefore directing that the United States eliminate its entire worldwide inventory of ground-launched short-range, that is, theater nuclear weapons. We will bring home and destroy all of our nuclear artillery shells and short-range ballistic missile warheads. We will, of course, ensure that we preserve an effective air-delivered nuclear capability in Europe. That is essential to NATO's security.

In turn, I have asked the Soviets to go down this road with us, to destroy their entire inventory of ground-launched theater nuclear weapons, not only their nuclear artillery and nuclear warheads for short-range ballistic missiles but also the theater systems the U.S. no longer has, systems like nuclear warheads for air-defense missiles and nuclear land mines.

Recognizing further the major changes in the international military landscape, the United States will withdraw all tactical nuclear weapons from its surface ships and attack submarines, as well as those nuclear weapons associated with our land-based naval aircraft. This means removing all nuclear Tomahawk cruise missiles from U.S. ships and submarines, as well as nuclear bombs aboard aircraft carriers. The bottom line is that under normal circumstances, our ships will not carry tactical nuclear weapons.

Many of these land and sea-based warheads will be dismantled and destroyed. Those remaining will be secured in central areas where they would be available if necessary in a future crisis.

Again, there is every reason for the Soviet Union to match our actions by removing all tactical nuclear weapons from its ships and attack submarines, by withdrawing nuclear weapons for land-based naval aircraft, and by destroying many of them and consolidat-

ing what remains at central locations. I urge them to do so.

No category of nuclear weapons has received more attention than those in our strategic arsenals. The Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty, START, which President Gorbachev and I signed last July was the culmination of almost a decade's work. It calls for substantial stabilizing reductions and effective verification. Prompt ratification by both parties is essential. But I also believe the time is right to use START as a springboard to achieve additional stabilizing changes.

First, to further reduce tensions, I am directing that all United States strategic bombers immediately stand down from their alert posture. As a comparable gesture, I call upon the Soviet Union to confine its mobile missiles to their garrisons, where they will be safer and more secure.

Second, the United States will immediately stand down from alert all intercontinental ballistic missiles scheduled for deactivation under START. Rather than waiting for the treaty's reduction plan to run its full 7 year course, we will accelerate elimination of these systems once START is ratified. I call upon the Soviet Union to do the same.

Third, I am terminating the development of the mobile Peacekeeper ICBM as well as the mobile portions of the small ICBM program. The small single-warhead ICBM will be our only remaining ICBM modernization program. And I call upon the Soviets to terminate any and all programs for future ICBM's with more than one warhead, and to limit ICBM modernization to one type of single warhead missile, just as we have done.

Fourth, I am canceling the current program to build a replacement for the nuclear short-range attack missile for our strategic bombers.

Fifth, as a result of the strategic nuclear weapons adjustments that I've just outlined, the United States will streamline its command-and-control procedures, allowing us to more effectively manage our strategic nuclear forces. As the system works now, the Navy commands the submarine part of our strategic deterrent, while the Air Force commands the bomber and land-based ele-

ments. But as we reduce our strategic forces, the operational command structure must be as direct as possible. And I have therefore approved the recommendation of Secretary Cheney and the Joint Chiefs to consolidate operational command of these forces into a U.S. strategic command under one commander with participation from both services.

Since the 1970's, the most vulnerable and unstable part of the U.S. and Soviet nuclear forces has been intercontinental missiles with more than one warhead. Both sides have these ICBM's in fixed silos in the ground where they are more vulnerable than missiles on submarines.

I propose that the U.S. and the Soviet Union seek early agreement to eliminate from their inventories all ICBM's with multiple warheads. After developing a timetable acceptable to both sides, we could rapidly move to modify or eliminate these systems under procedures already established in the START agreement. In short, such an action would take away the single most unstable part of our nuclear arsenals.

But there is more to do. The United States and the Soviet Union are not the only nations with ballistic missiles. Some 15 nations have them now, and in less than a decade that number could grow to 20. The recent conflict in the Persian Gulf demonstrates in no uncertain terms that the time has come for strong action on this growing threat to world peace.

Accordingly, I am calling on the Soviet leadership to join us in taking immediate concrete steps to permit the limited deployment of nonnuclear defenses to protect against limited ballistic missile strikes, whatever their source, without undermining the credibility of existing deterrent forces. And we will intensify our effort to curb nuclear and missile proliferation. These two efforts will be mutually reinforcing. To foster cooperation, the United States soon will propose additional initiatives in the area of ballistic missile early warning.

Finally, let me discuss yet another opportunity for cooperation that can make our world safer. During last month's attempted coup in Moscow, many Americans asked me if I thought Soviet nuclear weapons were under adequate control. I do not believe

that America was at increased risk of nuclear attack during those tense days. But I do believe more can be done to ensure the safe handling and dismantling of Soviet nuclear weapons.

Therefore, I propose that we begin discussions with the Soviet Union to explore cooperation in three areas: First, we should explore joint technical cooperation on the safe and environmentally responsible storage, transportation, dismantling, and destruction of nuclear warheads. Second, we should discuss existing arrangements for the physical security and safety of nuclear weapons and how these might be enhanced. And third, we should discuss nuclear command-and-control arrangements, and how these might be improved to provide more protection against the unauthorized or accidental use of nuclear weapons.

My friend French President Mitterrand offered a similar idea a short while ago. After further consultations with the alliance and when the leadership in the U.S.S.R. is ready, we will begin this effort.

The initiatives that I'm announcing build on the new defense strategy that I set out a year ago, one that shifted our focus away from the prospect of global confrontation. We're consulting with our allies on the implementation of many of these steps which fit well with the new post-cold-war strategy and force posture that we've developed in NATO.

As we implement these initiatives we will closely watch how the new Soviet leadership responds. We expect our bold initiatives to meet with equally bold steps on the Soviet side. If this happens, further cooperation is inevitable. If it does not, then an historic opportunity will have been lost. Regardless, let no one doubt we will still retain the necessary strength to protect our security and that of our allies and to respond as necessary.

In addition, regional instabilities, the spread of weapons of mass destruction, and as we saw during the conflict in the Gulf, territorial ambitions of power-hungry tyrants still require us to maintain a strong military to protect our national interests and to honor commitments to our allies. Therefore, we must implement a coherent

plan for a significantly smaller but fully capable military, one that enhances stability but is still sufficient to convince any potential adversary that the cost of aggression would exceed any possible gain.

We can safely afford to take the steps I've announced today, steps that are designed to reduce the dangers of miscalculation in a crisis. But to do so, we must also pursue vigorously those elements of our strategic modernization program that serve the same purpose. We must fully fund the B-2 and SDI program. We can make radical changes in the nuclear postures of both sides to make them smaller, safer, and more stable. But the United States must maintain modern nuclear forces including the strategic triad and thus ensure the credibility of our deterrent.

Some will say that these initiatives call for a budget windfall for domestic programs. But the peace dividend I seek is not measured in dollars but in greater security. In the near term, some of these steps may even cost money. Given the ambitious plan I have already proposed to reduce U.S. defense spending by 25 percent, we cannot afford to make any unwise or unwarranted cuts in the defense budget that I have submitted to Congress. I am counting on congressional support to ensure we have the funds necessary to restructure our forces prudently and implement the decisions that I have outlined tonight.

Twenty years ago when I had the opportunity to serve this country as Ambassador to the United Nations, I once talked about

the vision that was in the minds of the U.N.'s founders, how they dreamed of a new age when the great powers of the world would cooperate in peace as they had as allies in war.

Today I consulted with President Gorbachev. And while he hasn't had time to absorb the details, I believe the Soviet response will clearly be positive. I also spoke with President Yeltsin, and he had a similar reaction, positive, hopeful. Now the Soviet people and their leaders can shed the heavy burden of a dangerous and costly nuclear arsenal which has threatened world peace for the past five decades. They can join us in these dramatic moves toward a new world of peace and security.

Tonight, as I see the drama of democracy unfolding around the globe, perhaps we are closer to that new world than ever before. The future is ours to influence, to shape, to mold. While we must not gamble that future, neither can we forfeit the historic opportunity now before us.

It has been said: "Destiny is not a matter of chance; it is a matter of choice. It is not a thing to be waited for; it's a thing to be achieved." The United States has always stood where duty required us to stand. Now let them say that we led where destiny required us to lead, to a more peaceful, hopeful future. We cannot give a more precious gift to the children of the world.

Thank you, good night, and God bless the United States of America.

*Note: The President spoke at 8:02 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House.*

## Radio Address to the Nation on the Daily Points of Light Program September 28, 1991

Usually when I speak to the Nation, it's to announce a new program or discuss some pressing national policy. Well, today I won't be talking about programs or policy, but about a vision for a better future.

Over the past 2 years, I've honored Americans who have shown the better angels of their nature by volunteering to

help others. These individuals and groups realize that we build a better America not by protesting or demanding that others assume responsibility for our problems; we build better futures by taking on the problems we see in our own communities.

These people answered their own inner call for action. They illustrate our land's

genius and generosity, a land where ordinary people accomplish extraordinary things. I call them Points of Light because they shine through the dark times of want or despair.

On Monday, the 575 daily Points of Light will come to Orlando, Florida. Barbara and I will take part in a national tribute in their honor. And when America looks at these heroes, it should see and cherish them first as individuals. They come from every State, range in age from 7 to 103, and cover the spectrum of faith, experience, and background.

But we should also look upon them as a group that can shine the light toward a better future. The 575 Points of Light form an inspiring portrait of our Nation's potential. They address the problems our Nation fears most. And they do because they want to, or because they feel they must.

Some offer friendship and advice to troubled teens, befriend the lonely, or simply hold drug-addicted babies. Others serve meals to AIDS patients, build housing for the homeless, reclaim crime-infested neighborhoods. Through the combined light generated by these acts of consequence we can dissolve the darkness, we can rekindle our own belief in ourselves.

Imagine if all 575 Points of Light lived in one place. When you realize that people like these live in your neighborhood, some just waiting for a chance to serve others, then it's easy to picture such a place. If every community in this land committed itself to sacrifice and action in this work, then each could become a "community of light."

In a community of light, people would discover the fulfillment that comes with helping others. In a community of light, each school, business, place of worship, and group would lead its members toward the light of service as equal partners in solving social problems at their root. In a community of light, people would use their ingenui-

ty, experience, and passion to find solutions that work for their neighborhoods, their communities. They would adapt other people's successful programs in efforts to meet their needs or, if necessary, they would craft their own.

In a community of light, everyone will be sought after for their own gifts, for each person has something to share. Walt Whitman celebrated this when he wrote, "I hear America singing; each singing what belongs to him or her and to no one else."

It's odd, but in many communities around this country, neighbors don't know one another. Huge apartment buildings teem with strangers. City blocks teem with strangers. Suburban neighborhoods lie silent because people won't come to a front door to say, "Hi, welcome to the neighborhood." We start building communities of light by creating friendships and bonds where we live. When we treat neighbors as friends, listen to their problems and concerns, and talk about ways of making things better, then we establish the foundation for a community of light.

No, voluntarism won't solve every problem. It won't fuel our economy. It won't establish and protect the rule of law. It won't supplant essential government services. But it will provide the equally essential heart and soul our communities deserve.

So starting today, I call on every city, town, and neighborhood in our country to accept this great challenge to become a community of light. And then, together, we'll find a way to unite this country, not through our fears but through our good works.

*Note: The President recorded this address at 3:45 p.m. on September 27 in the Cabinet Room at the White House for broadcast at 9 a.m. on September 28. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this address.*

## Remarks at the Points of Light Celebration in Orlando, Florida September 30, 1991

Thank you very much. And let me just start by saying a special word of thanks to Michael Eisner and Ron Allen for bringing all of these Points of Light together for this very special occasion. Ever since this concept got started, Michael Eisner has been in the forefront of it. You could tell from his remarks how strongly he feels, how compassionately he views the work of every single one of the Points of Light here today. And we all owe him a great vote of gratitude.

And may I also pay my respects and thanks to the board of directors of the Points of Light Foundation and all who are doing such a superb job on this work. And I'd single out our own White House chief of all the operations there, Gregg Petersmeyer. I'm very pleased that Congressman McCollum is with us. And let me just thank Sandy Patti for once again doing the honors on this magnificent anthem of ours. I want to thank Lee Greenwood and all who are making this a spectacular event.

And there's one more special person that I want to point out right now. Today, I'm naming our 575th daily Point of Light. She's a great kid. She's only 12, but she gladly helps students with multiple disabilities at her school. She teaches them living skills and reads to them. And she's a friend. And I want her to come up onstage now and take her place among all our Points of Light: from Houston, Texas, Julie Harms.

Everything here at Epcot reminds us of the vision of the man who conceived this amazing place as an exploration of community. Walt Disney once said, "The greatest moments in life are not concerned with selfish achievements, but rather with the things we do for the people." And he was absolutely right. And that creed brings us together in this extraordinary place, sharing this extraordinary day. We celebrate the American spirit, the greatest natural resource of this, the greatest Nation in the entire world.

We celebrate it in front of this tableau of American heroes, our 575 Points of Light. We've honored them for showing "the

better angels of our nature," for volunteering to help others in their own communities. They sum up the genius of this great and generous land: Ordinary people, but doing extraordinary things.

Today we celebrate service that comes from the heart. The people here remind me of the story Martin Luther King shared the night before he died, of a visit that he'd made to the Holy Land. And there, he'd traveled the road of the Good Samaritan. And he saw the path of robbers and realized that the others didn't help the man in need because they were afraid. They asked themselves, "If I stop to help this man, what will happen to me?" But King said the Good Samaritan asked, "If I don't stop to help this man, what will happen to him?"

Each of these 575 Points of Light had to defeat fear, suspicions, and even just plain old complacency. They didn't say, "This is why I can't help." They said, "This is why I can, why I must." And they said, "Maybe I don't have technical skills, but I'm a good listener. Maybe I don't have money, but I have time. Maybe I'm not physically fit, but I care. And maybe I never finished school, but I have life experience. I have something special to share."

Look behind me and out here, too, with other representatives. I think it's fitting to point out that Points of Light are one people or are they a group in a community. These 575 dedicated Americans show that Americans care about their Nation. They care about each other.

Look at these Points of Light for themselves. But also try to imagine something more. Imagine if all of them left their hometowns—Mike Noyes of Maine, Mrs. Wurst's third-graders of Nebraska, Frank Lockyear from Oregon, all the others—and moved to one community. What would happen? In a few weeks that place would be utterly transformed because everyone would explore their genius for helping others and enriching their own lives in the process.

Ninety-one-year-old Julia Goldstein would



go to an elementary school and tutor kids. Richard McDonough would talk local hotels into giving rooms and training for the homeless. Reverend Eddie Edwards would get his neighbors to reclaim and refurbish crack houses. Dr. Floyd Seager would get his colleagues to give free medical services. Shadonica Cohnes would get other college students together; they'd be mentoring kids in housing developments.

Imagine all 575 of these ideas, ideas that already are working somewhere, working to enrich one community. A community like this, one in which a person, every group, every institution gave even a small part of their time in service to others, would become a "community of light."

Every town has this potential already. Look around your neighborhood at the rich and varied tapestry you find where you live. You know a Julia Goldstein, an elderly woman down the street who could help kids learn to read. Like Richard McDonough, every day you deal with people who could help the homeless. You attend places of worship where leaders like Reverend Edwards could unite neighborhoods to renovate housing. You are doctors and college students and mothers and retired people and kids who could become Points of Light in your own town. And yours, too, can become a community of light.

We've gathered together all of these Points of Light to show that you don't have to give up your job or throw off your family responsibilities to help people. Often, little things that take little time can make a huge difference. Each community has people of good minds and good hearts, people who can truly make a difference.

We know that all the world's woes cannot be solved through voluntary service. Our society can't survive without an efficient, compassionate government that can preserve people's liberties, that can establish a rule of law vital for civilized life, and that can do its part to help those in need in many, many ways. We also know the importance of a vibrant economy and the jobs and opportunities it creates.

But legislation and commerce alone cannot provide the soul that society needs. Real people also must be prepared to respond to real problems around them. And

they must extend the hand of friendship to neighbors, offer their time and concern to those who have fallen upon bad times.

That's really what we mean when we talk about communities of light. We celebrate the potential for a Nation whose goodness grows out of small acts of consequence made by many people.

George Washington's America had a common vision, one so inspiring that when Lafayette returned to France, he brought back with him American soil to be buried in. And we can recapture the feeling of purpose that gave birth to this Nation.

But first, we've got to cast off fear and laziness and engage in a little selfless work. We need to look at our toughest problems—crimes, drugs, the breakdown of the family—and realize that we can't ask Government to do everything. And we can't wait for Washington to act every time a new problem arises on our own blocks. We must have the faith in ourselves to act. We must have the commitment of our ideals to act. And we must have the support of friends and neighbors to act.

When conflict raged in the Gulf earlier this year, we thought and felt and cared as one Nation. That sacrifice and common purpose showed us a glimpse into our better selves. Now, we must face the hard facts. Challenges confront us everywhere. So, we must embrace the thrilling opportunity to show what we're made of. The people gathered here prove that we possess the grit, the virtue, and the will to clean away many of the obstacles that stand between us and our ideal for a better America.

If, as President, I had the power to give just one thing to this country, it would be the return of an inner moral compass nurtured by the family and valued by society. This compass would guide all people to value life, every life. It would show us that each life lost to despair devalues us all. It would remind us that caring and conscience make us human and make us free.

Long may our land be bright with caring's brilliant light, and with the glow of communities of light lit by our 250 million possible solutions. And may we be filled with the words St. Francis lived by nearly eight centuries ago: "Where there is hatred,

let me sow love. Where there is despair, hope. And where there is darkness, light.”

Thank you all so very much for serving your Nation in this spectacular way. May God bless you, and may God bless the United States of America. Thank you all.

*Note: The President spoke at 11 a.m. in the American Gardens Theater in the Epcot Center in Walt Disney World. In this public tribute, all 575 daily Points of Light*

*recognized by the President during the last 2 years were honored as part of the 20th anniversary of Walt Disney World. In his remarks, the President referred to Michael Eisner, chairman of the board and chief executive officer of Walt Disney Co.; Ron Allen, chief executive officer of Delta Airlines; C. Gregg Petersmeyer, Assistant to the President and Director of the Office of National Service; and entertainers Sandy Patti and Lee Greenwood.*

## Remarks to a Press Forum at the Points of Light Celebration in Orlando, Florida September 30, 1991

Let me just quickly say that this has really been a remarkable day, certainly one of the most remarkable since I've been President, for me, anyway. I'm delighted to see everybody here, delighted to meet with these remarkable Points of Light, and appreciate the interest that so many have shown in their work.

The Points of Light that you'll have an opportunity to question in a few minutes represent four different sectors in the society. Each has a unique and valuable role to play in solving our most serious problems. I tried to say out there in the outdoor gathering that Government has a keen and active role to play, but it cannot be done without the Points of Light concept.

Because of their organizational skills, businesses are especially well suited to mobilizing employees for effective community service. Moreover, whether it's a large corporation or a neighborhood retail store, businesses across America are finding very good ways to use their distinctive talents to solve social problems at the local level.

For young Americans, for the young ones over here, service can be a profound expression of their idealism that we so often associate with young people. The young Points of Light are going to have a lot to tell you, I'm sure, about how their generation is expressing its idealism through direct and consequential action.

Senior citizens possess a wealth of experi-

ence and wisdom and energy which they never cease to want to contribute to their country.

And finally, because sports foster the values of teamwork, preparation, and discipline while offering clearly defined measures of success, athletes and athletic instructors who share their gifts also have a very special ability to lead others to a realization of their own self-worth.

So, what we're going to do here, I'll let you break into separate groups, then get on with the real purpose of this gathering: Hearing from these outstanding Points of Light about their work, about their role in this most important community service movement.

Again, I want to express my thanks to Mr. Eisner and all Disney for what I understand has been most hospitable attention to all of our people from all around this country. And I think that's very, very fine.

And though I have to go on to a lunch now, I might just say that inasmuch as I have not had a chance to comment since my speech on Friday about nuclear weapons, I just wanted to say I have been very pleased with the reaction from all around the world. I was pleased with the Soviet reaction. I fully expect that they will cooperate fully, and I think it's a good thing for the young people around the world and in this country. And I would say that all the reaction from all different corners of the

Earth has been positive so far.

The international reaction, I think, shows the world's thirst for peace. And what I propose will preserve our own leadership, our own strength, guarantee our own national security, but will significantly reduce nuclear weapons and, again, for the young people, the fear of nuclear weapons. So, I'm very pleased with the response to all of that, and I would say to the Points of Light: I know as you wrestle with these problems and are right down at the neighborhood level trying to help people, I hope in some way this move now that I think will be worldwide to reduce these weapons will be stimulative and will offer a lot of hope to

the young generations coming along.

Again, my thanks to all of you. It's a joy for Barbara and me to be with you, and good luck.

*Note: The President spoke at 12:13 p.m. in Asbury Hall at Epcot Center in Walt Disney World. Following the President's remarks, the Points of Light participants divided into four core groups, business, youth, seniors, and sports and recreation, for specialized press forums addressing social problems in American communities. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

## Remarks at a Luncheon for Participants in the Points of Light Celebration in Orlando, Florida September 30, 1991

*The President.* Thank you all very much. I will repeat: This has been one of the most remarkable days of my Presidency. I again want to express my appreciation to Michael Eisner, to all the people at Disney, to this outstanding board of directors that this foundation has. You saw them introduced earlier. And for these busy, successful people to be giving of themselves in this matter I think is an inspiration to all of us.

I want to thank Bill Frederick and Dick Nunis and others in this city who have committed themselves to making Orlando the first city of light, and I particularly admire the spirit in which this commitment has been made. All people, businesses, groups, and institutions in this city, as we've just heard, will be equal participants in this effort.

Orlando has stepped right into the forefront now of the Points of Light movement. And I am confident that the leaders in cities and towns across the United States will be able to learn from this, from your experience and from your inspiration. That there is such interest in this movement as a means of transforming communities is a tribute to the daily Points of Light who are

gathered here today, and you do make us believe that someday we'll see communities of light spread across the United States.

Now, my role is to introduce the next speaker. My notes say, "A remarkable lady whose warmth and concern have made a difference in so many lives." I'm not objective. I'm not an objective judge on this one. A lot of you all are familiar with the work that she's done since we moved into the White House. But in a quiet way, long before this organization started, she has been a very special Point of Light for many, many years. And so it gives me great pleasure to introduce to all of you someone you know, Barbara Bush.

*Note: The President spoke at 12:50 p.m. in the Grand Harbor Ballroom in the Yacht and Beach Club Resort at Walt Disney World. In his remarks, he referred to Bill Frederick, mayor of Orlando, and Dick Nunis, president of Walt Disney Co. Following the President's remarks, Mrs. Bush addressed the Points of Light participants. After the luncheon, the President traveled to Miami.*

## Message to the Congress Reporting Budget Deferrals September 30, 1991

*To the Congress of the United States:*

In accordance with the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974, I herewith report one deferral of budget authority for FY 1991, totaling \$86,959,992, and seven deferrals of budget authority for FY 1992, totaling \$1,817,019,817.

These deferrals affect International Security Assistance programs as well as programs of the Agency for International Development and the Departments of Agricul-

ture, Defense, Health and Human Services, State, and Transportation. The details of these deferrals are contained in the attached report.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
September 30, 1991.

*Note: The attachment detailing the deferrals was published in the Federal Register on October 7.*

## Remarks at the Beacon Council Annual Meeting in Miami, Florida September 30, 1991

Thank you for that welcome back. And I'm delighted to be here. And Jim Batten, thank you, sir. What is it about the water in Miami? I think about Alvah Chapman and all he did as a civic leader in addition to running Knight-Ridder. And now, in that same marvelous, unselfish tradition, you have Jim Batten who introduced me here today, and I'm very grateful to him for that warm introduction. And I listened carefully to his counsel. And yes, the Federal Government must help when you have active citizens like Miami trying to take care of their own problems. We have a role. We understand it. And we want to be your partners in these efforts for economic development. So, thank you, sir, very, very much.

I want to thank John Anderson, the council president. I want to salute Burt Landy, the incoming chairman. And I would like to just say what a great job your outgoing chairman has done. *[Laughter]* I'm entitled to my opinion. Now, wait a minute here.

I'm also pleased that one of the Representatives from here, Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, flew down with us. And your State insurance commissioner is with us today. And I hope I'm not neglecting others, but that is a marvelous turnout.

Jeb, I've got to hand it to you. You've been telling me Miami is friendly territory, and I'm beginning to see what you mean. Imagine winning a new major league baseball franchise and naming it for my Press Secretary. I hear Marlin—Fitzwater, that is—is serious about these rumors that he'll get to throw out the first pitch. *[Laughter]* Marlin thinks I don't notice these things, but last time I gave a press conference he'd left his rosin bag there at the podium in the newsroom. *[Laughter]*

Commerce in Miami, it's always been an adventure. Dade County now numbers 2 million residents, but in an exciting sense it's still an outpost of opportunity. Your organization's symbol, the beacon on the old Cape Florida lighthouse, reminds us that less than a century ago, south Florida was a frontier less developed and more forbidding than the Western deserts. And in the year 1900, Miami was a sultry settlement of fewer than 1,700 souls. And today, Miami serves as the gateway of the Americas, a powerful magnet for economic growth.

Here, you look beyond your borders, and beyond your time. And you take seriously your obligation to build a prosperous economy not just for today, but for the future. For instance, you do care deeply about edu-

cation, and your schools reflect that commitment. Educators across our country admire Dade County's international schools program. Graduates of the program will meet all the requirements for university admission not only in the United States but also in participating foreign countries.

This sort of imagination, this commitment to quality lies at the heart of our administration's America 2000 strategy to spark a veritable revolution in education. Miami can take pride that our Secretary of Education, Lamar Alexander, this month gave special recognition to the Dade County schools' innovations. But you should not rest on today's laurels because you'll need to do even better in the future.

You know, we talk a lot at our students and about our students. Well, tomorrow I will be going into a junior high classroom to talk to and with our students about their role in this revolution. All across the United States, via CNN and PBS, other students in their own schools will be able to hear this message about the need for educational excellence.

And we're determined to deepen the involvement of parents. We want to give parents the freedom to choose their children's schools, public, private, or parochial. We're challenging parents, students, businesses, and community leaders to help develop schools that simply break the mold. Because Dade County already is in the forefront, in the vanguard, I count on you to light the way, to show the whole Nation how we can reinvent American education.

You also build a better future with just plain common sense. You invite business, rather than shooing it away. Miami enjoys a large tax base with some of the lowest tax rates in the country. But one important tax remains not just for Miamians but for taxpayers all across the country. And I'm talking here about the Federal tax on capital gains. A capital gains tax cut will boost start-up companies and other small businesses. And these are the primary sources of new jobs in our country.

And I may be talking to the choir here with some of the entrepreneurs in this crowd, but that's because I want you to sing a louder chorus. Some folks in Congress still haven't gotten the message. They don't un-

derstand that a capital gains tax cut is not a sop for the rich. It offers a helping hand to entrepreneurs and dreamers, people who aren't rich today but whose contributions could enrich our entire society tomorrow.

A capital gains tax cut also will help beleaguered industry, especially the real estate business. And a cut will produce an immediate increase in property values, which in turn can offer new hope for struggling financial institutions.

So, I hope you'll make the truth vivid to Congress. Talk about your own experiences and needs. Tell them to cut the capital gains taxes and give our people jobs. The two things are interlocked.

And we also must fight as a Nation to battle another tax, an invisible tax. And many in this room have been in the forefront of this. I'm talking about crime. Crime exacts enormous costs. I think of the job that many of you did in battling the narcotics coming into this country, battling the crime related to all of that. I'm talking about crime. Crime exacts enormous costs in security systems, in business losses, in workers' morale, in pain, and in fear.

Our administration has proposed a comprehensive crime package that offers people hope, and it gives them a chance to reclaim their streets. The Senate has passed a bill that incorporates many of our suggestions. It's important that you urge the House to do the same thing. We must prevent the criminals from holding up our economy. And we need fewer stickups and more lockups, and this bill will help get the job done.

On a more positive note, Miami faces an exciting future in international banking and financial services. Among American cities, only New York conducts more foreign banking business. And with expected growth in foreign trade, the market for Miami-based financial services should grow ever more robust. And unfortunately, you must be dealing now, at the Federal level at least, with banking laws that lag way behind our times. Our administration wants to bring them up to date.

I worry about the economy. Jim Batten touched on it. These are tough times. But we can do something about it. We sent

Congress a comprehensive package of banking reforms earlier this year. Our plan would protect depositors' hard-earned money, strengthen and modernize our banks and financial institutions and make them more competitive in global markets.

So, this is no time for delay. And this is no time for anticompetitive measures. If we want strong banks and a strong economy, Congress must enact comprehensive banking reforms. And I might add, parenthetically, we also need a full and vigorous team on the Federal Reserve. This is a matter on which the United States Senate needs a loud wake-up call. Two of the seven seats on the Fed sit empty right now. And my nomination for the first vacancy, Larry Lindsey, won an overwhelming endorsement from the Senate Banking Committee, but one or two Senators have held up his nomination for months. And given the problems the country faces, the financial problems, that's just plain inexcusable.

And when the Senate confirms Larry Lindsey, we hope it will move quickly to confirm Susan Phillips, my choice for the other open seat. The Senate also needs to act on my renomination of Alan Greenspan as Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board. He's doing a good job. There's no controversy, but they ought to get on about the Nation's financial business, it seems to me.

The Fed faces a host of important decisions in monetary policy, in bank regulation, and international affairs. And it shouldn't have to address them with anything less than a full team, a team dedicated to ensuring price stability and fostering economic growth.

Our administration wants to take on issues that you care about. And here I've touched on just a few: the education, crime and economic growth, the capital gains tax, Fed and banking reform. And I could talk, too, about energy or transportation or homeownership or tenant management in housing or in defense. But the point is, we need Congress' help if we want to move forward toward our goals. And looking out on the enormous collection of talent, of business talent, I can't resist asking you to volunteer in helping me persuade Congress to get moving, not tomorrow, not next year, not the next congressional session, but now.

And now I'd like to briefly look ahead. As we gather here, we can almost see a new age of liberty dawning around the globe. I can't think of a more exciting time in the history of our country to be President than right now. The changes around the world are amazing, and freedom and democracy is on the move, and I think peace has a much better chance than it's had in a long, long time.

Now, I spoke of that new age just this past Friday night in an address to the American people. And because of the dramatic changes that have swept our world, particularly in the Soviet Union, we are now able to take equally dramatic steps to make our world safer from the threat of nuclear weapons. I am very pleased with the positive worldwide response to our announcement, particularly from President Gorbachev.

I believe that this announcement the other day really does have the chance of removing fear from the minds and hearts of our young people in schools not just in our country but all around the world.

We are seeing that new age of democracy and freedom also dawn right here in our own hemisphere. With each passing day, we move closer to realizing the dream of free trade, from the Arctic Circle to the Strait of Magellan. Under President Carlos Salinas, this outstanding young President of Mexico, Mexico has enacted breathtaking economic reforms. And now, with the Fast Track procedures in place, we are negotiating with Mexico and Canada to create a North American free trade agreement that will create an open market of 360 million consumers, one that produces \$6 trillion a year in economic output.

Our prospects south of Mexico look just as exciting. We have signed framework trade and investment agreements with 28 countries in this hemisphere. And I have asked Congress to act promptly on legislation for debt reduction and a multilateral investment fund for the hemisphere. These simple acts will let us put our Enterprise for the Americas Initiative into full effect and make Miami a key gateway to our Nation's economic future.

I might say, having challenged the Con-

gress to take certain action on the domestic side, that we approach this Fast Track authority in a totally nonpartisan way. It wasn't Democrat; it wasn't Republican; it was just sound, good business that will help our neighbors and, in my view, will create job after job right here in the United States of America. It was government at its very best. And now we're working to hammer out an agreement that Congress can accept, a trade agreement with Mexico and Canada that Congress can enthusiastically endorse. And it shows that it can be done when you reach out and work across the aisle, Republican and Democrat and even independent. So, that is what we've got to do, and I must say, I think this sets a good example. And I hope when we bring these things to fruition, Miami and south Florida will be the immediate beneficiaries of what I think is farsighted foreign policy.

But our hopes for the future involve more than just the promise of trade, important though that is. We also see a dramatic increase in individual freedom and empowerment throughout our region. Democratic elections, respect for human rights, economic liberty are fast becoming the rule, not the exception.

This phenomenon just begs for a catchy name. Here's one, *la revolución sin fronteras*, the revolution without frontiers. Now some here will know that I stole the term. It comes from the bad old days of Sandinista rule in Nicaragua. When Marxists used this slogan, it signaled a threat to freedom and sovereignty of Nicaragua's neighbors. Threat to the sovereignty, threat to the freedom.

And how times have changed. Today, a real liberation movement sweeps the globe. And it threatens no one's peace or sovereignty, no one's right to worship, no one's freedom to buy and sell, or to imagine and create. It's the revolution of democracy. And it makes possible the equally startling revolution of ideas that gives rise to economic progress.

In closing, it's absolutely impossible to visit Miami these days without feeling that this revolution soon will sweep away our hemisphere's last dictator, Fidel Castro. Already, a savvy team of experts from the Greater Miami Chamber of Commerce has

prepared a detailed report on the economic opportunities that will emerge along with freedom in Cuba. Trade and investment will offer new hope to the Cuban people who have suffered enough despotism and deprivation.

Remember how we used to dream about a free Cuba and a prosperous, free hemisphere? Well, it's no longer a fantasy. It's inevitable in my view. Soon our new world, our hemisphere of the Americas, will be a community where liberty, peace, and prosperity know no frontiers. And Miami will flourish, you can see it clearly, as its hub and as its beacon.

Some have suggested to me that now is the time, given the enormous changes in Eastern Europe, changes in the Soviet Union, the changes for democracy south of Mexico, that now is the time to alter our policy towards Cuba.

Let me tell you something, I'm not going to change it one single bit. The Cuban people are entitled to have this wave of democracy fulfill their dreams. And we want to be a part of that answer, a part of that new democracy in which many people in this room can have such an active role as we try to bring commerce and prosperity to people that have been deprived too long because they've been the victim of totalitarianism.

It's a great pleasure to be back here in Miami today. As I say, I think of the activity and the energy of Miami's civic business community. You're an example to the rest of the country. And I salute you, I'm grateful to you, and I might just say on a very personal basis, thanks for embracing my son, our daughter-in-law; we've got a granddaughter here. And these Bushes feel that they're an integral part of the love and honor that is Miami. Thank you all very, very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 3:33 p.m. at the James L. Knight International Center. In his remarks, he referred to James Batten, chairman and chief executive officer of Knight-Ridder Newspapers, Inc.; Alvah Chapman, director and chairman of the executive committee of Knight-Ridder; John Ellis (Jeb) Bush, the President's son and*

former chairman of the council; and State insurance commissioner Tom Gallagher.

Following his remarks, the President traveled to New Orleans, LA.

## Remarks at a Fundraising Dinner for Governor Buddy Roemer in New Orleans, Louisiana September 30, 1991

Thank you all very, very much. Thank you, Buddy, and thank all of you. Thank you so very much for that warm welcome. I'm just delighted to be here. It was a wonderful introduction, recalling why the author Pearl Buck wrote, "I fell in love with Louisiana generally and New Orleans in particular." Well, thinking back to the 1988 convention, this town reminds me of winning. And I have a feeling that, come October 19th, it's going to remind me of winning once again because we're going to reelect this State Governor.

I want to thank my friends Jim Bob Moffett and Dave Treen and everyone else that worked on this highly successful dinner. A quick hello to two with whom I closely work and whom I respect enormously, Jim McCrery and Bob Livingston, Members of the United States Congress who are right here with us tonight.

And also, we ought to have a word in there for that marching band from St. Augustine. Just first class. First class. Thank you. And it was so great to taxi up in this magnificent new Air Force One and see a red carpet rolled out at the airport to greet me. Then, I found out it was for Jim Mora. [Laughter] Actually, you're getting a preview of what a Republican administration can do for Louisiana. How 'bout those Saints, fastest start in history.

But I am proud, very proud, indeed, to be here to show my support for my longtime friend, and I use that term advisedly, Buddy Roemer. We've done a lot of things together, fought a lot of battles on the athletic courts. I think we've got a lot in common. We both can be a bit stubborn. We don't always get along with the legislature. [Laughter] We both like fishing. We both love Tabasco. And I want to see him reelected Governor of this State, and I'm

sure he agrees with me that he wants to be reelected Governor of this State.

But look at the record, though, seriously. A man who values conviction above conscience, who puts the people before the politicians. He was elected in very tough times, if you just look back over your all's shoulders, to do some tough work. And now he deserves reelection, as Jim Bob said, to finish the job. He spoke for most Louisianians when he said, and here were his quotes: "Change and progress do not come easily. There have been battles won and battles lost. But we will not go back. We will not turn back the clock. Our children's future can't endure it. Our conscience won't allow it." Those were his words.

Like Buddy Roemer, our administration has tried to pursue policies of conscience which do advance that future. First, as he did, let's now look abroad where, more than ever, America clearly remains the light of the world.

When a dictator crushed hopes for democracy in his homeland and endangered the Western Hemisphere, we helped the Panamanian people restore free elections and the rule of law. And when a brutal tyrant invaded and plundered Kuwait, we helped put together an international coalition that rolled back his aggression and liberated a land. And let me say this: The aggression against Kuwait did not stand, and any defiance of those United Nations resolutions now on the books and unfulfilled, any aggression against those, any defiance of those will not stand either. I'm just as determined to see that he does not succeed.

As communism crumbled, we extended a helping hand and made it clear that Americans will support those who promote democracy, free enterprise, and individual lib-



erty.

And so, ours is a changing world. And I might say, parenthetically, I can't think of a time in American history of more challenge or more excitement to be President of the United States. It is absolutely fantastic, the change that's going on around the world.

Just last month when a coup threatened the cause of democracy in the Soviet Union, we stood, all of us in this country, firmly on the side of freedom. And after the coup failed, both Boris Yeltsin and Mikhail Gorbachev called me to say how absolutely crucial it had been to have the support of the American people.

These Soviet leaders, as Lincoln said, had the courage "to think anew." And because of that and because of our commitment, America's commitment to values people respect around the globe, as you saw Friday night, we are now able to take dramatic steps to reduce nuclear weapons and to build a freer and safer world. And I might add, the response to the proposals that I made Friday about nuclear arms reduction has been overwhelming, from countries all over the world. Not just over in Eastern Europe; not just the Soviet Union; all over the world, a freer and a safer world.

And at home, we seek nothing less. So, we have launched a domestic agenda, Buddy talked about some of it on education, to achieve growth and opportunity and progress. Let me just cite some accomplishments. We've got a long way to go, working with the Governors for some of these objectives.

The child care, our administration pushed for and got legislation that has dramatically increased child care assistance to parents in this country, giving the parents a choice as to where they want their kids taken care of when they need child care.

And next, the clean air: We pushed for and got pioneering legislation to combat acid rain and toxic air pollutants.

Also, last year we pushed for and got the first landmark civil rights legislation for people with disabilities, the Americans with Disabilities Act.

These bills represent an administration which believes that government should serve the people, not the other way around. Buddy knows what I'm talking about. It's

been said that Buddy doesn't just talk the talk; he walks the walk. And so does this administration. We are walking, I'd say running, with a flock of domestic initiatives. There's only one problem, and that is a Congress whose only agenda is to block our agenda. And we're getting a little tired of it, frankly.

Let's look first at crime and transportation. Our administration has unveiled a transportation bill to address local needs and a crime bill to take the criminals off the street so that law-abiding Americans can take back the streets. Last March 6th, I said we could pass both bills in 100 days. It's 208 days later, and Congress still hasn't even acted on this legislation.

Let's take a look next at the environment. Here in Louisiana, Buddy Roemer has made your Department of Environmental Quality protect what Teddy Roosevelt called "our cathedral of the outdoors." I challenge Congress to do the same by funding our America the Beautiful program to restore our wetlands.

Let's look at civil rights. Some in Congress want a bill that divides our people. I want one that brings us together. And I have just this kind of civil rights bill up there right now, and I'd like to see it passed. I don't like these allegations made that we're not interested in the rights of all Americans. We are, but I'm not going to sign a bad bill just to have satisfaction of some Democrats that are running the Congress.

Another initiative is our capital gains legislation to spur the economy. In Louisiana, some are saying, "Laissez les bon temps rouler." [Laughter] Well, everybody knows first you've got to make a roux. [Laughter] Capital gains is a recipe for growth. It isn't a tax break for the rich. It's a jobs creation bill. And with this stagnant economy, heaven knows we need something to create jobs for the American people.

And finally, let me talk about how you can't have a developed economy without developed minds, what Buddy referred to as "the second war." We've started a crusade for educational excellence that's taken hold in State after State. It is called, as he said, America 2000. And when this Gover-

nor saw that Louisiana wasn't passing the grade, he sent the State back to school. Today, you see signs of progress everywhere in this State, and you feel it. In Louisiana, the ACT scores of black students have increased dramatically. The CAT scores of all students have improved for 3 straight years. And your college-bound seniors have improved their SAT scores. The Roemer legacy: Smaller class sizes, more respect for the teachers that sacrifice for the lives of our kids, and achievement on the rise. And that is a good legacy for this State, and it's a good example for our entire country.

You know, a noted politician once said of Buddy Roemer, "He's often wrong, but never in doubt." [Laughter] That's a real compliment coming from Tip O'Neill. [Laughter]

Two years and two days ago, I saw how Buddy can be self-confident and right—sorry, Tip—working with me and all of the Nation's Governors at the Charlottesville education summit.

Buddy also joined me last April at the White House when I announced America 2000, a national strategy to reach six education goals, from making every citizen literate to making our students first in math and science. There were 50 Governors. There was a handful of them out front creating, doing the imaginative thinking. And I can tell you without fear of contradiction, Governor Roemer of Louisiana was one of that handful that made this whole strategy possible.

And I agree with him that our future depends on raising education above previous plateaus of achievement. And that's why Buddy recently announced his intention to organize 2000 Louisiana communities statewide: his own crusade, your own crusade for excellence.

The Americans really in this field, I think, want radical reform. We're not talking anymore about patching it up. We're not taking about that. Spending on education went from something like \$110 billion to \$400 billion over the last 10 years. It isn't a question simply of spending money. The results went down; spending almost quadrupled.

What we need: Reforms like school

choice to give the parents a chance to choose where they want those kids to go. And that choice alone will guarantee that the schools that are not chosen will improve themselves. It's worked in other cities. It's worked in States, and it can work right here under his leadership. Americans, the people, want radical reform with competition and accountability, and with those schools we'll work, and wasteful programs will waste away. And power will shift from the heavy hand of the State to the hands that run the home and raise the family.

Like America 2000, Louisiana 2000 will let citizens work together to help our education system work for us. I speak of government and communities, teachers and parents, businesses and volunteers, and yes, in this field, Democrats and Republicans, and liberals and conservatives. It doesn't matter. It is too important to let party divide us and keep us from accomplishing our, achieving our goals. We're involved in a cause that is larger than ourselves. And I might say that if I ever get negligent and don't do my part, this lady sitting over here on my left, given her commitment to literacy, will see that I do my job. I'll guarantee you that. So there.

Education, the environment, a strong economy, and true civil rights: Buddy changed parties to crusade for these causes. And Churchill said, "Some men change their principles for their party. Others change their party for their principles." Some would rather fight than switch. Some would rather switch than fight. Buddy decided to switch and fight. And tonight, I ask you and all the people across this State of Louisiana to fight for him, to keep him as Governor of this State.

So join us in a government of the extended hand, not the closed mind and the self-indulgent heart. Let's help Buddy Roemer steer Louisiana away from old-style gutter politics and toward the far limits of the horizon.

Thank you all for your support. Thank you for the warm welcome for Barbara and me, and may God bless you. And let's keep Buddy Roemer the great Governor of the State of Louisiana. Thank you very, very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 7:27 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom of the Sheraton New Orleans Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to James R. Moffett, chairman of the Louisiana Council for Fiscal Reform; David Treen, former Governor of Louisiana; Jim Mora, head coach of the New Orleans*

*Saints football team; and Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., former Speaker of the House of Representatives. Following his remarks, the President returned to Washington, DC. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Signing of a Bill Making Continuing Appropriations for Fiscal Year 1991 *October 1, 1991*

President Bush last night signed the Continuing Resolution H.J. Res. 332, which provides for continuing normal Government operations from October 1 to October 29. We are glad that Congress passed this resolution without extraneous amendments, but we urge action on all of the Government's appropriation bills.

Providing for the normal operation of the

Government through continuing resolutions is an undesirable practice. However, a continuing resolution is necessary at this time in order to keep the Government functioning while the Congress completes the appropriations process.

*Note: H.J. Res. 332, approved September 30, was assigned Public Law No. 102-109.*

## Remarks Following Discussions With Amir Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah of Kuwait *October 1, 1991*

*The President.* We've just had a very successful meeting with the Amir. And we stand together in our resolve that Iraq comply fully with all the United Nations Security Council resolutions so that it can never again pose a threat to Kuwait and all the nations of the region.

In particular, the Amir and I strongly condemn Iraq's refusal to free the many Kuwaitis that are still held in Iraq. And we call again for their immediate and unconditional release. And we reaffirm our view that United Nations sanctions must remain in place against Iraq until a new leadership emerges in Baghdad, a leadership willing to live in peace with its neighbors and its own people.

We also reviewed Kuwait's great progress in reconstruction, physical and political, since liberation 7 months ago. And considerably more than half of the oil fires are

out, and oil exports have resumed, and schools have reopened. And I applaud all that has been accomplished. And I was heartened to hear that elections for restoring parliamentary government are on track for October next year. And I fully endorse Kuwait's endeavors to expand political participation, and look forward to watching this process developed in the freest possible atmosphere.

So, all in all it was a good visit with a country to whom we feel very close. And Your Royal Highness, welcome, sir.

*The Amir.* Mr. President, I was standing with you right here last year, and now I'm standing with you at the same place. But what a difference between the two occasions. When you, Mr. President, expressed the conscience of your people, you positively demonstrated the nobility of your roots

and the sincerity of your commitment. When you expressed the conscience of mankind, it was a testimony of your outstanding leadership and your Nation's superiority.

Such is the behavior and ethics of nations that have deep-rooted and civilized principles. The people of the United States of America and their leadership have vividly epitomized their principles during the period of aggression on my country. In an ominous moment, evil inclinations erupted, stirred up by false ambition and brutish greed and profound envy. The free world responded by denouncing and rejecting this aggression.

Your reaction to the rapid rhythm of events was combined with the voice of reason, principles, and values, which you, Mr. President, were determined to promote and emphasize. And therefore, your speeches and statements were directed to all peoples, reviving the confidence in them that the world is truly directed to all people in a search for new destination where security prevails, the weak safe, and humanity is primarily dedicated to the achievement of man's well-being.

The free world rallied around these values and diffused a fervent spirit to shield rights against violation, justice against grievance, and man against indignity. It was the greatest global demonstration in which honorable voices of the world's leaders were raised to defend rightness and human digni-

ty.

The people of Kuwait will remain in debt to this noble human position and will always remember it with gratefulness and appreciation. Those who sacrificed their blessed lives and pure blood in the war to liberate Kuwait will remain models for heroism and for defending righteousness.

It pleases me on this occasion of our meeting to convey to you the feelings of the Kuwaiti people towards you and towards the people of the United States of America. It is the strong desire of the Kuwaitis to strengthen relations between our peoples and our two countries in such a manner so as to serve our mutual interests and achieve adherence to human values and benefit all mankind.

Finally, I wish to express to the American people, to your administration, and to you personally, Mr. President, the appreciation and gratitude of the people of Kuwait for the backing and the support you continue to extend to us.

Peace be upon all of you. Thank you.

*Q.* Mr. President, what have you learned from the U.N. inspectors about Iraq?

*The President.* Listen, I really have no time for questions. We have this education speech, and it's going live to many locations. So, I'll have to get back to you on that.

*Note: The President spoke at 11:30 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.*

## Statement on the Presidential Mission to the Soviet Union on Food and Agricultural Requirements

*October 1, 1991*

I am very pleased that Secretary of Agriculture Ed Madigan will depart this afternoon for Moscow as head of a Presidential Mission to assess the food situation in the Soviet Union. Secretary Madigan will lead a delegation of senior private sector officials and Government experts to Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Kiev over the next 9 days. I have just met with this distinguished group and have every confidence they will be a

credit to the United States on this important mission. Their expertise in U.S. agriculture, the world's most productive and efficient, covers the spectrum from on-farm production to consumer retailing.

Their mandate is twofold. First, Secretary Madigan and his team will work intensively with Union and Republic leaders to develop ways by which the U.S. and its allies can help institute needed improvements in the

country's systems of transportation, distribution, storage, and marketing of agricultural goods. This follows the excellent preparatory work done by Under Secretary Richard Crowder's expert mission last month. The ultimate answer, of course, is for the Union and Republics to effect a rapid transition to a free market economy. Second, they will work closely with Union and Republic leaders to identify likely food shortage areas in that vast country this winter and will discuss with them ways U.S. farmers can help reduce their needs.

In the meantime, I have decided to take another step to insure that the U.S. does everything possible to help with the food situation. The administration will therefore make available today \$585 million in credit guarantees for private sales of U.S. agricultural commodities to the U.S.S.R. This makes immediately available all remaining credit guarantees originally scheduled to be offered through February 1992. This action

will put more American grain and other food into the pipeline now so that it will arrive at its destination in time to be of assistance during the hard winter facing the Soviet people. So far this calendar year, U.S. agricultural export credit guarantees will total \$2.5 billion for the Soviet Union. The millions of tons of grain and other agricultural products shipped under these credit guarantees have kept American farm exports moving while making possible badly needed food imports into the Soviet Union.

These are exciting days, and we are at an historic juncture in U.S.-Soviet relations. I am proud that America's agricultural abundance and expertise can play a crucial role in supporting the leaders, President Gorbachev, President Yeltsin, President Nazarbayev, and Chairman Kravchuk, and others who are transforming their country and its relations with the rest of the world. We are with them, and working with them we strive to remake U.S.-Soviet relations for a brighter and more peaceful future.

## Remarks to Students and Faculty at Alice Deal Junior High School *October 1, 1991*

Thank you, Ms. Mostoller, and thanks for allowing me to visit your classroom to talk to you and all these students, and millions more in classrooms all across the country.

You know, long before I became President I was a parent. I remember the times that my kids came up with a really tough question or a difficult decision. I tried my best never to shut them down with a quick "no." I would simply say those three magic words that made that problem disappear: "Ask your mother." [*Laughter*]

Let me tell you why I've made the trip up from the White House to Alice Deal Junior High. I'm not here to teach a lesson. You already have a very good teacher. I'm not here to tell you what to do or what to think. Maybe you're accustomed to adults talking about you and at you; well, today, I'm here to talk to you and challenge you. Education matters. And what you do today, and what you don't do, can change your

future.

Every day, we hear more bad news about our schools. Maybe you saw today's headline, I don't know if you had a chance to look at it, about the release of the new national goals report. Get the camera to come in and take a look at this for a moment. In math, for instance, this national report card shows that, nationwide, five of six eighth graders don't know the math they need to move up to the ninth grade.

In spite of troubling statistics like this one, I don't see this report, however, as just bad news, and I'll tell you why. This report tells us a lot about what you know and what you don't know. It gives us something to build on. It shows us our strengths and the weaknesses that we've got to correct. It sets forth a challenge to all of us: Work harder, learn more, revolutionize American education.

I know you've heard about stanines and

percentiles, surveys and statistics, but here's what all that fancy talk really means: Education means the difference between a good future and a lousy one. Reports don't give us the right to make excuses. Our scores will tell us where we are and where we need to go.

I mentioned earlier the bad news we hear about schools today. But what we don't hear enough about are the success stories. You know, all over America thousands of schools do succeed, even against tough odds, even against all odds. Kids from all over the District of Columbia petition to get into Alice Deal School here because parents know this school works. It works because of teachers like the one standing over here, Ms. Mostoller, who decided at the age of 25—maybe you all know this, but a lot of people around the country don't—she decided at the age of 25 that she wanted to teach. She was standing in a supermarket checkout line when she saw a magazine ad about college. She went back to school, worked her way through in 7 years, waiting tables to pay tuition. She made it, and so can you.

This school here works because of students like the ones with me today, students like Rachel Rusch—where's Rachel? Right there, okay—a member of Alice Deal's award-winning "Math Counts" team. Rachel, you tell me if I'm wrong, but you and six other students in this class alone have taken part in the Johns Hopkins Talent Search. They took the college entrance exams on an experimental basis last year as seventh graders. Even in junior high, some of them scored well enough to get into college right now. So, let's just put it on the line. You've got the brains. Now, put them to work, certainly not for me but for you.

Progress starts when we ask more of ourselves, our schools, and yes, you, our students. We made a start nationally now by setting six national education goals to meet the challenges of the 21st century: By the year 2000, at least 9 in every 10 students should graduate from high school. We should be first in the world in math and science. We need to regularly test students' abilities. Every American child should start school ready to learn. Every American adult

should be literate. And every American school should be safe and drug-free. Reaching those goals is the aim of a strategy that we call America 2000, a crusade for excellence in American education, school by school, community by community.

But what does all this mean, you might say, what is he doing, what does this all mean for the students right here in this room? Fast-forward, 5 years from now. Unless things change, between now and 1996 as many as one in four of today's eighth graders will not graduate with their class. In some cities, the dropout rate is twice that high or higher. Imagine: Out of a total of nearly 3 million of your fellow classmates nationwide, an army of more than half a million dropouts.

I ask every student watching today: Look around you. Count four students. Start with yourself. No one dreams of becoming a dropout, but far too many do. Which one of you won't make it through school?

The fact is, every one of you can. Let's make a pact, then, right here. Let's work to see that 5 years from now, you and your friends will be more than sad statistics. Give yourself a decent shot at your dreams. Stay in school. Get that diploma.

Let's go back to the future. In the fall of 1996, 5 years from now, nearly half of today's eighth graders who get their diplomas will enter the working world. More than half the graduates will stay in school and become the college class of the year 2000.

The question each student watching today should ask is: Where will I be, where will I be 5 years from now? Will I be holding down a good job and maybe working toward a better one, or will I be out of school and out of work? Will I be on a college campus, or out running the streets?

Think about that tonight when you're at a kitchen table doing some homework; while your parents are meeting your teachers like so many millions do this year at back-to-school nights all across our great country.

I'm asking you to put 2 and 2 together: Make the connection between the homework you do tonight, the test you take tomorrow, and where you'll be 5, 15, even 50 years from now. You see, the real world

doesn't begin somewhere else, some time way down there in the distant future. The real world starts right here. What you do here will have consequences for your whole lives.

Let me tell you something, many of you may find very hard to believe this: You're in control. You're thinking: How can the President say that about kids like us when we don't even have our driver's license? But think about it, and you'll see what I mean.

Think about drugs. You see films. You hear police experts and tough speakers from the outside. You get stern lectures from everyone: movie stars, athletes, teachers, parents, friends. But you know and I know that all the drug prevention programs, all the pledges, all the preaching in the world won't pull you through that critical moment when someone offers drugs. At that moment, everything comes down to you. Yes or no, you've got to choose, and the answer will change your life. Your parents won't make the decision. Your teachers won't make the decision. Your friends won't make the decision. It's up to you. It takes guts to take control.

A sound body and a sound mind, they go together, as my friend, and he is a friend, Arnold Schwarzenegger says. He's crossing the Nation talking with students about the importance of fitness. And real fitness means no drugs.

Studies show a decline in drug use, and that's good, that's encouraging, I think. And every student who draws the line against drugs really deserves credit for that. But drugs and violence continue to threaten every school, every small town and suburb in America. And as students, you have a right to be physically safe at school. You should never have to worry that a quarrel in the hallway will lead to gunfire in the playground. Fear should never follow you into the classroom.

If you have to take the long way home after school so you don't cross paths with the gang hanging on the corner, if outsiders roam the halls of your school hassling kids, hassling students, you must take control. Go to your teacher, or go to your principal, or go to your parents, as difficult as it may be, go to the school board if you have to.

Demand discipline. If good people chicken out, bad people take control. Together, we can, I really believe this, we can drive the drugs and guns and senseless violence out of our schools.

When it comes to your own education, what I'm saying is: Take control. Don't say school is boring and blame it on your teachers. Make your teachers work hard. Tell them you want a first-class education. Tell them that you're here to learn. Block out the kids who think it's not cool to be smart. I can't understand for the life of me what's so great about being stupid. If someone goofs off today, are they cool? Are they still cool years from now when they're stuck in a dead-end job? Don't let peer pressure stand between you and your dreams.

Take control. Challenge yourself. Only you know how hard you work. Maybe you can fake, maybe, just maybe you can fake your way into a job, but you won't keep it for long if you don't have the know-how to get the job done. Maybe you can cram the week before that marking period ends, and turn that C into a B. But you can't con your way past the SAT and into college. If you don't work hard, who gets hurt? If you cheat, who pays the price? If you cut corners, if you hunt for the easy A, who comes up short? Easy answer to that one: You do.

You're in control, but you are not alone. People want you to succeed. They want to help you succeed. Here at Deal, teachers like your outstanding teacher standing here with us today, Ms. Mostoller; from your principal, Mr. Moss, to your custodian, Mr. Francis. Right now in classrooms across this country, in the communities you call home, when things get tough, when answers are hard to come by, there's a teacher, a parent, a friend or family member ready to help you. They want to see you make it.

If you take school seriously, you won't have to settle for a job, just any job. You'll have a career. If you make it your business to learn, one day you'll be a better parent. You may not think about it now, but one day your children will want to look up at you and say, "I've got the smartest Mom and Dad in the world." Don't disappoint them.

Let me leave you with a simple message:

Every time you walk through that classroom door, make it your mission to get a good education. Don't do it just because your parents or even the President tells you. Do it for yourselves. Do it for your future. And while you're at it, help a little brother or sister to learn, or maybe even Mom or Dad. Let me know how you're doing. Write me a letter, and I'm serious about this one, write me a letter about ways you can help us achieve our goals. I think you know the address.

Now we're going to walk over to the school auditorium to say hello to the rest of the student body. To all the students across the country who watched us here in this great classroom today, may I simply say thank you, and good luck to you this school

year.

And now, Ms. Mostoller, if you'll kindly lead the way. Thank you all very much. Nice to be with you.

*Note: The President spoke at 12:15 p.m. in a classroom at the school. His remarks were broadcast live by the Cable News Network, the Public Broadcasting System, the Mutual Broadcasting System, and the NBC radio network. In his remarks, he referred to Cynthia Mostoller, an eighth grade humanities teacher, and Arnold Schwarzenegger, Chairman of the President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

## Remarks Congratulating the 1991 National Basketball Association Champion Chicago Bulls

October 1, 1991

Thank you all for coming. I would like to welcome all of you. Sam Skinner, our Secretary of Transportation, came here to gloat. He bored us all to death about these guys ever since last winter. And it's nice to see him here. Ed Derwinski, our Secretary of Veterans Affairs, come to cheer his home team.

I'd also like to express my condolences here today to Jim Edgar, the Governor of the State, whose mother died last week. Our thoughts go out to him. I know he'd be here if it weren't for that.

I also want to welcome so many Members of the Illinois congressional delegation. Commissioner Stern is with us; Bulls owner and old friend of mine, Jerry Reinsdorf. It's great to have them all here.

We were out now just watching some awesome shooting on our basketball court down here that I wish we could have shared with everybody. But it was spectacular, really good.

We're also pleased to have with us—and I want to get them to stand up, if we can—representatives of the Anacostia Youth Basketball League and then 24 players from a

dozen Washington, DC, high school teams with us. Will you guys all stand up so we can at least see where you are? Welcome.

Finally, we're delighted to have with us David Mercer, the national executive director of the YMCA; Barbara Roper, the chairperson of the YMCA national board. In the 100th anniversary of basketball, I think we all do owe a special vote of thanks to the Y and what they've meant to so many kids around this country.

I know I'm no Ray Clay, but I'll try to give the Bulls a hearty welcome as well. We're here because the Chicago Bulls answered all their critics last year, compiling the best regular-season record in their history and then crushing all the opposition on the way to their first-ever National Basketball Association championship.

If some Hollywood scriptwriter had come up with a plan, tried to submit a script on this last year, movie producers would have tossed it away—too improbable, too many pieces of history and fortune. Last year the franchise celebrated its 25th anniversary. The Bulls sold out every home game and ran their streak of sellouts at the stadium to



190 games.

Now we have our first Rose Garden sell-out. *[Laughter]* Suddenly, everyone in the entire administration claims to have come from Chicago. *[Laughter]*

The team won its 1,000th game last season, played its 1,000th home game and welcomed its 10 millionth fan. The team enjoyed its first 60-plus win season, ran off the longest home winning streak in its history; set records for the best defensive quarter ever and the best offensive quarter. And on June 12th—my birthday, I might add—the Bulls won the world championship. Not bad for a team that the experts said would lose to the Pistons and then to the Lakers. Not bad at all.

Former Soviet Olympic coach Alexander Gomelsky, he once said, "It's an axiom that good players without a good coach make a mediocre team." Well, no one who has seen Phil Jackson prowl the sidelines, who has seen that going on, nobody can argue against his skills as a coach. And what's even more amazing is the fact that sportswriters actually call him a nice guy. I didn't think they liked anybody, at least before they retired. But that's the way it is.

At any rate, Phil—who, I must mention, as New York Knick once roomed with Bill Bradley, Senator Bill Bradley—I want to congratulate him, his excellent staff, and everybody connected with his winning ball club.

One key: You made great use of the Bulls' talent. Just look down the roster, and everyone contributed to the success of the team. Let me just click them off: B.J. Armstrong, Bill Cartwright, Horace Grant, Craig Hodges, Dennis Hopson, Michael Jordan, Stacey King, Cliff Levingston, John Paxson, Will Perdue, Scottie Pippen, and Scott Williams. And you'll find each name in the box scores, and we'll see a lot of them in the Hall of Fame.

Now, everyone here, certainly, and many around the country know exactly what you all did on the court last year. But I want to just say that the Bulls also perform spectacular feats after the 24-second clock has expired and the crew has turned off the lights at the stadium.

John Paxson, whose long-range bombs destroyed the Lakers during the playoffs,

couldn't be here today because he's committed himself to hosting a drug-free assembly as part of Hugs Not Drugs program that he's so interested in. Horace Grant works with Youth for Christ stressing the importance of positive lifestyle, as well as getting good position on the offensive boards. And Cliff Levingston hosts an annual Charity Basketball Classic for Multiple Sclerosis.

Bill Cartwright did that great ad for the National Committee for the Prevention of Child Abuse and helps out the Little City Foundation, a home for the retarded. And B.J. Armstrong stresses recycling, not littering. And of course, he likes to pick up stray basketballs, usually from Isiah Thomas and Magic. *[Laughter]*

Michael Jordan performs a host of good works, with a series of charities and through his foundation. The CharitaBulls also do a great job of serving youth in Chicago's embattled neighborhoods. And in sum, people on this team serve their communities.

And I spoke to students across the Nation today from an eighth grade class out here. And it's worth pointing out that the Bulls also contribute to this Nation's educational efforts. Everyone on the team participates in Stay-In-School assemblies. And you stress the importance of getting an education. And you also illustrate the joys of physical fitness, something that this administration has encouraged under the kinder, gentler leadership of Arnold Schwarzenegger—*[laughter]*—who, incidentally, is doing a good job as head of our Fitness Council—been to 27 States now, I think, and going to all of them.

You guys thought I'd talk just about basketball, but it is tough to limit yourself to sports when an entire team sets this kind of selfless example for the rest of our society.

I'm pleased to have you all here. We've waited months for this event, and I can tell you, as far as I'm concerned, all of you were worth the wait. So, David Stern and Jerry Reinsdorf, and players and officials for the Bulls, thank you all for joining us. Thank all of you. And may I encourage every one of the kids from Anacostia and elsewhere with us out in this audience to get going in that school, do your best. And some day I expect, confidently, many of you will be

standing right here.

Thanks for joining us and thanks to making fans out of the White House staff, who is always looking for a good excuse to get out of work—[laughter]—but nevertheless this one is one in which I'm very happy and proud to join them. And thanks for what you've done to stimulate the best in sports in the United States of America. God

bless you all. Thank you.

*Note: The President spoke at 2:33 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to David Stern, commissioner of the National Basketball Association, and Ray Clay, game announcer for the Chicago Bulls.*

## Appointment of John F. Herrick, Jr., as Special Assistant to the President for Advance

*October 1, 1991*

The President today appointed John F. Herrick, Jr., of Ohio, as Special Assistant to the President for Advance. Mr. Herrick would succeed Spencer E. Geissinger.

Since 1989 Mr. Herrick has served as Assistant Press Secretary at the White House. Prior to this, he served as Press Advance Representative at the White House from January 1989 to October 1989; press ad-

vance representative for the Bush/Quayle campaign from 1987 to 1988; and intern with the Office of the Vice President in 1986.

Mr. Herrick graduated from Dartmouth College with a B.A. in 1988. Mr. Herrick was born November 2, 1965, in Cleveland, OH. He resides in Arlington, VA.

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Meeting With President Jorge Serrano of Guatemala

*October 2, 1991*

The President met today with President Jorge Serrano of Guatemala to discuss regional and bilateral issues of mutual interest. The President praised the courageous leadership of President Serrano in establishing diplomatic relations with Belize and in working actively for a solution to the protracted conflict in Guatemala. The President noted that these steps will benefit not only Guatemala but the peace and stability of all of Central America.

The two Presidents discussed mutual efforts to support democracy throughout the hemisphere and focused on the need to re-

store the democratically elected government of President Aristide of Haiti. The President was encouraged by President Serrano's commitment to improve the human rights situation in Guatemala, and he underscored that continued progress in this area is of central importance to the United States. The two leaders also discussed U.S. assistance to Guatemala and narcotics cooperation.

*Note: The statement referred to the September 30 military coup in Haiti.*

## Nomination of Michael G. Kozak To Be United States Ambassador to the Republic of El Salvador

*October 2, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Michael G. Kozak, of Virginia, a career member of the Senior Executive Service, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of El Salvador. He would succeed William Graham Walker.

Currently Mr. Kozak serves as Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he served at the U.S. Department of State in several capacities including: Principal Deputy Legal Adviser, 1985–

1988; Deputy Legal Adviser, 1982–1985; Assistant Legal Adviser for Near East and South Asian Affairs, 1981–1982; Assistant Legal Adviser for Inter-American Affairs, 1978–1981; and attorney adviser in the Office of the Legal Adviser, 1972–1978.

Mr. Kozak graduated from the University of California at Berkeley (A.B., 1968) and the University of California School of Law at Berkeley (J.D., 1971). He was born September 18, 1946, in Pasadena, CA. Mr. Kozak is married, has two children, and resides in Arlington, VA.

## Nomination of Victor H. Reis To Be Director of Defense Research and Engineering

*October 2, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Victor H. Reis, of the District of Columbia, to be Director of Defense Research and Engineering at the U.S. Department of Defense. He would succeed Charles M. Herzfeld.

Since 1990 Dr. Reis has served as Director of the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency at the U.S. Department of Defense. Prior to this, he served as Deputy Director of the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency, 1989–1990; special assistant to the director in the Lincoln Laboratory at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1989; senior vice president for strate-

gic planning at the Science Applications International Corp., 1983–1989; and Assistant Director for National Security and Space in the Office of Science and Technology Policy in the Executive Office of the President, 1981–1983. From 1973 to 1981, Dr. Reis served on the senior staff at the Lincoln Laboratory at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Dr. Reis graduated from Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute (B.S., 1957); Yale University (M.S., 1958); and Princeton University (M.S. and Ph.D., 1962). He is married, has four children, and resides in Washington, DC.

## Nomination of Donald C. Fraser To Be Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition

October 2, 1991

The President today announced his intention to nominate Donald C. Fraser, of Massachusetts, to be Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition. He would succeed Donald J. Yockey.

Since 1990 Dr. Fraser has served as Deputy Director of Operational Testing and Evaluation for Command, Control, Communications and Intelligence at the U.S. Department of Defense in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he served as executive vice president for the Charles Stark Draper Lab-

oratory, 1988–1990; vice president for technical operations at the Charles Stark Draper Laboratory, 1981–1988; and as director of the control and flight division at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Instrumentation Laboratory, 1969–1981.

Dr. Fraser graduated from Massachusetts Institute of Technology (B.S., 1962; M.S., 1963; and Ph.D., 1967). He was born April 20, 1941, in New York, NY. Dr. Fraser has two children and resides in Arlington, VA.

## Exchange With Reporters

October 2, 1991

### Unemployment Benefits Legislation

*Q.* Are you going to control the jobless?

*The President.* Yes. What I want is a bill that doesn't bust this budget; I've made that very clear from day one. We're prepared to extend unemployment benefits. In fact, I'd like to see it done, but I'm not going to go and put the burden on all the rest of the people in this country. So, we've got a good package. And once again, the Senate is testing us in this administration, and I'm trying to protect the taxpayers as well as those who are unemployed.

And that's our position, and I'll send it back, and I hope that they'll then send us a bill that we can sign. And we've got one before the Congress right now, but we're getting some partisan politics here, and I am determined to stand for principle. And that's what I'm doing.

*Q.* Mr. President, what are you doing with that \$10 billion that belongs to these unemployed people? What are you doing with it? Are you using it to run the Government?

*The President.* What are you talking about?

*Q.* That \$10 billion that's there for these unemployed people, the trust fund.

*Q.* The trust fund. The trust fund for unemployment.

*Q.* What are you doing with it?

*The President.* The whole budget explains that. The debate explained it. It's just too complicated to go into.

*Q.* Well, why don't you use it for these poor people who are hungry?

*The President.* Because we are using tons of money for—to pay unemployment benefits.

*Q.* It'll run out.

*The President.* And what I want to do is to see one that does not break the budget and further burden a burdened economy. And we're very clear on it, and I'm just a little annoyed at the constant political pressure. They know very well I can't sign it, and if they want to help the unemployed and those who have no benefits, they ought to work cooperatively with this administration.

I was elected to try to protect the taxpayer as well as those who are unemployed, and that's exactly what I'm doing.

*Q.* But don't you think the unemployed—

### Domestic Policy

*Q.* When are you going to announce for reelection, which is very obvious?

*The President.* Well, what's obvious?

*Q.* That you're running.

*The President.* That the date has approached? Listen, you try to go out and express yourself on the need for good education in this country and put forward a sound program. I put forward a sound program on unemployment benefits. We want to help the unemployed, put forward a sound crime package, and all of a sudden, everybody says it's purely political.

Now, I assume that's just because we're getting close to 1992. But I'm going to continue to put forward what I think are the domestic priorities for this country and work to see them fulfilled. I realize that it's that time of year. And as each Democrat gets out there and starts announcing, why, it's going to increase the propensity for people in the media to say, hey, everything I do is political. But I remember a little—it's better. Things are better now because I remember when they said I wasn't doing anything domestically, which happened to be untrue, also.

But things are moving in the right direc-

tion, and I think people understand we've got a very sound education program, and I'm going to continue to pursue it. And, yes, I expect people to say it's political, but that's just the time of year. That's just the season. So, I'm not going to worry about it, nor am I going to be deterred by that, nor am I going to let a handful of Democratic candidates announce—and I'm not announced—set the agenda for this country. They weren't elected to do something, I was, and I'm going to keep on trying to do it.

*Q.* Who do you want to run against?

*The President.* No more questions of any kind. [*Laughter*]

*Note: The exchange began at 10:38 a.m. on the South Lawn of the White House prior to the President's departure for Pittsburgh, PA. During the exchange the following persons were referred to: Robert M. Gates, nominee for Central Intelligence Agency Director and former Deputy Director of the CIA; Clarence Thomas, nominee for Supreme Court Associate Justice; Attorney General Richard L. Thornburgh; and Representative Larry J. Hopkins of Kentucky. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

## Remarks at the Twelfth Annual Crime Stoppers International Conference in Louisville, Kentucky October 2, 1991

Thank you, George Underhill, for that very kind introduction, and all of you for that warm welcome to Louisville, and to this marvelous conference of Crime Stoppers. I'm very pleased, sitting over my shoulder here is the Acting Attorney General of the United States, Bill Barr. Let me tell you something, Dick Thornburgh left a little while ago, resigned for purposes that certainly I understand, but Bill Barr here is doing an outstanding job for law enforcement and for the Department of Justice as our Acting Attorney General, and I'm just delighted he's here with me.

Let me congratulate Reginald Whynott

for a job well done and his newly-elected successor, Sid Newman. And I'm delighted to join this 12th annual conference of Crime Stoppers International. I note that the day after tomorrow is the 60th birthday of this Nation's preeminent Crime Stopper. Is it true that you've gathered here to throw a birthday party for Dick Tracy? [*Laughter*] I hope that Sid Newman will have, in the future, as much success as his predecessor had, because I've just had a grassroots briefing over at the police department on one unit of Crime Stoppers, and I'm told that the whole movement is growing by leaps and bounds. Not only is it

growing nationally and internationally, but the volume of people using this service and working with law enforcement in this service is increasing exponentially. So, it's a wonderful thing.

You know, in school we learn the "three R's". And from now on we'll also have to learn the Crime Stoppers' lesson, the "three P's". To stop crime, we need people to help the police, and we need publicity by the press.

And after all, these "three P's" produce a fourth, peace. You know, you promote public safety by turning it into a community affair. Crime Stoppers come in all sizes and descriptions: grandparents, kids, businessmen, parents. And you strengthen the bonds that turn a series of homes into real communities. And together, you make your communities and our Nation a lot better, stronger, a lot better and safer place to live. Indeed, through your 850 international programs, you make the world a safer place to live.

To Americans sick and tired of feeling threatened in their own homes, of cowering in fear of punks, of worrying about their kids and their future, I say: Band together. Become Crime Stoppers. You offer a cost-effective, responsible, moral way to help take back the streets.

You've contributed information that has helped solve 370,000 felonies. The courts have convicted 96 percent of those arrested through tips supplied by Crime Stoppers. Your information has helped authorities recover nearly \$2 billion in narcotics and stolen property. That works out to \$80, \$80 in return on every dollar that is spent. Can you imagine what this country would be like if Congress worked like that? [*Laughter*]

But look what we're up against. Last year 6 million American citizens fell victim to violent crime, 6 million. Violent crime claimed the lives of over 20,000 Americans. Our streets pose a greater threat to our service men and women than did the foes in the Middle East. And we deserve better. Our children deserve better than that.

In May of 1989, I stood in the rain on the steps of the United States Capitol with some of the law enforcement officers who put their lives on the line for all of us. Togeth-

er, we called for Congress to pass our crime package, legislation designed to protect our cops by giving them the tools they need to get their job done. And yes, it was tough legislation. I think it was fair legislation.

And today, nearly 2½ years later, I stand here in the midst of another group of highly dedicated people fighting crime. Two and a half years have passed, and Congress still has not passed the core provisions that we requested.

In March, we sent a crime bill to Congress, a bill designed to make your work less necessary. Our "Comprehensive Violent Crime Control Act of 1991" will confront the terrifying spiral of lawlessness. It will strengthen our Federal criminal justice system, too often unfairly stacked against dedicated law enforcement officials.

Our bill will ensure that convicted felons no longer evade punishment by drowning justice in a sea of legal challenges unrelated to guilt or innocence. Our bill limits the chances of a violent criminal getting released on the basis of legal technicalities. And I think that's long overdue, to support the police officers in this country.

Our bill imposes tough sentences upon drug traffickers and violent felons who use semiautomatic weapons. It establishes new punishments against those who steal and smuggle firearms. No plea bargains. No early release.

Our bill establishes an enforceable Federal death penalty for those who murder Federal judges, and those who engage in the terrorist slaughter of civilians, and those who kill law enforcement officers or Federal witnesses.

We simply must tell criminals our society will protect itself. The American people want action.

In March, I asked the Congress to pass a crime bill within 100 days. The 100 days expired on June 14th. But the crime bill has not been enacted. Americans don't want excuses. They want action in this field. They don't want timid bills that nibble at the edges of the crime problem. They want a tough, comprehensive package. And our people want to see the fight on crime now. So, please, let your Representative know that we want our Members of Congress to

be crime fighters, too.

I am proud, very proud, to have an opportunity to pop in here and to salute you at this conference. You Crime Stoppers and our brave law enforcement officials earn our admiration, our respect. And you and this Nation deserve the best, toughest anti-crime package that we can produce. No more loopholes. No more rolls of the dice. No more delays.

Listen to these words: "The land is full of bloody crimes. And the city is full of violence." The prophet Ezekiel wrote that over 2,000 years ago. The battle between good and evil still rages. But our crime bill, and your work, your dedicated, selfless work will strengthen the hand of good.

There are many frustrations in my job as President of the United States. I've just spoken to you about some of them here as we're trying to back up the law enforcement officers that we honor today. There are many satisfactions. Very candidly, when I see this young Bobby over here, sitting there with that hat on—[laughter]—no, that little guy, I say to myself—[laughter]—the guy in front of you is—[laughter]—and I say to myself, isn't it fantastic the changes that are taking place around the world, the reduction of the nuclear weapons, meaning less fear for that generation of nuclear weapons. And the fall of communism

around the world and the principled leadership of Americans for freedom and democracy, not only over in the Middle East but around the rest of the world as well, makes this a very exciting time to be President of the United States.

But the job clearly is nowhere near finished when I think of the problems that the law enforcement officers of this country face on our streets every single day. I am determined not only to lead in this direction for this kind of anticrime legislation, but I want to back up the law enforcement people in this country in every way I can.

You found a way. You, as Crime Stoppers, have found a way to give of yourselves. And now I and the rest of my administration, and hopefully the United States Congress, will get with it, roll up our sleeves, pass this strong legislation, and back you up in your selfless work in every way possible.

It's been a great pleasure to be here. And may God bless the United States of American. Thank you.

*Note: The President spoke at 4:16 p.m. at the Galt House East Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to the following Crime Stoppers International officials: George Underhill, conference chairman; Reginald Whynott, former president; and Sid Newman, president. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

## Remarks at a Fundraising Dinner for Larry Hopkins in Louisville, Kentucky

October 2, 1991

Thank you, Larry. Thank you all very, very much for that warm welcome. Let me just say that I'm delighted to be here, joining all of you as one of "a whole lot of people who want to elect Larry Hopkins Governor."

Let me give my special thanks to an old friend of mine, Lee Brown, for his leadership and for his help in putting together this obviously successful dinner. He's done it again. He's been at my side through battle after battle. And he's been a great

citizen of this State. And Larry was telling me it wouldn't have been possible without his leadership. So, Lee, we are very, very grateful to you.

I also want to salute another friend, a great friend of mine, former colleague, Gene Snyder over here, a good supporter who served this State with great distinction. And of course, I feel as Larry does about our own Secretary of Transportation, with whom I work so closely, Sam Skinner. He really is doing a superb job for our country.

And we've got a good team, as Larry said. I've worked with them all: Bob Gable, our chairman; Nelda Barton, who was on the National Committee when I was national chairman; Jim Bunning, the national committeeman. I don't think he could be here with us tonight, unfortunately. And we also have a marvelous slate of statewide office seekers, and I hope you'll vote for every single one of them.

And I was particularly pleased to see another old friend. I told him, and I'll repeat it here, that I look around and I'm so grateful to so many for giving me the opportunity to be in this job. And the Bush family knows how politics works, and Larry Forgy has been at my side for a long time. And I was just thrilled to see him back here. Kentucky is together now, the Republican Party unified. And I believe that this is the year to elect a Republican Governor.

We were doing a little research coming down here, and I notice that we're not far from Zachary Taylor's resting spot. Poor old Zachary. *[Laughter]* When they dug him up last summer to find out how he died—they really did—they discovered that his last words were, "Pass the broccoli." *[Laughter]* I'm not sure if you all have eaten, but you'll excuse me if I take off, okay? *[Laughter]* We're going over to the CMA *[Country Music Association]* awards in Nashville.

But let me just say, in the last few weeks, with all the historic events in the world, people have seen the importance of leadership and ideals. When a coup tried to replace Gorbachev and overthrow the change, it applied the coup de grace to communism: No leadership, though, and no ideals.

As I said at the United Nations, we face a different kind of world than we've ever seen, one in which we can build a new era of peace and prosperity at home and abroad. But we can achieve these lofty goals only if people take up the challenge of leadership without losing sight of their ideals. It won't be easy. We saw unrest in our almost democratic hemisphere. We saw unrest in Haiti this week. Factions continue fighting one another halfway across the world in Yugoslavia. We still have not been able to help bring a lasting peace to the Middle East. This week we got fresh evidence that

Saddam Hussein has engaged in an active nuclear weapons development program. If the new world order means anything, it means that we face a greater variety of challenges than ever before.

I can tell you that I was very pleased to announce these drastic cuts in nuclear weapons. I can also assure you that this was supported by the Joint Chiefs, by our Secretary of Defense, and our national security is guaranteed. And I can tell you, as we look at the challenges, in my view the United States will always be up to the challenge.

I'm looking at that grand scene, but I'm also looking at our country. And right here—and I'm very, very pleased to be back—you face enormous challenges as well. For leadership, I really believe the time has come for this dramatic change he's calling for, not just the party, but we need this man, this leader, Larry Hopkins, in the Governor's mansion there in Frankfort.

He's helped this Commonwealth for 20 years, particularly as a top Republican up there on the ag committee. He serves with his time and his hard work, but most important, he brings to Washington this absolute, fierce sense of integrity and honor.

Don't you think it's time then that Kentucky had a Republican Governor? Let's put it in an historical perspective. Think back when Green Bay beat Kansas City to win the very first Super Bowl. Or if you prefer a local angle, the year Jim Bunning led the National League in strikeouts. Seems like ages ago. *[Laughter]* Well, that was 1967, and that's the last time a Republican lived in the Governor's mansion. And we've got to do something about that come November.

Here's a reason why. Look where you are now, 24 years later. Kentucky's spending has increased more rapidly than the Federal spending, and heaven knows, I'm unhappy about that. Larry's going to put an end to that. He's earned his stripes by taking a tough antispending stance up there in Washington.

And he means business. And he's going to fight, you heard him, on keeping the jobs here and creating new jobs, rather than letting them slide out, slip away to some other area. He knows that you can't help Ken-



tucky workers if taxes and regulations chase all the jobs away.

And his bold plan to jump-start the economy doesn't try to turn Kentucky into a land of smokestacks. He wants to strengthen the farms that make this State great. This is a State matter, but I like his proposal of regional agriculture centers. He doesn't intend to smother farmers with new gimmicks and restrictions.

I always worry about the mandated programs out of Washington, DC, whether it's in agriculture or housing or whatever it is. You get a little committee together, they control the Congress, they come up with mandated programs telling everybody in every State, in every walk of life, how the programs are going to work in the States. And Larry doesn't believe in that. He knows that people are tired of too much Government and too little personal freedom, personal freedom to choose different things. And we aren't second to anyone, and all we need is a chance to prove it.

Our administration's domestic philosophy really starts with a fundamental truth, and that's that the true power and potential in this land rests in the hands of our people. That's what I mean when I'm saying I'm against so many mandates. Our domestic policy begins by trusting you.

Let me just click off a couple of items in the domestic agenda. Our housing proposals will turn public housing, their residents there, into apartment managers and homeowners. What better way to have dignity for a low-income family than having them own their own homes.

We've got a good energy program that will conserve energy while encouraging innovation. It encourages Americans to develop new technologies. You've got good resources here; what we need are better, improved technology. We need alternative fuels for motor vehicles, other breakthroughs that will increase our energy independence without reducing our economic growth. And we have such a package.

Our transportation package, Sam can wax eloquent on that, gives more power to local authorities. It lets you decide which roads your Federal dollars will build, rather than putting the decision in the hands of some subcommittee up there in Washington, DC.

Our crime package—I've just come from the Crime Stoppers who are having their international convention here. Had a chance to see what the local police here are doing in that crime stopping department right here, locally handling it. And our crime package, the most comprehensive in history, will give our streets back to the people. It's going to put an end to the endless legal gimmicks that enable convicted criminals to escape justice. And it will make drug dealers pay, literally, for their crimes. And it will let juries hear testimony from victims so we can get fairer, fuller justice.

These are just a few of the items in our package, but they demonstrate our basic theme that we will protect law-abiding citizens from criminals rather than protecting the criminals from the law.

The problem is too often Congress simply refuses to act. This even remains true for something as crucial as education. You know the story on the crime bill. I challenged them in March, I think it was, to give them 100 days to pass a comprehensive crime package; 100 days went by, and now we're close to 200. And it's simply, they haven't even sent a bill down for me to sign of a comprehensive nature.

I mentioned education. In the last 10 years, in current dollars, total spending on education went from about \$200 billion to over \$400 billion. Those are rough figures, but that's roughly what happened, went from, in 10 years, from \$200 billion to \$400 billion. And we are still 12th in the world in math, and we are 9th in the world in science. And just last Monday, the National Education Goals Panel confirmed that we have a long, long way to go. So, let's start working with our Education 2000, our America 2000 program to improve education, not tomorrow, not next month, not next year, but right now. And Kentucky can have a lot to do with the success of this revolutionary new approach to education.

Yesterday, I talked with a group of school children in Washington—they were eighth-graders, I believe—about the importance of education. And I told them that they can control their future by demanding more and doing more. Everyone here can take control, too.

So, let's decide right now to make our schools the best in the world. And I am confident that when Larry Hopkins gets to be Governor, he'll work closely with former Governor Alexander, our Secretary of Education, to put into effect this innovative, revolutionary America 2000 program.

Let's decide right now to provide educations that prepare young men and women for the competitive, international economy out there. The world is getting smaller. Communication is much more rapid. And it's very, very important that these kids be competitive. And let's decide to build a system that gives everyone the power to throw open his or her own door of opportunity and travel the path to success.

Last April we made this challenge, challenging Americans to reinvent, literally reinvent the American school, to revolutionize, and I mean revolutionize, American education. And this strategy encourages us to create accountable schools for today and a new generation of schools for tomorrow, a Nation of students committed not just to finishing regular classes but to a lifetime of education. And I'm still working at it myself. You ought to see me try to get that computer to operate. *[Laughter]* But I'm going to stay on it because our theory is nobody is too old to learn. And I would recommend this to some of you other backward technological people out there. I'm having a lot of fun doing it.

But we can all learn. And our communities can be made for learning to happen. And that means less crime, and obviously that we want to have places where kids are prepared to start learning, and that means more Head Start. So, we've got a good, comprehensive educational program, and all of you can play a critical part in implementing it.

People who want Washington to solve all these problems are simply missing the point. And I am convinced that's one reason why Larry is willing to come back here, roll up his sleeves, and run for Governor of this great State.

What happens up there in Washington, is important. I am not antigovernment, but believe me, it doesn't matter half as much when we talk about these problems as what happens in each hometown and, I might

say, in each family.

I am very concerned as your President about the diminution of family, the disintegration of family. And I don't know what we can do about it, but I do salute Barbara Bush as she goes around the country not only talking about literacy but about the importance of family being involved with these young kids, reading to them, caring about them, comforting them. And sometimes, I guess, some of us older guys take all that for granted. But we can't anymore. Family is too darn important to our country.

I need a strong advocate for this approach to education in Kentucky. And I believe Larry can work with the establishment, as much as we need to do that. But I don't think he'll work for it. I think he believes in the power of the individual communities to shape the educational opportunity for the young people.

I know that here in Kentucky you'll take that call seriously because this is the "land of tomorrow." And your tomorrow really has got to begin today with hard work to make sure that your next Governor will be a man of principles, and that man is Larry Hopkins.

And that's why I wanted to come down here tonight when Lee and Larry asked me to show up for this wonderful event. When Governor Hopkins calls next year, he will have a friend in the White House. I can guarantee you that.

Larry, come here just a sec. Let me just say this. I've had to call on this guy for some tough votes, to be at my side through some big fights. And we've lost quite a few of them, and every once in a while we win one up there. We're not outnumbered hopelessly. But he's given of himself. He's been there when I've asked. And now I want everybody across this great State of Kentucky to support him for Governor. You couldn't get a better man.

Thank you all, and may God bless the United States.

*Note: The President spoke at 5:35 p.m. at the Kentucky Fair and Exposition Center. In his remarks, he referred to Lee Brown, event chairman; former Representative*

*Gene Snyder, Robert Gable, State Republican party chairman; Nelda Barton, Republican national committeewoman; Representative Jim Bunning; and Larry Forgy, Mr.*

*Hopkins' opponent in the Republican gubernatorial primary. Following his remarks, the President traveled to Nashville, TN.*

## Remarks at the 25th Anniversary of the Country Music Awards in Nashville, Tennessee October 2, 1991

Thank you, thank you, Reba, and congratulations to all of tonight's award winners. It's great to be here with friends and with the music I love. And Barbara and I come here as fans.

Country music gives us a window on the real world. And when I want to feel a surge of patriotism or turn nostalgic or even when I need a little free advice about Saddam Hussein, I turn to country music. [Laughter]

But country songs do say a lot about life. And sometimes, and this is true, in the Oval Office, I read a sentence that's under the glass, right-hand corner of my desk. And it says, "If we're gonna see a rainbow, we'll have to stand a little rain."

And country entertainers treat each other as family. Let me just say that Barbara and I sympathize with the country music family on the loss of a great lady, Dottie West. And we are very sorry that our dear friend

Minnie Pearl could not be with us tonight. She's not been well. And Minnie, you have America's prayers and best wishes.

And Barbara and I will always be grateful for what the country music family did for our troops in the Gulf and for their families. You sure helped them "stand a little rain," so when Desert Storm went by they could see that magnificent rainbow.

You know, it's easy to see why America loves country music: Country music loves America. Thank you, and may God bless this great country of ours.

*Note: The President spoke at 10:05 p.m. at the Grand Ole Opry. In his remarks, he referred to entertainers Reba McEntire, Dottie West, and Minnie Pearl. Following his remarks, the President returned to Washington, DC. These remarks were released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 3.*

## Remarks to the Annual Convention of the National Fraternal Congress of America October 3, 1991

Thank you very, very much. What a wonderful warm welcome. Thank you so much, and thank you, Pat Donlin, for the kind words, the kind introduction. And may I salute Bishop Daily; it's an honor to be with you, sir; and so many, many friends here today.

Ladies and gentlemen, when America won its independence two centuries ago, our founders chose a national motto. And they decided upon "e pluribus unum": out

of many, one. And it symbolized the Federal union of the 13 original States, and captured the new Nation's spirit of openness, tolerance and liberty.

Early on, early America was not the ethnic and religious melting pot of today, but neither was it monolithic. A great religious diversity arose in our land, from Puritan New England, through Newport and New Amsterdam's early Jewish settlements,

through the Middle Atlantic communities of Dutch Calvinists and German Lutherans, through Maryland's Catholic colony, to the Southern States' Anglicans and Presbyterians.

Constitutional protection of freedom of conscience made the melting pot possible, even inevitable. "E pluribus unum" became a self-fulfilling prophecy. And true to our motto, America attracted Slovaks and Poles and Italians and Greeks and Cubans and Vietnamese, Chinese and Lebanese and Irish by the millions.

America became a beehive of community self-help, fraternalism. Fraternal benefit societies helped millions of immigrants make the economic and cultural transition from the Old World to the New. Fraternal societies, they offered life, life insurance and health insurance to Americans who might not otherwise have found those protections. Local lodges and councils of fraternal groups gave and still give millions of hours to voluntary social service.

Motivated by fraternal ideals, millions of your members bring cheer to residents of nursing homes and share friendship with retarded kids, give elderly neighbors rides to the store, to church, to the doctor. Your members' voluntary gifts contribute hundreds of millions of dollars to educational, medical, and social institutions. The fraternalist tradition illustrates America's distinctive commitment to community service, and voluntary service flourishes more in America than in any other Western society. Fraternal societies were the prime examples that I listed in 1988 when I first spoke of what Pat referred to, of America's Points of Light.

Today, we look to voluntary fraternalism to lead us back to our roots and away from a debilitating social experiment: Government paternalism with all its mandated benefits designed by some subcommittee on Capitol Hill.

Before the advent of the modern welfare state, voluntary associations, usually religious or fraternal in character, provided most social services. Fortunately, we still have a strong voluntary sector in social services. And as I look at the problems of this country—and I've just come from a media association for fighting drugs, media

people come together to fight against drugs. But as I look at social service, I see that we need this spirit of voluntarism more than ever in the history of our country.

I mentioned the media against drugs. And then just before that, I met with the Red Ribbon Campaign. These are family people, the National Federation of Parents for Drug-Free Youth, coming together. Some of you may well be in it, on this Red Ribbon Campaign, people voluntarily coming together to work in their communities to help eliminate in this instance the scourge of drugs. Parents getting involved more actively now, and family, with their kids who are threatened by this scourge. I cite it just because it's one more of many, many examples of what I am talking about here today and what you all understand so well.

Voluntary social service institutions, they provide creative competition for Government agencies and other voluntary groups. They offer not just aid but also choice to those whom they serve. They belie the dangerous notion that anything public must be governmental. I am not opposed to the Government. I'm proud to lead the Federal Government. But everything has a proper place in our society, and we must not allow the Government to crowd voluntary groups out of the social services field.

Nor should we let the Government monopolize public education. America needs to revise, we say renew actually, renew its thinking about public education. From the earliest times, Americans have sought to provide quality education as universally as possible. Historically, our schools have served the same public purpose whether their organizers were Methodist pastors or Catholic nuns or county councils. Strictly speaking, any school that meets fundamental State standards and does not violate anti-discrimination laws provides public education.

But schools that aren't operated by government and funded by tax dollars are finding it harder and harder to survive on such an uneven financial playing field. Not many parents can afford both high tax levies and private or parochial school tuition. Surely many among you have wrestled with a,

quote, choice, unquote, that wasn't a fair choice. Maybe you wanted your son or daughter to attend a Christian day school or a Lutheran high school but couldn't afford to.

Our America 2000 education strategy aims to restore real freedom for parents to choose schools for their children. We're confident that greater choice will encourage creative competition among private and parochial schools, improving education for everyone. At the same time, we want to foster imaginative new approaches to school organization and management. We're enlisting, incidentally, parents, innovative teachers, business leaders, churches, these voluntary associations in the enterprise of creating what we call, and properly so, New American Schools. We're not going to just patch over the old approach. We're trying to revolutionize the schools in this country.

I hope you will join us in working to renew American education. And you can help by getting the message to your Members of Congress, your State legislators, and your local school officials. And you can help by getting involved in your own schools. But as ambitious and promising as these financial and organizational reforms are, there's far more that we must all do to improve American education.

Schooling takes up just a small part of a youngster's time. It may surprise you how little time is taken. From kindergarten to high school graduation, our children on an average spend only 9 percent of their time in their school. That's just one-eleventh of the time. Our children spend the remaining 91 percent of their time at home or playing with friends or maybe out at a video arcade.

Here's the most shocking statistic: Children in one survey said that they spend just 15 minutes a day talking with their parents, 15 minutes. And moreover, the U.S. Department of Education reports that our eighth graders spend an average of more than 21 hours per week watching television, but fewer than 6 hours a week doing homework.

If these surveys actually reflect wider patterns, we could make our schools the best in the world and still find ourselves in deep trouble. Kids and parents have to talk, and

parents have to take an active role in encouraging their children to learn and excel in school.

As I contemplate my job and the great problems facing our country, and I talk to Barbara about this a lot, we worry about the disintegration of the American family in our society. We want to see it strengthened so these kids today whose lives are threatened by this new scourge of narcotics will have the love and affection and caring from parents that can make a tremendous difference.

This may not be the Government's business, but it's the Nation's business. It's the business of our people. And I would like to be more effective if I could find ways, and I know Bar would too, Barbara would as well, to find ways to help strengthen the fabric of the American family.

So as our administration works for reforms to give parents more choice in schools, naturally we want parents to join us, to speak up, to fight for their rightful freedoms. And we want you to join us in this cause.

Even more fundamentally, our kids' future, our Nation's future, demands that parents responsibly use all the freedom and power they already have. Parents or guardians, with some help from grandparents and pastors and good neighbors, mold our children's moral character. And they supply the motivation and discipline that young people need. Learning begins at home, whether the subject is math or science or literature or civic virtue. I hope that people haven't become so accustomed to a big government role in education that they forget that the real responsibility for education begins and ends at home.

De Tocqueville understood. "There is no country in the world," he wrote, "in which everything can be provided for by the laws or in which political institutions can prove a substitute for common sense and public morality." The framers of the Constitution understood. And so did the great men and women, a century later, who founded America's flourishing alliance of fraternal societies.

I am confident that you, too, understand and accept the responsibilities that accom-

pany our most precious freedoms. It wasn't costly, an activist government that made America great. Our strength and generosity flowed from individual initiatives and voluntary associations. Personal faith inspires public progress.

The American promise that beckoned your fathers and forefathers to these shores reaches out to new generations, to new waves of immigrants. With your numbers, with your strength of spirit, I know America's fraternal associations will form a great part in keeping this promise for generations

to come.

It is a great pleasure to visit with you for this short time, to pay my respects, to urge you to stay involved in your wonderful, I would say heroic work.

Thank you all, and may God bless you.

*Note: The President spoke at 1:59 p.m. at the Grand Hyatt Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to W. Patrick Donlin, president of the National Fraternal Congress of America, and Thomas V. Daily, national chaplain of the Knights of Columbus.*

## Remarks at the Proclamation Signing Ceremony for German-American Day October 3, 1991

*President Bush.* In the first place, it's a great pleasure always to welcome Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher to the Oval Office. We've had many, many conversations since I've been President, and I value his counsel and his friendship. And welcome back, sir.

I am particularly pleased to see so many guests from the new German States in the East, Hans-Dietrich telling me of your participation here, including Minister-President Muench and other leaders from Saxon-Anhalt, Mayor Wagner of Dresden, and officials from Minister Genscher's hometown of Halle.

Let me also welcome leaders of the German-American community: Helmut Kruger, Elsbeth Seewald, and Adelbert Theune.

In a few moments I'll be signing this bill and proclamation commemorating German-American Day. And how fitting it is that this ceremony coincides with German Unity Day and the first anniversary of German unification. One year ago today, here at the White House, we joined our friends in Germany in celebrating the long-awaited reunification of their country. What a thrilling moment it was. I'll never forget it, and Americans that participated and saw it, they'll never forget it.

Today, one year after welcoming united

Germany into the commonwealth of free nations, let me pay special tribute to our 17 million new German friends, those from the Eastern States of the former GDR, the German Democratic Republic. We admire your courage in throwing off the shackles of a cruel ideology and joining your brothers in the West in building a new Germany, whole and free. You are important new members of our transatlantic community and part of the special bond between Germans and Americans.

Americans and Eastern Germans, you've been cut off from one another for more than two generations. And so, in signing the proclamation commemorating German-American Day, let me extend a very special, an extra special welcome to you, those who have come from the East. It is a great pleasure to be here.

And I now turn the podium over to the Foreign Minister, and then we will get on with the signing. But welcome everybody.

*Foreign Minister Genscher.* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, today we are celebrating the tradition of German-American Day and the first anniversary of the unification of Germany. America stood by us in good times and in bad. During the unification process and during every phase of the two-plus-four talks, we knew that America was on our side. And we never will forget

this, Mr. President.

We all know that without you, Mr. President, and without my friend James Baker, German unity and freedom would not have been achieved last year. Though this very day is a day of gratitude for the German people to the people of the United States and to you personally, Mr. President, the sound of the Berlin Liberty Bell at midnight on the hour of unification was a moving symbol of this, one year ago.

Today, German-American Day is being celebrated in over 400,000 villages in your country. The Germans from the new federal States now have a share in the almost 100 sister city arrangements. Today, I'm particularly happy to present to you, Mr. President, the delegation from my home State, Saxon-Anhalt, headed by Minister-President Muench, and to introduce to you also the mayor of the city of Dresden.

"We the people"—these are the opening words of the American Constitution which puts man's pursuit of happiness to the fore. "We are the people"—in this cause citizens everywhere in the former GDR wrought

freedom and unity.

You, Mr. President, have now brought the world a step nearer to a new peaceful order which we all want. United Germany feels that it will be allied with the United States of America forever, a united Germany in Europe, whole and free. This, Mr. President, is our message to our American friends on German-American Day 1991, and on this first anniversary of the unification of Germany.

Thank you very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 4:20 p.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Werner Muench, Prime Minister of Saxon-Anhalt; Herbert Wagner, lord mayor of Dresden; Helmut Kruger, president of the United German-American Committee; Elsbeth Seewald, president of the German-American National Congress; and Adelbert Theune, president of the Steuben Society. Foreign Minister Genscher referred to Secretary of State James A. Baker III. The proclamation is listed in Appendix E at the end of this volume.*

## Message to the Congress Transmitting a Report on Panamanian Government Assets Held by the United States

October 3, 1991

*To the Congress of the United States:*

1. I hereby report to the Congress on developments since the last Presidential report on April 23, 1991, concerning the continued blocking of Panamanian government assets. This report is submitted pursuant to section 207(d) of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, 50 U.S.C. 1706(d).

2. On April 5, 1990, I issued Executive Order No. 12710, terminating the national emergency declared on April 8, 1988, with respect to Panama. While this order terminated the sanctions imposed pursuant to that declaration, the blocking of Panamanian government assets in the United States was continued in order to permit completion of the orderly unblocking and transfer

of funds that I directed on December 20, 1989, and to foster the resolution of claims of U.S. creditors involving Panama, pursuant to 50 U.S.C. 1706(a). The termination of the national emergency did not affect the continuation of compliance audits and enforcement actions with respect to activities taking place during the sanctions period, pursuant to 50 U.S.C. 1622(a).

3. The Office of Foreign Assets Control of the Department of the Treasury ("FAC") has released to the control of the Government of Panama approximately \$450,000 of the approximately \$132.76 million that remained blocked at the time of my last report. The amount released represents blocked financial accounts that the Government of Panama requested be unblocked.

Of the approximately \$137.3 million remaining blocked at this time (which includes approximately \$5 million in interest credited to the accounts since my last report), some \$136.5 million is held in escrow by the Federal Reserve Bank of New York at the request of the Government of Panama to fund a portion of Panama's arrearages to international financial institutions. Additionally, approximately \$600,000 is held in commercial bank accounts for which the Government of Panama has not requested unblocking. A small residual in blocked reserve accounts established under section 565.509 of the

Panamanian Transactions Regulations, 35 CFR 565.509, remains on the books of U.S. firms pending the final reconciliation of accounting records involving claims and counterclaims between the firms and the Government of Panama.

4. I will continue to report periodically to the Congress on the exercise of authorities to prohibit transactions involving property in which the Government of Panama has an interest, pursuant to 50 U.S.C. 1706(d).

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
October 3, 1991.

## **Nomination of Henrietta Holsman Fore To Be an Assistant Administrator of the Agency for International Development**

*October 3, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Henrietta Holsman Fore, of California, to be an Assistant Administrator of the Agency for International Development at the Bureau for Asia. This is a reappointment.

Since 1989 Ms. Fore has served as Assistant Administrator of the Agency for International Development for Private Enterprise. Prior to this, she served as president and director of Stockton Wire Products in

Burbank, CA, 1977-1989; president and chairman of the board of Pozacorp, Inc., in Burbank, CA, 1981-1989; and director of the Water Quality Management, 1987-1989.

Ms. Fore graduated from Wellesley College (B.A., 1970) and the University of Northern Colorado (M.A., 1975). She was born December 9, 1948, in Chicago, IL. She is married, has four children, and resides in Washington, DC.

## **Nomination of David M. Nummy To Be an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury**

*October 3, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate David M. Nummy, of Oklahoma, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Management. He would succeed Linda M. Combs. Upon appointment, he will be designated Chief Financial Officer at the Department of Treasury.

Since 1989 Mr. Nummy has served as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Departmental Finance and Management at the U.S.

Department of the Treasury. Prior to this, he served as comptroller of the office of the President-elect, 1988-1989; comptroller of George Bush for President and Bush/Quayle '88, 1987-1988; and business manager for Research/Strategy/Management, Inc., 1986. Mr. Nummy served as a senior analyst for tax policy for the U.S. Senate Committee on the Budget, 1985; deputy campaign director of the People for Pete



Domenici, 1983–1984; and as a special assistant to the staff director and an analyst for Federal credit at the U.S. Senate Committee on the Budget, 1981–1983.

Mr. Nummy graduated from Oklahoma

State University (B.A., 1978; M.S., 1979). He was born April 6, 1957, in Oklahoma City, OK. Mr. Nummy resides in Washington, DC.

## Nomination of Charles R. Hilty To Be an Assistant Secretary of Agriculture

*October 3, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Charles R. Hilty, of Ohio, to be an Assistant Secretary of Agriculture for Administration. He would succeed Adis Maria Vila.

Currently Mr. Hilty serves as Associate Deputy Secretary for the U.S. Department of Agriculture in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he served as minority staff director for the House Committee on Agriculture,

1984–1991; administrative assistant in the office of Congressman Edward Madigan, 1978–1984; and night wire editor for the St. Louis Post-Dispatch in St. Louis, MO.

Mr. Hilty graduated from Bowling Green State University (B.S., 1960). He was born November 6, 1934, in Bluffton, OH. Mr. Hilty served in the Ohio National Guard, 1960–1966. He is married and resides in Washington, DC.

## Exchange With Reporters Prior to Discussions With President Jean-Bertrand Aristide of Haiti

*October 4, 1991*

*Q.* Mr. President, are you willing to go as far as you were for Kuwait?

*President Bush.* We're very interested in the restoration of the democratically elected government in Haiti, and the situations are not parallel at all, entirely different. But this one, we are convinced that democracy should prevail in Haiti. The fight is—the discussion here is about the restoration of a democratically elected government. The United States is joining most of the rest of the world in calling for the restoration of a democratically elected leader, who's sitting right next to me. That is the question—

*Q.* Can it be done without force?

*President Bush.* —before us right now. And this matter, I will have no more questions now. I'm having a press conference,

and I'll be glad to answer questions like that, Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International], but I'll take no more at this time.

*Q.* President Aristide, do you think that you don't want any military intervention in your country? And do you think you can be restored to the presidency by peaceful means?

*President Aristide.* As Mr. President Bush said, we are talking about going back in a democratical way and to continue the democratical forces in Haiti. Later we will talk about something else.

*Note:* The exchange began at 9:34 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

## Remarks to Recipients of the Presidential Elementary Awards for Excellence in Mathematics and Science Teaching

October 4, 1991

Please be seated. Late for class, I apologize, I apologize. *[Laughter]* But you might be interested in this. I was just meeting with the duly elected, democratically elected President of Haiti, who, as you know, has been overthrown. And we're very concerned, obviously, about democracy in that country. And so I hope you'll forgive me for being late for this event.

But I'm delighted to be here with Dr. Bromley, my Science Advisor, who is doing a superb job as we focus the Nation's attentions on math and science and the need to be competitive in these areas, indeed, retain our leadership in the areas that you're so involved in.

And of course, the same for Jim Watkins, our Secretary of Energy, who not only does he have responsibilities as Secretary of Energy and gives me valuable advice in that field, and then based on his former role as Chief of Naval Operations, judgment on all of that, but he's never lost his abiding interest in education, something that he has been very prominent in before assuming these responsibilities. And he keeps up that interest. So, you've got two of our very best here.

I understand that we have teachers from all 50 States, DC, Puerto Rico, the U.S. territories, and then our Department of Defense Dependent Schools; from West Germany to Fairmont, West Virginia, and from Austin, Texas, to Alpha, Illinois. So thank you for coming, and congratulations to all of you.

Speaking of Illinois, I just was told the story about a school in Illinois that was named after Jack Benny. And every year, Benny made a point of going to the school and visiting the children. And one year he was speaking to a group of 12-year-olds, and he asked if there were any questions. And a kid put up his hand. "Mr. Benny," he said, "why did they name you after our school?" *[Laughter]* That's really apropos of nothing here, but I kind of liked it.

But no matter where the school is or who

it's named after, I believe that our math and science teachers are blessed with a gift for inspiration. And they possess the same drive that motivates their students to construct skyscrapers or crack DNA codes or craft race cars or create new computer models or climb aboard a spaceship. Not only are you adventurers, but you inspire your students to take their first steps in the adventure of their lives, the adventure of becoming educated men and women.

Some teachers with us today, each one a winner, arrived here at the White House from Indian reservations and inner cities, volcanic islands. And while the journey may have been long for some, it's been incredible for all because along the way you have ignited the spark of understanding, the power of curiosity, and the wonderful potential that lies latent in every child.

A teacher of young people and a student of man, the late—and he was a friend of mine, and I know some of you must have known him—the former president of Yale University as well as commissioner of baseball, Bart Giamatti, once observed, "Teaching is an instinctual art, mindful of potential, craving of realizations." I think that's a true observation today, for now we're relying on each of you to practice the art of realizing potential.

No one said it would be easy. Two years ago, we met with the Nation's Governors, as you know, I did. We agreed to establish an ambitious set of educational goals to be met by the turn of the century, including first in the world in math and science. And some people say, "We can't do it." And I expect like most of you, I think we can. Math and science education is one of our top priorities. In fact, we've requested \$1.9 billion of Federal spending on math and science education for fiscal year 1992, which translates into a 92-percent increase at the precollege level since the start of this administration. But it takes more than just money. It takes a commitment to world-class standards, community by community, all across Amer-

ica.

And just this week, we learned some important information on the math and science front, some of which seems to surprise Americans.

First, it appears that today's students know about as much math and science as their parents did 20 years ago when they were children. Rather than declining in skills, as most people have assumed, students are reversing that downward trend.

And secondly, however, five out of six eighth graders do not know what you math teachers think that they ought to know about math. This presents a tremendous challenge. For while our students' achievement is holding steady, the level of skills and knowledge required of them is skyrocketing.

There is encouraging news in all of this. We're working together to set world-class standards for national assessments in math, science, English, history, and geography, to develop a better and clearer picture of where our strengths and weaknesses lie.

Our math teachers have already developed world-class curriculum standards. And just this month, the Department of Education granted half a million dollars to the National Academy of Science to do the very same thing with our science curriculum. Math teachers already work side-by-side with Governors and Members of Congress in taking steps towards the American Achievement Tests. And I've asked that the first phase of this American Achievement Test be ready for use by the 1993-94 school year.

And finally, if we are committed to raising math and science standards to world-class levels, we must help our educators prepare themselves to teach those schools. And therefore, I have proposed to the Congress that we immediately establish Governors academies for teachers of math and science as well as teachers in the other core subjects in every State in the Nation.

And this week's goals report shows us how far we have still to go. But to get there, we must revolutionize American education, not just school by school but beyond, in community by community, certainly in family by family. In fact, in just a couple of hours—this is the reason Lamar is not here,

our Secretary of Education—I'm going up to meet him and the board of directors of the New American Schools Development Corporation at Camp David. And they're seeking nothing less than to reinvent American education. And they're working to provide us a substantial amount of money so we can get that started.

And that's what, in essence, the overall America 2000 strategy is all about. And that's where we really need your help. We all agree that we want to teach kids to think straight, to appreciate the past and look to the future, to serve others and the community. But you hold the key to instilling intellectual excellence in your students and your colleagues. And your vigor, tolerance, your academic discipline will stretch young minds. But your example will also build know-how for other teachers. In your classrooms and labs, you can really begin the revolution in American education.

An educator and teacher, the man who taught me a lot about the real business of living, a man named Claude Fuess, said a very interesting thing—he was the headmaster at Phillips Academy—a very interesting thing the day he retired after 40 years of teaching. He said, "I was still learning when I taught my last class."

As we face the daunting task of redefining American education, let's remember: The best teachers never stop learning. And the best ones learn constantly to think anew. And that sense of innovation is the key to creating a new generation of American schools. If we're to make a difference in the schools, we must break the mold and see what works. We need to keep learning new ways. We need to keep trying new ideas.

You won these awards because you experiment with new ideas. You're not afraid to experiment with new teaching methods. And for that, you have your country's heartfelt thanks and best wishes. And what's even better, you have the gratitude and admiration of the most important people in the world, and that is your students.

So, thank you all. Congratulations. Thank you very, very much for being with us on this beautiful day in the Rose Garden. And

keep up that fantastic leadership. Thank you all.

*Note: The President spoke at 10:10 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.*

## The President's News Conference October 4, 1991

*The President.* Today's unemployment figures show the economy is moving in the right direction. The drop in unemployment is one more sign that the economy is strengthening. Data released just this week showed new car sales were up, housing sales were up, purchasing managers index was bullish on the manufacturing sector. And people should take note of the fact that interest rates are falling to levels that we haven't seen since 1977.

Although I believe that the economy is on the right track, let me be the first to say all is not well. I'm deeply concerned about those who are out of work. Unemployment benefits are important. Congress should provide a responsible extension of such benefits.

The bill that we've been for for some time, the Dole bill, does just exactly that. And I'll sign a bill that helps people and also protects the overall economy by keeping to the budget agreement. As I said, there is a bill in Congress to do that right now. And if Congress gives me that bill, I will sign it immediately.

I'll be glad to take some questions.

### Haiti

*Q. Mr. President—*

*The President.* Yes, Terry [Terence Hunt, Associated Press].

*Q.* You said this morning that you're committed to the restoration of the democratically elected government in Haiti. Are you willing to go beyond economic pressure to use of multinational military intervention to defend democracy?

*The President.* Well, I am very hopeful that this matter can be resolved without such a multilateral force. The United States has been, and properly so, very wary of using U.S. forces in this hemisphere. There's a lesson out there for all Presidents, and the lesson I've learned is that you've got to be

very, very careful of using United States forces in this hemisphere.

So, I'd like to think that this mission by the Organization of American States will do it. We are committed to democracy in Haiti. We want to see Aristide restored to power. We had a long talk with him today, not only about the restoration of that, but he reiterated a commitment to human rights there. So, let's hope that that can be done without any kind of force. I hope that's what the result will be of this multinational mission that's going down there under the leadership of the OAS. I think that's the way to go.

They've had a hearing in the United Nations, and the United States clearly is upset when internal affairs result in the setting back of democracy. And that's what's happened. So we're committed to the restoration of democracy and a strengthening of democracy in Haiti. We feel very strongly about it.

I am reluctant to use U.S. forces to try to accomplish it, except if American citizens' lives are in any way threatened, of course. I feel that is a direct concern and responsibility of the President.

*Q.* Would you take part in a multinational force?

*The President.* Well, I think we've got to wait to see. I don't want to get out ahead of where this OAS mission is. And I would like to see it succeed without having to use force or having to put together such a force, say nothing of use it.

### Unemployment Benefits Legislation

*Q. Mr. President,* what should 10 million people who are out of work and the 95,000 people in Michigan who were taken off welfare rolls, what should they do now to survive until the economy does rebound?

*The President.* They should demand of

their Congress to pass a bill that the President can sign. And I'm committed to such a bill to extend unemployment benefit compensation, and I'd like to have it passed and sent down here. And if it means vetoing a bad bill so that the people that are working and the people whose families are hurting but are just making ends meet so that they can have a better shot—and I'm talking about not breaking the budget agreement—that's what I'm going to do. I'm not going to take something that's bad. And so what they ought to do is demand of their Congressmen, "Let's not just try to get it your way up there. Do something that the President can sign that will help us with unemployment benefits but will also protect the other taxpayer." Let's don't forget some of these people still pay taxes even though unemployed at the moment. And I'm trying to protect the economy as well as do something compassionate for those that are out of work.

And, Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International], I was in Pittsburgh the other day talking to some friends after a political meeting up there. They didn't even know that we were for this proposal. There's been so little coverage of it. And I'm for unemployment benefit extension and doing something about it. And I am also for protecting all those that aren't working and that are working who pay taxes. And one way you do that is to keep the Democratic Congress from busting the budget agreement.

*Q.* Mr. President, will that feed the people, pay the rent, and help them to get jobs at this particular point?

*The President.* Yes, my program will.

*Q.* Mr. President, sir, we've heard that, from some of your advisers, that you are actually considering taking some kind of strong remedial action to boost the economy, to give it a kick-start. Any truth in that?

*The President.* As I've said, I'm very pleased with the unemployment numbers today. I remember back in my previous incarnation as Vice President when they were far higher than this, and it was resisted, some of these Government job proposals. I would like to see something done in the way of a growth package. I think that would stimulate the economy immediately.

It doesn't have to take effect; it just has to get the confidence that a reduction in capital gains would give it because it would create jobs, and people would see it. People would invest more. And this is kind of cynically looked at by some political leaders as a tax break for the rich. There's something that would help immediately; it doesn't have to go into effect. It would send a message of confidence to investors. So, there are things of that nature that we've proposed in our growth package that I think would help.

On the other hand, I am encouraged that the statistics that I've given you, and there are other ones, indicate an improvement. My problem is there's a different, there's a disconnect between the statistics and the order books. And I want to see this good news of today followed on now by more orders and more employment. But I must say I think that it's moving in the right direction.

#### *Economic Strategy*

*Q.* Sir, as we move into a Presidential election, the Democrats think you are vulnerable on the economy, and there is a feeling around the country that you've decided to let Alan do it—Greenspan, with the Fed Reserve lowering interest rates. That really is your only strategy, other than—

*The President.* I beg your pardon, I just gave you a strategy, John. You must have missed what I said about capital gains reductions, about IRA's, about R&D extension. You see, these are things that would help stimulate the economy. And I don't know why people are tone deaf up on Congress about this. It would help. And it wouldn't bust the budget agreement.

And that's what I'm trying to do. And things are moving, and they're moving in the right direction. Thank God this recession hasn't been as deep as previous recessions. But when people are still hurting, I want to do what I can to help. But it doesn't help to simply add more to an already intolerable deficit. And so therein lies the big difference.

But we've got a good program for growth. And I'd like to see the Congress move on it. But when you don't have the

control of it, it's pretty hard to even get it considered.

### *Congressional Ethics*

Q. One matter that has received quite a lot of coverage around the country is this latest episode on Capitol Hill with the checks bouncing and the restaurant bills going unpaid and so forth—

*The President.* Checks and balances? [Laughter]

Q. Yes. We've seen you—

*The President.* I'm sorry. [Laughter] Go ahead, Brit [Brit Hume, ABC News]. Excuse me.

Q. You've gone to some lengths to provide, or to attempt to provide leadership on ethical matters in the executive branch. What's your reaction, sir, to these goings-on on the Hill?

*The President.* I say they ought to sort it out themselves.

Q. Well, don't you have some opinion on it?

*The President.* What? [Laughter]

Q. Do you have some view of it?

*The President.* I'm afraid that anything I say on it will be considered political. And you know how I'm trying to avoid that. [Laughter] No, I'll let them sort that matter out themselves. And I do think that it's hurt the Congress in the eyes of the American people. And I think they're trying to move to correct that.

### *Middle East Peace Conference*

Q. Mr. President, there are reports from Paris today that the Mideast peace conference will convene in late October. What is the status of preparations for those talks and has the time and place been set?

*The President.* There are no preparations in the sense of logistics for that that I know of. No dates have been set. And a lot depends on what happens in the next couple of weeks as to whether such a conference will take place at that time. I certainly would like to think that we could get on with this. But I don't want to mislead you. I was briefed just before I walked in here about a statement out of Paris that sounded to me a little more firm than where we are right now.

### *Loan Guarantees for Israel*

Q. There have been complaints in Israel that by delaying these loan guarantees you're prejudging the settlement issue and tilting toward the Arabs. How do you—

*The President.* I disagree with that. My position has been one, in a sense, of reiteration of longstanding U.S. position. And I think it was the right thing to do. I'm very pleased with the strong support from the American people for the position I've taken. The support from around the world is strong. And I think it's not prejudging or getting on one side or another of this ageless dispute.

### *Employment*

Q. If we can get back to the economy for a minute. The Bureau of Labor Statistics numbers show that there are now 300,000 fewer jobs today in this country than there were when you took office. What does that say about your overall economic performance? And why do you think—

*The President.* I was hoping that you'd ask that. Go ahead.

Q. Why do you think the recovery has been so slow?

*The President.* Let me tell you something. The statistics that came out today take even the household survey, which has been the one that was cited, and raise it up. So the fact is no longer true, the statistics that some of the Congressmen were using. It's no longer true. In addition, there is the establishment survey that shows a very substantial increase in employment, as will the household survey now. So, you asked the wrong question, or a day late because of—

Q. Let me ask another question.

*The President.* Yes, try another one.

Q. Do you still think that you can adhere to your promise to create, I think it was, 30 million new jobs in 8 years?

*The President.* Thirty million? Eight years? Yes. [Laughter] Well, I, gosh, I don't remember being quite that optimistic about being elected at the convention. But I think the economy is recovering. I think it will be more robust as we go along here. Job creation is fast. Now, whether I could live up to 30 in 8 years, I don't know. But get

through these first 4 years, that's what I'm focusing on right now.

*Q.* What's your goal? What do you think you'll be able to do? What do you see—

*The President.* I can't give it to you in exact figures. I've learned just to void all the predictions now, including 30 million in 8 years. But I am very encouraged with the way it's happened. And the statistic you asked about is outmoded by just a tenth of one percentage point. That's the thing that's amazing about this economy. The 300,000 was so totally wiped out. I can't give you the exact figure, but maybe one of our experts can.

#### *CIA Director Nominee*

*Q.* Mr. Bush, do you totally dismiss the testimony that the Senate heard this week that your nominee, Bob Gates, cooked the analysis to CIA for political reasons?

*The President.* If that's the charge, I totally dismiss it. I think it's an outrageous assertion against a very honest man, a thoroughgoing professional. And that's the worst charge that can be leveled against an intelligence officer. And I know Bob Gates, and I know he would never cook the estimates.

*Q.* Does it trouble you, however, that these people who might end up working for him put a good deal on the line to tell Congress their opinion with presumably nothing to gain?

*The President.* No, I think they have every right to do that. I haven't seen, sitting here as President of the United States, these allegations before. These people, I don't know that they went to the Inspector General of the Agency before. I hope the record shows they did. It would be something to look into. Have they accused this good man of the worst kind of sin you can have as an intelligence officer, which is politically slanting estimates?

But I'm saying I don't believe it about Bob Gates. I know enough about how estimates are achieved that I know sometime, somebody has to make a decision. And every analyst, every junior analyst cannot have his or her estimate be the one that comes to the President of the United States, you see.

So, I just have total confidence in Bob, and I certainly will defend him against that

charge, which is really—you have to know and have a feel for the intelligence community to understand how serious a charge that is in that business.

#### *'92 Election*

*Q.* Mr. President, the field of Democrats who want your job are now pretty much announced. What is your assessment of your competition?

*The President.* When I become a candidate and if I become a candidate, I will be glad to assess—I'm not even sure I'll do it then. I'll let the Democratic primary process go forward, let the voters sort that out without any editorializing from me on it. And they're all going after the nomination. And then I think the process will work as it traditionally does, that when you have a general election there will be a lot of to and fro on assessing.

But I don't really think it would be helpful for me to kind of analyze and point out. It's like the questions I get here, "Please tell us your three greatest weaknesses as President of the United States, sir." The "Saturday Night Live" over there. I want to stay out of that.

*Q.* Mr. President, do you agree with some other Republicans that your reelection is basically at this point a lead-pipe cinch?

*The President.* No, I certainly don't. And I'm not going to approach it that way. If I become a candidate with finality, I'm not going to approach it in that way at all.

#### *G-7 Finance Ministers Meeting*

*Q.* The G-7 finance ministers will meet with the Soviet Union and amongst themselves in Bangkok next week. Do you support the idea of a temporary bridge loan to the U.S.S.R. if it becomes necessary, and/or additional agricultural credits or U.S. purchases of Soviet oil for our Strategic Petroleum Reserve?

*The President.* I'm waiting for our Agricultural Secretary to come back, Ed Madigan. We're having meetings going on right now with the Secretary of the Treasury, who's come back; the Secretary of State, who also met with the leaders. So it's too early for me to say anything other than if people are starving or there's a shortage of

medical supplies, the United States will not be found wanting. I just don't want to go into it any further.

*Q.* Could I follow on the domestic: Do you have a message for the G-7 ministers as far as promoting world growth? Would you like to see interest rates come down?

*The President.* Yes, I'd like to see lower interest rates, and I'm glad that that's being accommodated here with very, very low incidences of inflation. You know, they used to have a thing called the "misery index." Some of the people that followed politics remember that. That was unemployment and inflation added together. Thank God, even when people are hurting, that that misery index is lower than at some of the times in the recent past, within the last 15, 20 years. It's not doing badly.

Having said that, I don't want to sound that I am unconcerned about the people that Helen asked about.

#### *The Economy*

*Q.* You said a minute ago something I didn't quite understand, that capital gains didn't have to go into effect to have an effect. What did you—

*The President.* I mean confidence in the economy. You see, what I think is that what the economy needs is a shot of confidence. Banks have money to loan, and they're not particularly willing to loan it. Good banks should make good loans, for example. Now, some of that can be blamed on regulatory excess. Some of it, I think, is a lack of confidence. But I think as soon as they see in place steps that will strengthen, that clearly benefit the economy, before those benefits are actually felt, I think people will start moving and investing and see this economy take off more. That's what I was talking about.

*Q.* Besides jawboning the issue, sort of what we're doing here, is there anything you can do unilaterally, though, to help the recovery along?

*The President.* I don't know exactly what one can do unilaterally except jawboning. We're taking the steps that are not unilateral steps and trying to get steps taken that are not unilateral. So, as you see this economy recovering, I think it's all right to try to instill confidence in the marketplace. But I

don't want to be unrealistic about it—I don't want to be euphoric in my optimism—that I do feel optimistic about the economy.

I don't want to be unrealistic. There are some things—maybe there is more we can do, you might say, unilaterally in terms of regulatory excess. But we're taking a look to see. And we've taken some steps. And they have not corrected the problem frankly. So, we'll be trying to find out.

#### *Central Intelligence Agency*

*Q.* One of the most serious charges leveled during these Gates confirmation hearings really doesn't have anything to do with Gates personally but the Agency as a whole: that it's been dead wrong on everything from moderates in Iran to the fall of the Government in the Soviet Union. Are you concerned that there's been some degradation of the Agency over the past decade?

*The President.* No. You see, I'm perhaps the, I guess I'm the ultimate consumer of intelligence as President. I'm briefed every morning in a very select document called the PDB, the President's Daily Brief. I see as much as I want to, under my way of running the Presidency. The Director comes down almost every morning, but a briefer is in there every morning at 8 a.m. I see the intelligence product.

And, yes, there's some mistakes made. But when you're dealing with measuring intentions, please understand it is unlike counting beans or counting rockets or counting tanks. They're very different. And so when you're measuring intentions, of course there's going to be people that make mistakes. But as far as I'm concerned, as the ultimate consumer of the intelligence product, I think it's been very, very good. And I am absolutely confident that we have the best intelligence service in the world. I know it. I know that for fact certain. And we share intelligence, very carefully, with foreign leaders from time to time. And they are always impressed.

So, I have no hesitancy in representing that to the American people. It's something I know something about.

*Q.* These aren't just some mistakes. I mean, these could be considered monumen-



tal mistakes.

*The President.* Well, if you'd cite one, I would be glad to comment on it. I don't know which ones—

*Q.* The situation in Iran with moderates in Iran and the collapse of the Soviet Government.

*The President.* I don't remember the estimates. I'd have to look at it myself to tell you whether I thought *ex post facto* that there was anything—how egregiously wrong they were. Of course, there are mistakes that are going to be made when you're looking for needles in a haystack or when you're looking for moderates in Iran.

But let me just tell you this: Does anybody think today, is there anybody out here that would say that this regime under Mr. Rafsanjani is less moderate than Khomeini? Absolutely not.

And so again, I'd have to refresh my memory on what the charge is, but there is clearly a move now in Iran to be a little more on, what I would say, the reasonable side, moderate side. And I hope that continues because I want better relations with Iran. I think they know and we know, the American people know, what it's going to take. It's going to take a full accounting for these hostages. If Iran has one iota of influence, they ought to release the hostages. Then we can get back together a little.

So again, Jim [James Miklaszewski, NBC News], I'm not trying to avoid your question, I'm simply saying you're dealing in degrees here. I think most observers of Iran would say things are a little different than they were under the more radical Khomeini regime.

*Q.* Mr. President? Mr. President?

*Q.* Could you say—

*Q.* Mr. President?

*The President.* No, right here in front of me.

### *Parental Leave Legislation*

*Q.* Mr. President, I think the United States is the only Western industrialized nation that does not guarantee a pregnant woman the right to have her job back and does not allow parents with legitimate family emergencies to take leaves. You vetoed a bill last year that would have provided that, and now you have another one.

Are you perhaps entertaining a change of heart?

*The President.* I'd look at the bill, but I'm not entertaining any change of heart. I don't want to see any more mandated benefits. I want to see these matters resolved the way they should be. And I don't think that we need a larger Federal participation in the problem you outlined.

And I've been very consistent on it. I was that way all along. And I think that we're here talking about jobs, we're here talking about competitive, and we're here talking about how we can show more compassion. One way is to have a more vibrant economy where they can do a lot more things of that nature. So, I'm not inclined to change my position at all.

Last one back there. I've got to go to Camp David on a domestic education program we're working on there. Lamar Alexander's up there with this school; we're trying to revolutionize the schools. And he's got together a group of people, private sector, to contribute fantastic sums of money to help us—

*Q.* Mr. President—

*The President.* —Sarah [Sarah McClen- don, McClendon News Service], please let me finish—to really do a job on revolutionizing the schools. And it's a wonderful program, and I want to go up there and give it strong support.

Yes, last one.

*Q.* Thank you, Mr. President—

*Q.* Have you given any more thought to—[laughter]

*The President.* Come on.

### *Iraq*

*Q.* Mr. President, at the General Assembly, you said you thought that you'd like to see the cooperative effort that led to Desert Storm lead to a just government in Baghdad. And that seemed to be the first time you've actually suggested that the U.N. take on the job of replacing Saddam. Did you mean that they should take an active part? And what are you going to do to implement that? What do you have in mind?

*The President.* Well, I've got in mind all along what I said is that I'd like to see Saddam Hussein out of there so we could

have more normalized relations. Our argument is not with the people; never has been; never was at the height of the war. And I made that very, very clear as we went along. And so it is with Saddam Hussein, who is continuing to brutalize his own people. And that's just the way it's going to be.

*Q.* Sir, you've said that all along. But you've always said nature would have to take its course, that that wasn't the U.N. mandate. But it seemed that at the U.N. when you said you'd like to see that cooperative effort actually bring it about, you said when it does that you were going beyond that in asking the U.N. to take steps here.

*The President.* Well, I'll have to review. You're getting me with the context not quite so clear in my mind. But if there's any question about wanting Saddam Hussein out of there, let me reiterate, we want him out. And if there's any question that it would benefit the people of Iraq, let me lay that one aside. It would be of great benefit to the people of Iraq and the United States. And most of the other countries I know are going to keep these economic sanctions on until there's dramatic change there. And we're going to still continue under the U.N. resolution to permit the sale of oil, properly supervised, so that the funds from that go to the people, in terms of food and medicine. So that's policy.

Frances [Frances Harden, CNN], this is the last one, because—

*Q.* Mr. President, have you given—

*Q.* What about public schools, Mr. President—

*The President.* 'Sarah, come on, lighten up, will you?

*Q.* What about public schools?

### *Nuclear Arms Reductions*

*Q.* Have you given any more thought to Mitterrand's call for a four-power summit to discuss nuclear arms reductions?

*The President.* I've not heard from him directly on that. I am pleased, incidentally, with the way the response is coming in from around the world on our initiative of a week ago, very pleased, indeed, including the Soviet Union. But look, we'll participate in whatever it is in order to hurry the day that we have lower levels of nuclear weap-

ons. But I just don't want to address myself to a specific proposal because I haven't seen it, have it analyzed or anything of that—

*Q.* You would be willing to go to a summit to discuss that? Is that what you're saying?

### *Foreign vs. Domestic Affairs*

*The President.* I've got to watch foreign travel. I don't want to have it leveled against me that I'm interested in only one area here.

But this brings home—I'm just thinking of this press conference. I kept a little score sheet here. This brings home a point I'd like to raise. I think we've got a very good domestic agenda. And I know I'm very concerned when people are out of work. And I think we've got a good alternative to help; alternative from what the leaders in the Congress are putting forward. But, for obvious reasons, there continues to be understandable fascination with and interest with what's going on abroad. I didn't take a question here on Haiti. I thought I would. So I understand—

*Q.* Yes, you did, the first question.

*The President.* I consider that a question, let me revise it. [Laughter] But, okay, so we got one question on Haiti. [Laughter] But I'm making a point. Please let me finish the point. The point is a President has to deal with these things. You could have every Congressman and every group can deal much more openly and be much more engaged on the domestic side. But on foreign policy there's a disproportionate responsibility on the President for national security, whatever it is.

So, you all ask a lot of international questions, and I answer them. But I just hope it doesn't come out that this is all I'm interested in, because it isn't. There is a funny thing now going on when we go out and we talk about education or we talk about the crime bill, people say, "Well, this is political season." And so I will keep plodding along here and making clear what our domestic priorities are. And I will not neglect my responsibilities to try to keep the American people informed on national security matters, lowering the threat from nuclear weapons, or events such as Terry asked

about in Haiti, so that people know what we're doing.

And that's it.

Q. You once said you enjoy foreign policy.

The President. I do. I like all kind of policy and that's a—

Q. You said you'd rather talk about foreign policy than talk about Rostenkowski.

*Note: The President's 105th news conference began at 11:47 a.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House. In the news conference, the following people were referred to: Alan Greenspan, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board; President Hashemi-Rafsanjani and former religious leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini of Iran; and Representative Dan Rostenkowski.*

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Meeting With Prime Minister Jozsef Antall of Hungary

October 4, 1991

The President met with Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall in the Oval Office this morning. The President reaffirmed our strong commitment to the Hungarian economic and political transformation. The President believes that the revolutionary changes in the Soviet Union make the success of Hungarian democracy even more important than before.

Prime Minister Antall described his great concerns about the situation in Yugoslavia

and urged strong international efforts to bring about a solution while providing clear safeguards for the rights of national minorities in the region. The President agreed, mentioned Secretary Baker's strong statement on Yugoslavia at the U.N. last week, and pledged to continue U.S. support for European Community-led efforts to bring about a cease-fire and a process of negotiations.

## Remarks at the National Italian-American Foundation Fundraising Dinner

October 5, 1991

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen, very much. Thank you, Frank. Thank all of you, and Frank Stella, thank you for those kind words. And thanks to all of you for this warm welcome for Barbara and for me. May I salute the Most Reverend Pro Nuncio, thank him for the blessing. And Nancy, congratulations to you on this dinner, chairing it, this highly successful dinner, and that lovely introduction of Barbara. Thank you very, very much.

And may I also salute Jack Valenti and the leadership of the foundation: Frank Stella, Jeno Paulucci, and Arthur Gajarsa. It's great to see members here from all three branches of the Federal Government.

And of course, a special welcome to our distinguished guests who came from Italy to join us this evening, and to the Members of Congress, Pete Domenici from the Senate and so many Members of the House with us tonight.

Let me single out one of the many, a man that I've worked with over the last few years, a man I respect, and that is the Foreign Minister, Mr. De Michelis. He's honored here tonight for his strong leadership in Italy, his support of common objectives with the United States. And I think you've chosen very, very well indeed. And I think of Italy's strong support for our nuclear arms reduction proposal. And incidentally,

today may be a day that lives in history. We had a very positive response from President Gorbachev on reducing nuclear weapons, and we have a national Italian-American dinner that might be over before midnight. So, it's one hell of a day. And if I don't stay on time, he's going to kill me.

But let me just say to the Foreign Minister and to Pete Secchia, who I might proudly say is doing his part for our country in Italy: In my view, I would say that relations between the U.S. and Italy have never been better. And I would pledge to Italy's new Ambassador, Ambassador Biancheri, that we welcome you, sir. He presented his credentials at the White House just a few days ago. And let me give you a solemn pledge from all in our administration to work closely with you to keep this great relationship on track. And it's good, and it's strong. And we all take great delight in that.

May I also salute Paul Tagliabue, the honoree, Bar's co-honoree, the man who helps give us so many memorable Sunday afternoons in front of the TV when we should be out cutting the grass. And also we share the spotlight tonight with celebrities like the guy right over my shoulder here, Ernest Borgnine, Oscar-winner, and with two fellows who give Michelangelo's David a run for his money, Sly Stallone and Joe Piscopo. And of course, that monument to Mom's cooking that swept through the White House the other evening at a state dinner, Dom DeLuise. Things haven't been the same since. *[Laughter]* Can you imagine all the people at a stuffy state dinner dealing with that guy? *[Laughter]*

And let me also salute a guy who wants to trade a star on Hollywood Boulevard for a seat in the Senate, mayor of Palm Springs, my friend, Sonny Bono. I've got one question for him: What makes Sonny think that someone from the California entertainment industry can succeed in national politics? *[Laughter]* And Sonny, a little advice for you, if you want to practice debating, skip over Connie Morella, who's sitting next to you, and go a couple of seats down with Geraldine Ferraro, and be ready. It's tough. I've been there; I know. *[Laughter]*

Just a word about your wonderful organization. Every member here knows what it means to trace your roots to Italy, to feel

that special pride in your heritage mixed with profound compassion for all of us who can never be Italian. *[Laughter]* I do think it says something special about our Nation that we can combine such reverence for the land of our ancestors with this unshakable patriotism for this country we call home. Our America is confident, openhearted, a place where our differences don't detract, but make us all richer. And we can all feel the special bond that links so many millions of Americans to the Old Country.

If America is, as I believe, and I think Sly Stallone believes from those beautiful remarks he made, the most fortunate country on Earth, we owe it to the values that your community, the Italian-American community, calls its own: values of family and faith and freedom. We must strengthen those living values in everything we do. Think of your parents and their parents, the people whose hands and hearts, sweat and sacrifice made this country what it is today. We must seek a society worthy of them, a place where our sons and daughters can raise a family, build a future, better, brighter than the one before.

And tonight's gathering is special. You kick off a year of celebration marking the 500th anniversary of Columbus' famous voyage. I want to mention this foundation's special role as coordinator of this celebration under the able leadership of our friend Frank Donatelli.

Nineteen ninety-two gives us a chance to reach back into history, to make this celebration a time of renewal. From Columbus' voyage to the settlers at Plymouth Rock to pilgrims bearing steamer trunks and filing through the portals at Ellis Island, America has always been the New World.

Luigi Barzini, the Italian-born author whose family came to this country when he was a boy, wrote that immigrants from Italy and from all lands came to America because it was, and here's the quote, "nothing more than the sum of all their different and sometimes impossible hopes."

What a wonderful definition of America: a land of impossible hopes made real, a country where one generation's dreams become the next generation's destiny.

So, as we celebrate five centuries since

Columbus' epic voyage, let us also celebrate the many contributions Americans of Italian heritage have made and will make to this proud country we share.

Once again, thank you for your hospitality to Barbara and me. And may God bless the United States, and may God bless the Republic of Italy. Thank you very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 10 p.m. at the Washington Hilton Hotel. In his remarks he referred to Frank Stella, vice chairman of the foundation; Agostino Cacciavillan, Papal Nuncio to the United States; Representative Nancy Pelosi, event chairperson;*

*Jack Valenti, foundation board member, president of the Motion Picture Association, and master of ceremonies; Jeno Paulucci, foundation chairman; Arthur Gajarsa, foundation president; Peter Secchia, U.S. Ambassador to Italy; Paul Tagliabue, NFL commissioner; entertainers Ernest Borgnine, Sylvester Stallone, Joe Piscopo, and Dom DeLuise; Representative Constance A. Morella; 1984 Democratic Vice Presidential candidate Geraldine Ferraro; and Frank J. Donatelli, chairman of the Christopher Columbus Quincentenary Jubilee Commission. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

## Letter to Congressional Leaders Transmitting a Report on Verification of Nuclear Warhead Dismantlement and Nuclear Material Controls

October 7, 1991

*Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)*

I am transmitting with this letter a report to the Congress: *Verification of Nuclear Warhead Dismantlement and Special Nuclear Material Controls*, as required by section 3151 of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1991. The report reflects the views of a Technical Advisory Committee on the subject defined by Congress: on-site monitoring techniques, inspection arrangements, and national technical means that might be useful to verify the dismantlement of nuclear warheads, a ban on the production of plutonium and highly enriched uranium for nuclear weapons, and the disposition of these materials recovered from dismantled nuclear warheads.

A distinguished panel of Government and nongovernment technical experts was assembled, according to Federal Advisory Committee Act guidelines, to serve as the Technical Advisory Committee under the requirements of the Act. They have summarized their findings in the unclassified Executive Summary, and approve the material presented in the classified full report, initially prepared by the Department of Energy. The Technical Advisory Committee had full independence in expressing their

expert opinions on these matters. The Committee was chaired by Ambassador C. Paul Robinson who served as the U.S. Ambassador to the Nuclear Testing Talks.

The mandate to the Committee in the legislation was challenging. It is difficult and potentially misleading to evaluate verification issues in isolation from the details of a potential agreement. Since there are no such agreements drafted, the adequacy of the verification measures could only be discussed in broad and general terms. That said, the report makes clear the difficulties and risks involved. As the Advisory Committee reports, the United States could not effectively verify the number of existing warheads or the amount of special nuclear material currently on hand. We likewise could not have high confidence in discovering clandestine warhead or special nuclear material stockpiles. In addition, the report notes the extreme difficulty of monitoring the many potential paths in which nuclear warheads or special nuclear material could be produced.

The Committee charter was limited to the assessment of technical verification arrangements and techniques, and therefore

their report does not address the broader national security implications of the possible outcomes defined in the legislation. The Committee was in unanimous agreement, however, that for any controls regarding warhead demilitarization or special nuclear material production, maintenance of an effective and modern nuclear deterrent must not be compromised.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

*Note: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Dan Quayle, President of the Senate.*

## Letter to Congressional Leaders Transmitting the Report on Possible Effects of a Strategic Arms Reduction Agreement on the Trident Program

October 7, 1991

*Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)*

Pursuant to section 1001 of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1990 and 1991, I am forwarding herewith the classified version of the report to the Congress on Possible Effects of a Strategic Arms Reduction Agreement on the Trident Program. Also enclosed is the unclassified version of the report.

As we negotiated the START agreement, an important requirement for us was to ensure that the number and types of strategic forces we planned to retain under the Treaty would guarantee the Nation's defense. In that respect, the Trident submarine will provide a survivable and enduring element of the U.S. strategic Triad well into the next century. Maintaining its effectiveness and survivability will be one of our most fundamental tasks. For the reasons stated in the enclosed report, I remain confident that the planned number and config-

uration of Trident submarines represent the best deployment plan.

I also recognize that providing for the Nation's defense is a dynamic requirement, necessitating constant vigilance and adjustment. For this reason, I assure you that we will continue to examine the overall sufficiency of our strategic forces and will seek those changes necessary to maintain its effectiveness and survivability.

I value the important role the Congress must play in maintaining our Nation's defenses and look forward to working closely with the Congress to ensure the viability of our strategic nuclear deterrent.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

*Note: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Dan Quayle, President of the Senate.*

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Meeting With Jonas Savimbi of Angola

October 7, 1991

The President held a very good meeting with Dr. Jonas Savimbi, President of UNITA, and reviewed with him the status of the Angola peace accords. The President

reiterated our firm commitment to the peace process and our continued interest in seeing Angola reach national reconciliation. The President also discussed the timing of

elections next year, noting that our preference remained for the elections to be held in September.

*Note: The statement referred to the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).*

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Cabinet Meeting

*October 7, 1991*

President Bush today reviewed a number of economic and legislative policy issues with his Cabinet. The President emphasized that the economy is emerging from the recession. The President said he was told by a number of business leaders this morning that the recovery is underway, but it requires nurturing.

The index of leading economic indicators, for the last 7 months, has forecast growth in the economy. Housing starts and industrial production have been increasing for 5 months, and inflation is down and declining. In addition, interest rates, both short-term and long-term, are at their lowest levels in years.

The President applauded efforts to hold down unnecessary regulations that can have the effect of limiting the creation of new

jobs and urged a redoubling of efforts to do so. He also expressed concern about the availability of credit for small businesses which have historically created most of the new jobs in the country.

The President and his Cabinet reviewed the major pieces of domestic legislation now before the Congress. The President emphasized that he would support the extension of unemployment benefits in a bill proposed by Senator Robert Dole.

The President also heard reports from his Cabinet on the crime bill, the comprehensive banking reform legislation, the national energy strategy legislation, the Surface Transportation Act, and a number of child health care programs administered by the Department of Health and Human Services.

## Statement on Efforts to Ensure the Availability of Credit

*October 8, 1991*

I have today approved a set of proposals for additional action to relieve the "credit crunch." The proposals were developed by the Treasury Department working with the bank regulators. They were reviewed and presented to me by the Economic Policy Council in response to my directive of September 27th.

There are many signs that we are emerging from the recession. Housing starts are up 26 percent since January. Industrial production has risen for 5 straight months. Our unemployment rate in September fell to 6.7 percent. In addition, the index of leading economic indicators has been steady or in-

creasing for 7 straight months.

With mortgage interest rates at their lowest levels since 1977, I want to ensure that we have sound banks making sound loans. The genius of the American economy is the entrepreneurial spirit of our people. Ensuring sound credit for economic expansion which creates new jobs is important.

I am pleased with the additional steps we are announcing today. But let me emphasize: This is not all that can or should be done. I have directed the Economic Policy Council to examine additional measures that might be taken not only to relieve the

credit crunch but also to advance our agenda for job creation and growth. We will

be meeting to review additional recommendations in the weeks ahead.

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Meeting With Prime Minister Tofilau Eti Alesana of Western Samoa October 8, 1991

The Prime Minister of Western Samoa, Tofilau Eti Alesana, met with the President for half an hour in the Oval Office today. The Prime Minister and the President discussed issues in the South Pacific and inter-

national developments. The President thanked the Prime Minister for Western Samoa's support for Operation Desert Storm and for its positive response to his nuclear initiative.

## Remarks Welcoming President Vigdís Finnbogadóttir of Iceland and Queen Sonja of Norway October 9, 1991

*President Bush.* Please be seated this sunny day in the Rose Garden. But let me just say what a pleasure it is to welcome President Vigdís Finnbogadóttir—excuse me, I have such difficulty, and I've known her a long, long time—of Iceland and, of course, Queen Sonja of Norway to Washington.

The ties between our two lands go back nearly 1,000 years to the time of the voyages of Leif Erikson and his companions, the first Europeans to set eyes on North America. This year we also celebrate the 50th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and Iceland.

On Leif Erikson Day we commemorate the voyages of Leif the Lucky, son of Iceland, grandson of Norway. His bold and adventurous spirit is an inspiration to peoples on both sides of the Atlantic who continue to work on the frontiers of knowledge in many areas. This is also a time to celebrate not only the strong relationship between our countries but also our shared commitment to the ideals of democracy and peaceful cooperation between nations. Our common views regarding a strong NATO symbolize our faith in these ideals.

In recognition of Vinland Revisited and the events surrounding this occasion of

President Vigdís and Queen Sonja's visit, I would like to present each of them with a copy of the Presidential declaration proclaiming October 9th Leif Erikson Day and then turn to them for comments.

*President Finnbogadóttir.* Mr. President, I wish to thank you very much and the people of the United States for the warm welcome that they have given us here when we come on an important mission with our Viking ships and with the *Gaia* that is to symbolize our wish to make a better world, ecologically speaking.

We are having the young children in mind, we are having the future in mind when we come with friendship, as we always do. And may I present you, on behalf of Iceland and Norway, "The Viking Discovery of America," a special edition, the first copy signed by His Majesty the King of Norway, Harald V, and myself.

*President Bush.* How beautiful a present. Thank you so very much. It's lovely. Thank you.

*Queen Sonja.* Mr. President, I am very happy also to be here in Washington on this important occasion. And I have the privilege to present to you a replica, but in silver this time, of the *Gaia*. We believe and hope it will fulfill its promise to help out



children in our world. Also like the President of Iceland said, to help the future and the future generation to be able to profit by this wonderful planet Earth. Thank you very much, Mr. President.

*President Bush.* Beautiful. Thank you.

*Queen Sonja.* And also, I hope it will strengthen our ties between Iceland, Norway, and your country, the United

States. Thank you.

*President Bush.* Well, thank you very, very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 2:55 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. The proclamation of September 27 is listed in Appendix E at the end of this volume.*

## Letter to Congressional Leaders Transmitting the Soviet Union-United States Trade Agreement October 9, 1991

*Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)*

In accordance with section 407 of the Trade Act of 1974 (Public Law 93-618, January 3, 1975; 88 Stat. 1978), as amended (the "Trade Act"), I am transmitting a copy of a proclamation that extends nondiscriminatory treatment to the products of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. As an annex to the proclamation, I also enclose the text of the "Agreement on Trade Relations Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," which I signed on June 1, 1990, including related annexes and exchanges of letters.

Implementation of this Agreement will strengthen political relations between the United States and the Soviet Union and produce economic benefits for both countries. It will also give further impetus to the progress we have made in our overall diplomatic relations over the last several years, and help to reinforce political and economic reform in the Soviet Union.

I believe that the Agreement is consistent with both the letter and the spirit of the Trade Act. It provides for mutual extension of nondiscriminatory tariff treatment, while seeking to ensure overall reciprocity of economic benefits. It includes safeguard arrangements designed to ensure that imports from the Soviet Union will not disrupt the U.S. market.

The Agreement also confirms and expands for American businesses certain basic rights in conducting commercial transac-

tions both within the Soviet Union and with Soviet nationals and business entities. Other provisions include those dealing with settlement of commercial disputes, financial transactions, and government commercial offices. Through this Agreement, the Soviet Union also undertakes obligations to modernize and upgrade very substantially its protection of all forms of intellectual property rights. Once fully implemented, the Soviet intellectual property regime will be on a par with that of our principal trading partners.

On December 29, 1990, I waived application of subsections (a) and (b) of section 402 of the Trade Act with respect to the Soviet Union. On June 3, 1991, I recommended an extension of the waiver authority in section 402. I included with this recommendation my determination that the continuation of the waiver in effect for the Soviet Union would substantially promote the objectives of section 402.

I urge that the Congress act as soon as possible to approve the "Agreement on Trade Relations Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" and the proclamation extending nondiscriminatory treatment to the products of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by enactment of a joint resolution, referred to in section 151 of the Trade Act.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

*Note: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Dan Quayle, President of the*

*Senate. The proclamation is listed in Appendix E at the end of this volume./*

## Remarks on Signing the Columbus Day Proclamation October 10, 1991

Let me salute our chairman, Frank Donatelli, and salute the members of the Commission; Gay Kingham and other members of the native American community with us; Cristobal Colón, a descendant by direct line of Christopher Columbus. Of course, all the Members of Congress we're delighted to see here. Ambassadors Zappala and Einaudi and other members of the diplomatic community, so many, and we're very pleased to see all of you here. Let me just welcome you to the White House complex. That's what this is called for various reasons. [Laughter]

It's an honor to celebrate Columbus Day. You know, we're in addition saluting the start of a year of activities saluting the 500th anniversary of the first landing in the New World. Today I will sign a special proclamation. I might add a P.S., and that P.S. will mandate that all Americans learn to pronounce a new word, "quincentenary." [Laughter] I'm trying to get it down myself.

It is not easy this week to resist the temptation to stretch the truth and try to establish some special link to the Italian community or to Spain, whose ships and sailors carried Columbus to the New World. I will resist it. I was telling that to my aides last week as we headed to our newly named auto fleet, the *Niña*, the *Pinta*, and the *Santa Maria*. [Laughter]

Emerson once said, "Every ship that comes to America got its chart from Columbus." For half a millennium, what Columbus discovered has helped chart the course

of exploration and opportunity, sailing freedom's ship to every corner of the Earth.

Today we salute a hemisphere moving toward democracy and free enterprise, aided by initiatives like the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative. It is my hope that this quincentenary will commemorate the common heritage of America and its neighbors. In addition, we salute not only Columbus' spirit of adventure but also the story of this Nation, unafraid, ever-changing, challenging the unknown, devoted to the blessings of liberty and the principles that unite all Americans.

Columbus Day celebrates the idea that we do not value diversity merely because America is strong. America is strong because we value diversity. In that spirit, it is now my privilege to sign a proclamation designating October 14, 1991, as Columbus Day.

Thank you all very, very much for being in attendance.

*Note: The President spoke at 10:30 a.m. in the Indian Treaty Room at the Old Executive Office Building. In his remarks, he referred to Frank J. Donatelli, Chairman of the Christopher Columbus Quincentenary Jubilee Commission; Gay Kingham, executive director of the American Indian Congress; U.S. Ambassador to Spain Joseph Zappala; and Ambassador Luigi R. Einaudi, U.S. Permanent Representative to the Organization of American States. The proclamation is listed in Appendix E at the end of this volume.*

## Remarks Following Discussions With President Rafael Calderón of Costa Rica

October 10, 1991

*President Bush.* It's a great honor and pleasure to meet with you today at the White House. And I warmly remember my visits to Costa Rica as Vice President in 1986 and then as President in 1989. I will never ever forget the cheers, the genuine enthusiasm that the Costa Rican people showed for the United States of America when our flag was displayed there in that stadium. I'll never forget it. I know Barbara was touched by the warm hospitality extended by you and Mrs. Calderón and the Costa Rican people at your inauguration last May. There can be no doubt, Mr. President, that the people of Costa Rica and of the United States have a deep and abiding friendship, one for the other.

Costa Rica and the United States stand shoulder-to-shoulder for common values and aspirations. Our friendship is rooted in shared commitments to human rights, economic and social freedom, democracy, and peaceful foreign relations.

Costa Rica stands tall as a model of courage. For most of your lifetime, Mr. President, Costa Rica's neighbors have suffered from violence and instability, often under dictatorship. Political violence, border conflicts, death squads, subversion by Marxist guerrillas, all of these have scarred Central America and the Isthmus. Through all of this, without an army, Costa Rica stood fast. Costa Rica is a rock of stability in Central America because its people believe in permanent things: the sanctity of the person and of the family, the centrality of human freedom.

Almost half a century ago, the Costa Rican people made a civilized political and social compact. Costa Ricans strictly limited the power of government to interfere with civil liberties. Against all threats, domestic and external, Costa Ricans have kept faith with that promise. Costa Rica practices robust competitive politics, peacefully transferring power from party to party, from person to person. With its independent judiciary and limited public security forces,

Costa Rica is a model civil society based on the rule of law.

Your country keeps faith with its international commitments, even when doing so is costly. Through all of the Central American turmoil during the 1980's, Costa Rica gave safe haven to refugees and respected universal human rights.

Mr. President, we strongly support your efforts, courageous efforts, to renew Costa Rica's economic strength. You've put together a very effective economic team. You've shown personal courage and impressive skills of leadership in advancing such reforms as price deregulation, privatization of government agencies, and tax reform. And I applaud these efforts which will help assure prosperity for the Costa Rican people.

And yes, I know that sacrifice by the people of Costa Rica is involved here. But I also know that the difficult economic decisions that you have taken will pay off for the wonderful people of Costa Rica.

I encourage you to continue to exercise the leadership necessary to complete the reform effort. We are recognizing that leadership today in making available \$24 million in economic support funds. I promise to work unceasingly with you to let the liberating power of free markets help your country and mine and our neighbors as well.

Already we're working together to promote the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative for expanded trade and investment in the hemisphere. And I thank you, sir, for your very strong support of this initiative. The framework agreement for trade and investment between our countries will join with other accords to create new jobs and improve living conditions throughout the Americas. Our common efforts will hasten the day when the Americas will become a flourishing trade area from the Arctic Circle to the Strait of Magellan.

Mr. President, Costa Rica is a haven of peace, and Costa Ricans have always helped

to resolve conflicts in your region. Today, we see the best of the Costa Rican tradition in your efforts to help bring about a just and peaceful solution to El Salvador's civil conflict. Fundamentally, all these efforts have been possible because Costa Ricans have labored for decades to cultivate the habits of civil society, habits of freedom and responsibility. Because of this abiding faith, Costa Rica is assisting in a new birth of freedom, prosperity, and peace for all of Central America.

Thank you again, Mr. President, my friend, thank you for your visit. And may God bless the people of Costa Rica.

*President Calderón.* Mr. President, Mr. Secretary, we are extremely thrilled today. I must recall that during an entire lifetime we have had the best relations of friendship, solidarity, and cooperation with the United States. It is not in vain that the United States is the oldest and most solid democracy in the Americas, and Costa Rica is the oldest and most solid democracy in Latin America.

On a personal note, I am so very pleased with the relationship of affection which binds you, Barbara, and your entire family to me and my entire family. And also on a personal note, just as you and I are standing here, my father stood here 51 years ago with President Roosevelt, strengthening the ties of friendship and solidarity binding the United States and Costa Rica.

As one governing a Latin American country, I have come here to express my thanks for your idea and your program of the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative. I have affirmed and I repeat that the history of the economic relations of Latin America and the United States will be divided into two phases, pre- and post-Enterprise for the Americas Initiative.

We have come here not out of a desire to ask the United States for economic assistance but rather armed with a desire to come over the next few years to a free trade agreement with the United States which will increase the number of jobs, the amount of investment, the amount of exports, and the amount of wealth and employment of our country. We hope that by the first quarter of 1992 that we will be eligible for the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative facilities, having by then reduced considerably our external debt and being ready by that time to take advantage of a free trade agreement.

Thank you once more, President Bush, for your support, your backing, your warmth, and your affection toward us and toward the entire Costa Rican people. Thank you once again for the cooperation of you and of your Government in the various international organizations in which the United States is represented.

Thank you once again for your cooperation in terms of equipment for our fight against drug trafficking which is a major concern of both of us. We are bound to be the first line of defense of American youth against drug trafficking, as well as the first line of defense of our own youth.

Thank you, finally, for continuing this endless, ceaseless struggle that the United States and Costa Rica have been waging and continue to wage for freedom and democracy in the world.

Thank you once again, President Bush.

*Note: President Bush spoke at 1:18 p.m. on the South Lawn at the White House. President Calderón spoke in Spanish, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. Prior to their remarks, the two Presidents met privately in the Oval Office.*

## Exchange With Reporters on the Supreme Court Nomination of Clarence Thomas

October 10, 1991

*Q.* Mr. President, the conservatives say you're not doing enough to help Thomas. They say you're not helping Thomas enough.

*The President.* Let me repeat it because some are a little hard of hearing. I support him 100 percent. No fear of contradiction. I am strongly for him. I'm simply not going to inject myself into what's going on in the Senate. I have very strong convictions about it, and I'll share them with you at the appropriate time. But as for now, you put me down and the White House down and our administration down as 100 percent for Clarence Thomas, without wavering in any way.

And let's see the Senate get on with its business in a fair fashion and get this matter resolved. And when it's done in that manner, I am absolutely convinced that he will be confirmed and will be on the Supreme Court because, in my view, he de-

serves to be there. And let the hearing go forward. But I don't want to get in—I don't want to elaborate anymore because I have very strong feelings. And I've said about all I want to say about it right now.

I had a good visit with him yesterday. And I didn't see how my views supporting him could get any stronger, but they certainly did.

*Q.* They said you should go on TV.

*The President.* What?

*Q.* They say you should make a TV address, and you should denounce the Biden committee.

*Q.* Is it a smear campaign?

*The President.* Come on, Rita [Rita Beamish, Associated Press]. [Laughter]

*Note: This exchange occurred at approximately 1:30 p.m. on the South Lawn at the White House, following the remarks of President Bush and President Rafael Calderón of Costa Rica.*

## Remarks to the Religious Alliance Against Pornography

October 10, 1991

Let me welcome all of you to the White House. Good afternoon. And I'm pleased to see your chairman, Dr. Jerry Kirk; His Eminence the Cardinal, Cardinal Bernardin, who is out in the forefront of this good work, the Archbishop of Chicago; Sarah Blankin, the chairperson of the National Women's Leadership Task Force; and Erv Duggan, FCC Commissioner. Welcome, all, to the White House.

It's a pleasure to take part in the alliance's national conference because we've all come here out of deep concern for one thing, and that is the well-being of our neighbors, our families, and particularly, I think, our children. Your group incorporates men and women of all faiths, all walks of life, and yet you stand united in your

commitment to the dignity of human life, the integrity of the community, and our moral responsibility to our children. I believe that no matter who you are or where you live, we all want a better Nation, a better world for our children and grandchildren.

And most Americans feel very strongly that obscenity is not a part of that better world. It abuses, it degrades, and insults both women and men. We've all heard the stories: Innocent children drawn into the world of pornography, victimized by crimes whose consequences are beyond imagination. This horror must stop.

Our administration is committed to the fullest prosecution of obscenity and child pornography crimes. And as I have stated

before, and as I'm sure you will hear from my very able Acting Attorney General, Bill Barr, who's doing a superb job, this will remain a priority. We've made tremendous progress at the Federal level through such Federal initiatives as Project Postporn, in which we have virtually eliminated that horrible mail order obscenity business. Imagine, the indiscriminate mailing of hardcore pornography into American homes. And I know nobody in this room would want their children to have opened the mail the day that that kind of filth arrived. In the last 6 months alone, the Department of Justice has obtained major indictments and convictions against some of the largest hardcore pornography producers and distributors in this country.

These successes would not have been possible without the leadership of the Department of Justice and then the U.S. attorneys in the cities like Dallas and Birmingham and Tallahassee and Concord, New Hampshire, and over here in Alexandria, Virginia, and the continued efforts of the Postal Inspection Service, the FBI, and the U.S. Customs Service.

Let me add, our prosecutors need more help in prosecuting sexual violence and child abuse cases. And that's why the administration's crime bill includes new provisions to protect women and children from violence and abuse. Our crime bill is tough. We need a tough bill. Our crime bill, it's the one we need. It's been there too long, and I want to see the Congress move on it and act on it and do, in this instance, what the American people want.

In the next few weeks, the House, the House of Representatives, will consider what the Democratic leadership calls a crime bill. Sadly, rather than a call to arms in the war against crime, that bill, in the House I'm talking about now, maps out a retreat from current law. The bill handcuffs police and prosecutors in their efforts to fight crime instead of the criminals who commit the crimes.

And so, I really didn't want to miss this opportunity to come over here and ask you for your help in turning the crime bill around. Let your Representatives in Congress know, and know now, that it is time for a tough crime bill, one that cares about

the victims of crime more than it does the criminals.

We also need something more, for the Federal system cannot stand alone. The legislative branch can pass strong laws, and the executive branch can present cases for prosecution in the courts, but the rest lies in the hands of decent men and women. And whether it's the jury members representing their community for a just society—and by the way, we've piled up convictions because of juries standing on the side of community standards—or it's as parents instilling values in our children, time and again, so many things come down to family. And I firmly believe that we must do everything we can to support the American family. You know what I'm talking about. You just have an inner sense of what's right and wrong and that moral compass that delineates between what is tolerant and what is intolerable.

We all want, everyone wants, I'm sure, a decent America. As de Tocqueville observed, "America is great because she is good, and if America ceases to be good, America will cease to be great." And without the commitment of religious and moral leaders like yourselves to preserve the good, America will fail to achieve the great.

So, let me leave you with this challenge, this exhortation: Please keep up the good fight. Please continue to educate Americans about the threat that obscenity and child pornography pose to our Nation. And together I am absolutely convinced that we can build a better world for these kids.

We're working this, as you know, in the international scene. One of the joys I take about what's happened as the Soviets now have come forward to accept many of our challenges in reducing nuclear weapons, one of the great joys I take is to think what this means to, in my case, our grandchildren, most of you all, children—[laughter]—but it's a wonderfully exciting thing. But that's just part of the equation. So much of it relates to what happens right here at home. And that, of course, is where each and every one of you come in.

So, thank you for being here. I'm preaching to the choir, I know, but thank you very, very much. [Laughter] Thank you, and God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 2:16 p.m. in Building.  
Room 450 of the Old Executive Office

## Remarks at the Andrew Mellon Dinner October 10, 1991

Your Majesty, Queen Sonja; Vice President and Mrs. Quayle; my old friend President Spadolini; members of the diplomatic corps and trustees of this marvelous gallery; Mr. Justice; members of the Cabinet; and distinguished guests all. First, I seem to do this every time I appear here, but let me rethank Paul Mellon. Every couple of years Paul is gracious enough to invite me over to dinner at his house. And if home is where the heart is, then this is truly Paul Mellon's home.

And I'm delighted that Queen Sonja is with us tonight. It's a shame that King Juan Carlos of Spain could not stay for this dinner. But I discovered why, I just found out why. After a quick sneak preview of all the wonderful items from around the world in the 1492 exhibit, His Majesty had to get back to see if anything was left in Spain's museums. *[Laughter]*

And I also want to pay tribute to our Chief of Protocol, Joe Reed, who's with us. This is one of his last events. And after 2½ years of outstanding service, I don't know about the rest of you, but for Joe, these qualify as casual clothes. *[Laughter]* Having said all that, we're going to miss him.

And Barbara and I, for both of us, it's a great honor to be with you tonight to celebrate the legacy of Mr. Andrew Mellon and others who have built and supported this magnificent National Gallery of Art. In a fitting way, two important anniversary celebrations merge into one. We mark the 50th anniversary of the opening of the gallery and its stately West Building, and in just 2 days, we begin a year-long observance leading to the 500th anniversary of Columbus' voyage of discovery.

Every visit to this gallery is an act of discovery, for art reveals emotions, insights, and experiences that reflect the unity of human experience and aspiration. Art flows

from mysterious creative forces. To produce great art is to give birth to a kind of truth. And that is why Dante called art, as it were, "the grandchild of God."

In the United States, we trace our roots to every nation on Earth. And nations from around the globe have helped the gallery assemble the unprecedented exhibition of masterpieces that opens this week, "Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration." And we thank everybody that cooperated on this, everyone from abroad, everyone here in this country who has worked so cooperatively to make this exhibition so spectacular.

We also gather to express our gratitude, I'd say our Nation's gratitude, to Mr. Andrew Mellon. An immigrant's son, he devoted energy, passion, and patience to improve himself and the country he loved. And he was a complete man. His life and his legacy prove that the most truly successful Americans dream the most generous of dreams. Mr. Andrew Mellon gave us a daughter and son in his own mold and image. Ailsa Mellon Bruce and Paul Mellon inherited their father's appreciation for fine art and his generous spirit. And as Andrew Mellon gave us this magnificent building of John Russell Pope's design, so Paul and his late sister gave the Nation I.M. Pei's path-breaking East Building. And it's a great pleasure to see Mr. Pei here with us tonight as well.

Like their father, Ailsa and Paul poured great talent and resources into assembling collections of art for the National Gallery. And Paul, sir, as long as people live in this Capital City, they will draw pleasure and inspiration from the Mellon family's gifts.

Every year some 7 million visitors, our dear friend Carter Brown tells me, open their eyes to the National Gallery's masterpieces. Some study and practice art through the gallery's educational programs, but the

gallery beckons more than professionals and experts. It invites all the millions who tour its halls to become apprentices to the masters. For generations to come, this gallery will open windows into the minds and souls of Leonardo and Picasso and Whistler and Renoir and Turner and Dürer and hundreds more. The gallery's great works of art make yesterday's dreams alive and palpable, and they stir the creative energy of thousands' tomorrows.

Paul Mellon once quipped, "What this country needs is a good 5-cent reverie." And I think we all can agree that he has

given us that and an awful lot more.

Thank you and may God bless you all and our great country. Thank you very, very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 9:06 p.m. at the West Building, National Gallery of Art. In his remarks, the President referred to Queen Sonja of Norway; Giovanni Spadolini, President of the Italian Senate; and J. Carter Brown, director of the National Gallery of Art. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

## Exchange With Reporters on the Supreme Court Nomination of Clarence Thomas

October 11, 1991

*The President.* I just want to deviate from the rules of keeping this open just for a photo op to make a statement about the proceedings on the Hill.

In my view, Judge Thomas made a very, very powerful and convincing statement. This decent and honorable man has been smeared. And his statement was strong. But, you know, the judge was wrong in one way. He said grave and irreparable damage cannot be corrected. The damage is grave, but his innate decency and honor are such that even these charges will not do irreparable damage to him.

The American people are fair. They are basically fair. And they know character when they see it. And today they saw a decent, honest man speaking from the heart. And he should be confirmed. In my view, he will be confirmed. And in the end, he will get his good name back.

Thank you very much. And now——

*Q.* Mr. President, are you——

*The President.* I'm not going to take any questions. I've said all I want to say about it.

*Q.* Are you interested in hearing Ms. Hill's comments?

*The President.* I am interested in the whole process. And I've said exactly what I think, and I'm not going to change my mind. I saw honor and decency there. And I know it when I see it, and so do the American people.

Thank you all very much.

*Q.* Do you think he's going to withdraw?

*The President.* I've answered all the questions I'm going to answer. Thank you.

Let there be no doubt.

*Note: The exchange began at 11:34 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House during a photo session with Secretary General Manfred Woerner of NATO. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*



## Message to the Senate Returning Without Approval the Emergency Unemployment Compensation Act of 1991

October 11, 1991

*To the Senate of the United States:*

I am returning herewith without my approval S. 1722, the "Emergency Unemployment Compensation Act of 1991." I would gladly sign into law responsible legislation that does not threaten the economic recovery and its associated job creation, a fact that members of my Administration and I have repeatedly made clear. We have worked diligently with Members of Congress to encourage them to adopt a well-crafted alternative program of extended unemployment benefits that is paid for, as required under the bipartisan budget agreement. Unfortunately, the Congress has rejected this alternative and ignored my call for passage of measures that will increase the Nation's competitiveness, productivity, and growth.

The Administration is deeply concerned about the needs of the unemployed and their families. It is essential that we take responsible actions to ensure that the economic recovery continues and strengthens, creating new employment opportunities.

If a bill providing unemployment benefits in a responsible manner—financed under the budget agreement—reached my desk, it would be signed immediately so we could provide real additional benefits to the unemployed.

S. 1722 would effectively destroy the integrity of the bipartisan budget agreement and put into place a poorly designed, unnecessarily expensive program that would significantly increase the Federal deficit. Enactment of S. 1722 would signal the failure of budget discipline, which would have a negative effect on financial markets that could threaten economic recovery and lead

to increased unemployment. This legislation would not well serve the unemployed or our Nation's taxpayers.

S. 1722 violates essential elements of last year's bipartisan budget agreement. It does not include offsets for costs that the Congress projects at \$6.5 billion during fiscal years 1992–1995. Instead, it simply adds this cost to the Federal deficit by requiring that the provisions of the bill be treated as "emergency requirements" designated by the President and the Congress under the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985. This breaches the budget agreement by denying me the independent authority to determine when an emergency exists, thereby removing a key safeguard for enforcing budget discipline.

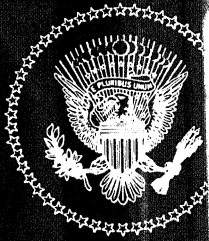
In addition, S. 1722 is substantively flawed. It would establish a new, temporary Federal program providing three tiers of extended unemployment benefits. This complex, cumbersome system could slow reemployment and would result in benefit delays, payment inaccuracies, and escalating administrative costs. Moreover, the bill inappropriately abandons the measure of unemployment that has historically been used to trigger extended benefits, substituting an overly broad measure that is not based upon the target group—insured workers.

The Administration will continue to support alternative legislation that effectively addresses the needs of the unemployed while also maintaining the budget discipline that is imperative to the prospects of future employment and economic growth.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
October 11, 1991.

# Photographic Portfolio





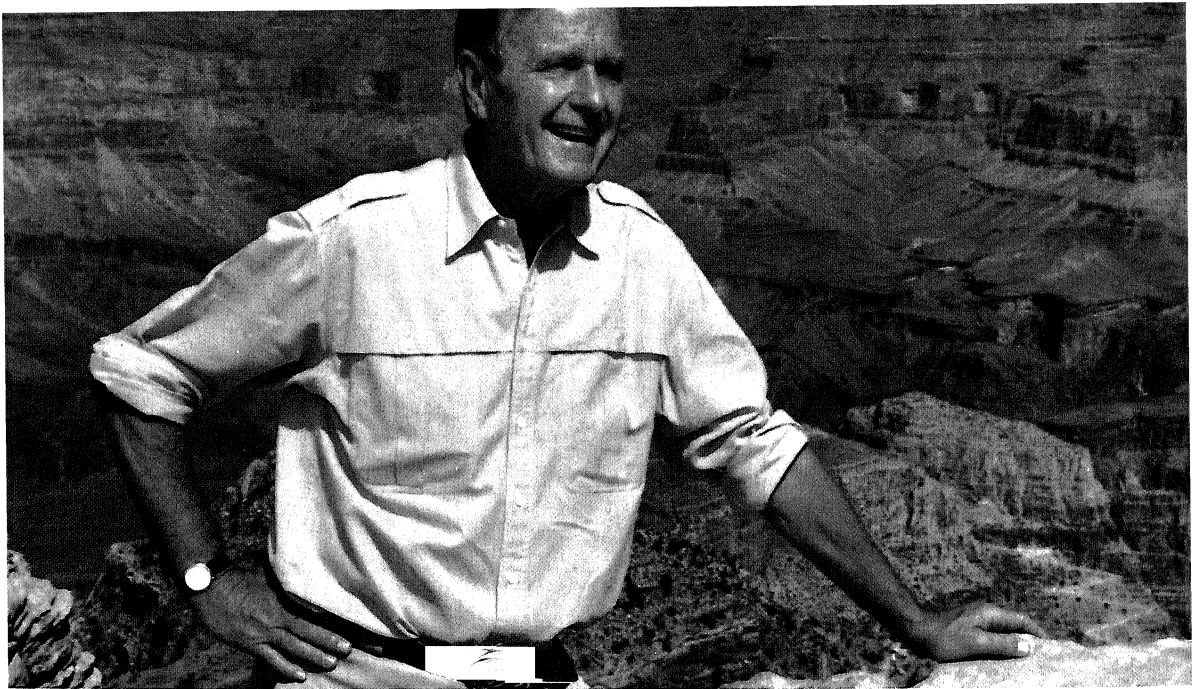
**Overleaf:** At a construction site for the Green Line/Interstate 105 project in Los Angeles, CA, September 19. **Left:** At Camp David, MD, November 15. **Below left:** Celebrating Independence Day in Marshfield, MO, July 4. **Right:** Touring the Fort Hayes Metropolitan Education Center with Secretary of Education Lamar Alexander in Columbus, OH, November 25. **Below:** With United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar and former American hostages in the Oval Office, December 12.



**Overleaf:** At a construction site for the Green Line/Interstate 105 project in Los Angeles, CA, September 19. **Left:** At Camp David, MD, November 15. **Below left:** Celebrating Independence Day in Marshfield, MO, July 4. **Right:** Touring the Fort Hayes Metropolitan Education Center with Secretary of Education Lamar Alexander in Columbus, OH, November 25. **Below:** With United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar and former American hostages in the Oval Office, December 12.







*Left:* Hiking on the Kaibab Trail at the Grand Canyon, September 18. *Below left:* With Chief of Staff Samuel Skinner in the Oval Office, December 16. *Right:* Touring the Tropicana plant in Bradenton, FL, December 3. *Below:* Meeting with President Boris Yeltsin of Russia at the Kremlin in Moscow, July 30.





**Left:** With Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas in the Oval Office, October 9. **Below:** Signing the Drug Abuse Resistance Education Day proclamation in the Oval Office, September 12. **Right:** At Walker's Point in Kennebunkport, ME, July 11. **Overleaf:** Laying wreaths for the 50th anniversary observance at the U.S.S. Arizona Memorial in Pearl Harbor, HI, December 7.









## Exchange With Reporters at Holly Hills Country Club in Ijamsville, Maryland

October 13, 1991

*The President.* Sunday. I'm out here to relax Sunday afternoon. Like a lot of the rest of the country, I've been glued to the television, and needless to say, I thought Judge Thomas put it in great perspective yesterday. And my heart aches for him and his family. But I saw a strong man, a man that has my full confidence, a man that belongs on the Court, and I believe he will make it. I noticed that the country appears to be strongly supporting him. So, I'm very pleased.

### Clarence Thomas Confirmation Hearings

*Q.* Do you think Anita Hill is lying?

*The President.* I just have total confidence in Clarence Thomas.

*Q.* What about the whole circus, sir?

*Q.* Mr. President, do you have any evidence that Anita Hill is lying?

*The President.* —listening to the testimony, and I have total confidence in Judge Thomas.

*Q.* Judge Thomas said yesterday that he'd been killed by this. Do you think under the circumstances that he really should still be on the Supreme Court?

*The President.* Yes, I think so. And thank God he's decided to put up with even more abuse and go through more of this.

The American people know fairness when they see it, and they know that this process is ridiculous. And they know it's unfair at the last minute to have a charge like this leveled against a man that served—been confirmed four times by the Senate. I think it's outrageous. But the American people are fair. They appear to be supporting Judge Thomas. I certainly am supporting him, and I see no reason to waver one iota. And when he said, "Yes, I'm going to stay in there, they're not going to drive me out of this," I think that said something to the American people, too.

*Q.* What about your own selective process? Do you really know the people you select?

*The President.* Yes. In this instance, I

know him well.

*Q.* And were you aware——

*The President.* Absolutely not. This is a last-minute charge that came out that nobody was aware of. It came out after the hearings were concluded, after he'd testified. And of course, I didn't know that.

*Q.* Sir, do you agree that he's under attack from special interest groups?

*The President.* I just leave it that he's got my full confidence. And I was rather persuaded by some of those statements, but I'm not going to go into all that right here.

*Q.* What about the process, the whole confirmation process?

*Q.* What do you mean you were persuaded by them?

*The President.* That's all I'm going to say about it, Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International]. You can use your own imagination on it. I have total confidence in Jack Danforth, for example. He knows this man. I know this man, people that do have total confidence in his honor and his integrity. And so, let the process go on. I'm trying to stay out of the process except to express my full support.

I think when it's over I owe the American people my suggestions as to how to improve this process, and I will do my level best to provide——

*Q.* How about your own process?

*The President.* —such as leaking Federal, FBI reports. We're going to have a new process on that, I can tell you.

*Q.* Are you going to hold those tighter, Mr. President?

*The President.* I'll talk about that at an appropriate time. And our process is fine because we've selected a very, very good man. And a lot of attacks are on him, but it hasn't wavered one iota.

*Q.* What about the racial overtones of all of this?

*The President.* I don't like it. I don't like it. I think he, when he put his finger on kind of stereotypical images, I think that hit home to a lot of people.

Q. Some critics say that this could all have been avoided if there would be more moderate people—

*The President.* Oh, yes, those who don't want a judge like Judge Thomas on the Court have said that. But I'm the President. I know what the Constitution says. And I will appoint those who I think are the best and who will interpret the Constitution. And I believe that's what Judge Thomas will do. Some want to give him a litmus test on individual issues. We know that. You know that. I know that. The American people know that. And when those litmus tests are either not addressed or when they're not passed, some groups are going to rant and rave and go after him with anything they can bring to bear on the process.

Look, nobody is naive in all of this.

Q. You don't think the American people should have known what was in that FBI report, is that what you're saying?

*The President.* No, I think FBI reports, because they contain raw allegations, unfinished intelligence, should not be released to the American people. And the release of them violated the rules of the United States Senate.

Q. Should they be held accountable?

Q. Did you watch Professor Hill's testimony, Mr. President, and if so, what did you think?

*The President.* I saw some of it. And I'm going to stand strongly in support of my nominee. I believe he deserves to be confirmed.

Q. Then you think that she's not telling the truth.

*The President.* I believe that Judge Thomas is telling the truth all out. Yes, he is.

Q. What should happen to those who released the FBI reports?

Q. He says he would never have accepted if he'd known this was going to happen.

Q. What should happen to those who released those FBI reports?

*The President.* Well, in a sense, that's a matter for the Senate. But it also comes under the heading of my business inasmuch as the FBI is part of the executive branch.

Q. He says that he would never have accepted your nomination if he'd realized he

would go through this. Do you feel any regret or feel any guilt—

*The President.* No.

Q. —that you subjected him to this?

*The President.* No, and I think that what he's saying is he never dreamed that this—his family and him would be brutalized in this manner.

You know, I remember talking to him at Kennebunkport about this, saying, "You know, you're going to go through a tough ordeal here." I remember the day well and the conversation well, sitting back in our little bedroom back there. I took him back alone and discussed this with him. But I don't think either one of us dreamed how bad it would be.

You know, there's something wrong when you parade this kind of charge in front of the American people and with this definition. There's ways to consider this kind of thing.

Q. Does that mean you don't take this charge seriously, Mr. President?

*The President.* It means I think the system—I agree with what Senator Danforth said about it. And I think most Senators feel a certain uncleanness about all of this right now. I'm pretty sure they do.

Q. Do you take the charge seriously of sexual harassment?

*The President.* Of course, I would. But I also know what the law says about sexual harassment, and I also think that everybody should take the charge seriously. But that doesn't mean I'm not a little like the American people when I say, hey, these hearings went on for—the nomination was made 106 or 107 days ago, and if this was as egregious, the charge as egregious as is now leveled, how come the normal behavior for 10 years? How come the last-minute charge brought before the American people? I mean, I don't understand that.

Q. I know, that's why—

*The President.* Well, they could well be, but 10 years is a long time, Helen. And you have 105 days of purgatory for this man. So I don't—

Q. Do you think that he would have had a clear sailing had these charges not—

*The President.* Well, no, I don't think so. I think that many Senators—for philosophical

reasons—not for ethical reasons, not for reasons of character but for philosophical reasons—had said they wouldn't vote for him. No, I don't think it would have been clear sailing. I think he would have passed, though, yes.

*Q.* Do you think the statute of limitations should be over on this even if he did do these things?

*The President.* Of course, it's over. But that doesn't—she's not bringing a legal case, as I understand it. The rules are very clear. You heard the testimony, and I heard the testimony. Sexual harassment is bad, but I have a funny feeling here that this is not all that's at stake here. And like the American people, I'm troubled by this, very troubled by it, but strongly in support of Judge Thomas.

*Q.* You don't think he ever thought about the abortion case in any sense?

*The President.* I just stand by the testimony, Helen.

*Q.* Sir, since Bork, these types of hearings have gotten dirtier and dirtier.

*The President.* They have.

*Q.* What can be changed?

*The President.* Well, maybe that's something good that will come because I think the people will demand of the Senate something that's a little more proprietary than this.

*Q.* Are you going to recommend changes?

*The President.* Yes, I will. But I don't know how—

*Q.* How do you influence that?

*The President.* Well, I've got a good way of talking to the American people and asking for their support when I feel strongly about something.

*Q.* Mr. President, several times you've said now that more is at stake than her testimony. Could you be more specific about what you think is going on, about what's behind—

*The President.* No. I've stated exactly what I want to say on this. Nice try, though. You want to get me into every fight up there, and I don't want to be in it. I don't want to—

*Q.* Well, you are.

*The President.* No, I'm not.

*Q.* This is why you're standing here.

*The President.* Well, you were yelling at

me. [Laughter] I didn't want to leave you standing here. I didn't invite you out here. You don't have to—go on home and leave me, let me play golf on Sunday. That's fine with me, Helen. And I think the American people would understand that, too, that you've got your job to do, and I've got mine to do.

*Q.* Come on, you'd be lonely without us. [Laughter]

*The President.* No, I must admit, if I didn't see you on the first tee, which I hope you won't be on, I'd be lonely without you. I agree. [Laughter]

*Q.* Is Gates going to make it on Friday?

*The President.* Just don't put me under oath on that.

*Q.* How about the last one?

*The President.* The last tee? Depending on how I do. If I'm grumpy and have been shanking them—

*Q.* Go home. You don't want to be out here. It's too cold.

*Q.* We came to tell you what's going on in the hearings.

*The President.* Yes, you can, but I brought a little set so I can tune in from hole to hole out there.

*Q.* Have you really?

*The President.* Yes.

*Q.* You did really, a TV set?

*The President.* No, it's a little radio.

*Q.* —saw it?

*The President.* No, I've watched some of it, not all of it, some of it.

*Q.* Were you surprised that he didn't watch it?

*The President.* No, I think, I certainly understand that. I certainly understand that. Who wants to hear his family and good name castigated over and over again and dragged through the mud?

*Q.* Have you talked to him at all since—

*The President.* I had him down to the White House the other day; not since that, no.

Any others? Because this is the last shot at me. This is the last shot.

*Q.* Any plans to talk to him today?

*The President.* No plans, but it could happen. But I have no plans, no.

### *Middle East Peace Conference*

*Q.* What are the chances of a Middle East peace conference by the end of the month?

*The President.* Now we're talking substance, foreign relations here. Let's see. I don't know how to rate the odds on that. But I do know that most perspective participants want to go to the table, and that's quite different than it used to be. So, I'm somewhat hopeful that Secretary Baker can move this forward now. It's come a long way, we've forgotten that, a long, long way.

*Q.* How about a—

*The President.* One more question, this counts as a full-scale press conference. [Laughter] It does. Come on, this has been 15, how many questions?

*Q.* This is the 19th hole.

*The President.* No, it's not. [Laughter]

*Q.* You're a nice and accessible President. How—

*The President.* Thank you, thank you, Helen. Did you get that, did you guys pick that up? [Laughter]

### *Nuclear Test Ban*

*Q.* How about the summit on the nuclear test ban?

*The President.* With particular emphasis on nice. What?

*Q.* Will there be any meeting with Gorbachev, maybe in Rome at the NATO meeting, or anything like that? Nuclear test ban?

*The President.* Oh, there is no decision taken on the NATO meeting. And there will be a lot of communication with the Soviets on the proposals, and then I think, at some time, a meeting with the Soviet leaders might be appropriate.

*Q.* —like Malta?

*The President.* Come on. [Laughter] You're having this developed that these Republics are having an increasingly large say in the—and want to have an increasingly large say. So, it's a little early to say exactly how such a meeting would be put together.

*Q.* So, it could be more than Gorbachev?

*The President.* Well, I think you're finding, that I'm finding that these Republic leaders are wanting more and more say over nuclear weapons in their territory.

*Q.* They're coming closer to a union treaty, it looks like, on—

*The President.* Well, I think that would be

a good thing. And it's mainly on the economic side. But as I've long stated, to give the economic support, the humanitarian support, food support, why, they have to sort out these differences between them.

### *Clarence Thomas Confirmation Hearings*

*Q.* Mr. President, on Thomas, you saw a lot of these charges in the '88 campaign leveled at Dan Quayle. What goes through your mind when you see this again?

*The President.* What goes through my mind is I wish the political process weren't quite this ugly. Because how do you attract really first-class people like Clarence Thomas if they feel that in one way or another they're going to be brutalized, and if they feel that, even at the last minute after the hearings are closed and there's been 105 days since the nomination, that somebody can come forward with the charge? I think it makes it hard.

On the other hand, I like to look at the glass half-full, and maybe out of this some procedural changes will be made that will protect the family, for example, and make it easier. But you ask what I think: I think it's pretty rough, that public service can be pretty ugly. And a lot of good men and women say, "I don't need this. I don't want to serve my country if this is what it takes, if my family has a chance at being destroyed by the process."

So, that's one of the downsides, I think, the enormous downsides of all of this.

### *Political Campaigns*

*Q.* Is that true also of political campaigns?

*The President.* Yes.

*Q.* That there may be a "take no prisoners" attitude?

*The President.* Yes. That's true of a lot of things about public life.

*Q.* Democrats felt that the Willie Horton ads didn't raise the tenor of campaigning in '88.

*The President.* Yes. They have a point, but they missed the point of Willie Horton. It wasn't anything to do with race. It was to do with murderers being let out of jail to commit crimes again. And that's all it was about.

But you're right. The opposition picked

up on that and tried to make something ugly of it. And so, it's too bad. I mean, I think those things are difficult. But the issue was a very valid issue. It had to do with what kind of furlough policy you wanted.

Q. Well, do you think it tainted your campaign?

*The President.* Some think so. I don't think so. I think the American people saw right through it and agreed with me in terms of these furloughs. They don't want a man that is put into jail, supposedly without parole, being released, and that's what happened, to go out and commit another crime in another State. And that's all it was about.

But, yes, when it's picked up and made into something racist and nasty, I think that's too bad. But I don't think that has anything to do with what's happening today. I think this thing is so much—that was on an issue, and I don't think anybody—

Q. Well, what is the crux then? What do you think is the basis of the opposition?

*The President.* To what?

Q. To what?

Q. To this nomination that you've made.

*The President.* Well, I'd just let every American make up his or her own mind as to what the crux is. Many have stated it: philosophical opposition. Many of the judges have. I thought that Joe Biden had a comment like that. I understand that. He has every right to do that; he's a Senator. But some to get their way will go the ultimate in trying to drag someone through the mud and—

Q. —campaign?

*The President.* What do you mean by that?

Q. Will you counterattack when they attack—

*The President.* Sure, when they go after me, I'll go right back after them, if I decide to run. And I told you I will let you know when the candidacy becomes formal. I don't want to get out ahead of all these legal arrangements.

Q. —could do it now.

*The President.* No, but it's too small a crowd. If I do that, I want a great big crowd. And I don't want the golf course in the background, maybe. [Laughter] Although this is Sunday—

Q. That could make—

*The President.* No, that's all right. But this is Sunday. A lot of Americans watched the Ryder Cup, and now they can see the other extreme out here, about to tee it up.

But this idea of changing your life, not showing up at golf because I might be afraid you'd ask me questions on the golf course—not for me. Look, I'm going to get my exercise the way I want. I work hard. I'm going to continue to work hard. And the fact that this is a nice setting out here—the only regret I've got is they dragged you all the way out from Washington. But let it be said, nobody had to show up.

Q. Are you going to play with Mrs. Bush today?

*The President.* She's playing in another very important match right behind us today.

Q. We wanted to show up. We didn't know that you were going to hold a news conference.

*The President.* I want credit for a full news conference.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President. This is a full one.

*The President.* This is it. I may not—it is a full one. Anymore, because I'm leaving. I want everybody to have exhausted—domestic policy, you said? The education program? Yes, I'm very much interested in that. And we will continue to push for America 2000. And I hope we can get a good crime bill.

Q. —are you sorry you vetoed the unemployment?

*The President.* And I hope we can get a good transportation bill. And how I'd like—

#### *Unemployment Compensation Bill*

Q. —are you sorry you vetoed the unemployment?

*The President.* No. Because now I'd like to get a good unemployment compensation bill that is not going to break the backs of those who are employed. I'm concerned about the unemployed, and I'm concerned about those families in America that are having difficulty making ends meet. And what we don't need to do is get this deficit higher and, thus, put the burden on the

back of the middle class or lower middle class, people that have jobs and are barely making ends meet.

So, I want a good unemployment compensation bill, but I want one that is not going to bust the budget agreement.

Q. So, what's going to happen to these people?

*The President.* So it will work. They ought to send me a good bill. They can do it tomorrow if they want to, if they work on Monday. But I think tomorrow is a holiday. Make that Tuesday. And they could get it down there in 24 hours, because I'm not going to sign a bad one, and I will sign a good one. And we've got a good one on the Hill, and it's within the budget. And it won't result inevitably in higher taxes on the American people.

Q. Why can't you use the money that's in the budget for this particular reason?

*The President.* No, you can't do it because you have to declare an emergency, and I'm not going to do that because I want to have it within the budget agreement. And that's why, and we can do that.

Q. Mr. President, a poll last week said that a lot of people do not like the way you're handling the economy.

*The President.* I noticed that, and I've got to do something about it.

Q. —trouble you at all?

*The President.* Yes, it did.

Q. What are you going to do about it?

*The President.* Get a good bill I can sign, by beating back bad bills. So, if the Democrats now want to not play politics, they'll send me a good unemployment compensation bill, one that shows concern for people out of work; one also that is paid for under the budget agreement, like the one we've got on the Hill.

But I think I've got to do more. And of course, this is a political season. They're pounding me on that now, and sometimes that gets through to the American people. I happen to think that we've got a good domestic program, but the point is we've got to keep reiterating it over and over again.

Q. Well, you've got to admit that the economy is really bad.

*The President.* Fortunately, it's less bad than it was. And yes, as long as one American is out of work and hurting, everybody

has got to be concerned about that, including me, and I am.

#### *Clarence Thomas Confirmation Hearings*

Q. Were you surprised at that two-to-one margin in the Post poll that people believe Thomas over Hill?

*The President.* No, I wasn't surprised. I wasn't surprised. I was pleased.

Q. What do you think Thomas's chances are now?

*The President.* I don't know. I don't know. I don't think they're—I haven't seen any vote count. I'm not sure there are because this thing is kind of in a state of being decided here. So, I don't know. I'd like to think that they are good. But in terms of what's good or not, in terms of the chance I don't know. But I have no regrets about putting this good man forward. I have lots of regrets about what happened to him. And I really feel hurt about it, mainly in identifying, trying to empathize with his family, and also, to some degree, with the process. I think a lot of Americans felt kind of unclean watching this and kind of hurt and troubled by it. I know I did. I know my family did.

Not to say, Helen, that somebody doesn't have a right to come out and all that. But there's something ugly about it.

Q. Well, what about her and her family?

*The President.* Yes, she didn't have to come forward at the last minute. She didn't want to be made public like this. Do you remember? She asked that it not be done. So therefore—

Q. And she would have taken a lie-detector test—

*The President.* Yes.

Q. Would you like to see them both take lie-detector tests?

*The President.* No, because I've passed the point where I think—I don't want to be in a position of advocating that every nominee takes a lie-detector test. And I don't think any responsible elements are suggesting that. And I think it's a stupid idea.

But when you question—if the idea of challenging the word of one over another to use the lie-detector test in that way, reject it.



*World Series*

Q. Are you going to the World Series?

*The President.* Stay tuned. I don't know. We don't know yet. I'd love to, though.

Q. Do you like Atlanta because—

*The President.* What?

Q. Atlanta.

*The President.* Hey, listen. I've got to go to work now.

Q. Are you going to play 9 holes or 18?

*The President.* Eighteen, maybe 27.

Q. Oh, my!

Q. You're joking, you're not going to play 27. [Laughter]

*The President.* —Kennebunkport— come on, guys, I've got to go.

Q. That's the great American people.

*The President.* That's why I'm standing here. [Laughter]

Q. They vote.

*The President.* Okay, we'll see you all. So long.

*Note: The exchange began at 12 noon on the golf course. During the exchange the following persons were referred to: Clarence Thomas, nominee for Supreme Court Associate Justice; University of Oklahoma law professor Anita Hill, who testified before the Senate Judiciary Committee during the Thomas confirmation hearing on October 11; Senator John C. Danforth; Robert H. Bork, nominee for Supreme Court Associate Justice in 1987; Robert M. Gates, nominee for Central Intelligence Agency Director; and Willie Horton, a convicted criminal whose furlough became a campaign issue in the 1988 Presidential election. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

## Exchange With Reporters on the Supreme Court Nomination of Clarence Thomas

*October 14, 1991*

Q. Mr. President, sir, did you personally approve the idea of the attacks on Anita Hill?

Q. Are you going to make any phone calls, Mr. President?

*The President.* I'm not going to have yet another press conference, but I will say this: I am very pleased with the way the support all across the country is holding strong for Judge Thomas. It is important to note that among Afro-Americans, black Americans,

that the support is very, very strong. That is significant and, I think, highly important. So, it appears to be holding, and now a vote will take place. And I think that is about all I care to say about it right now.

*Note: The exchange began at 1:30 p.m. on the South Lawn of the White House upon the President's arrival from Camp David. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on Nobel Peace Prize Recipient Aung San Suu Kyi

*October 14, 1991*

We applaud the Nobel Prize Committee's decision to award the 1991 Nobel Peace Prize to Aung San Suu Kyi (Owng Sahn Soo Chee). Her leadership of the Non-Violent Movement for Democratic Reform in

Burma is in the best tradition of previous winners of the Nobel Peace Prize. She is the leader of the opposition National League for Democracy party which swept to victory in the 1990 national elections.

Arrested because of her political activities, she has been held incommunicado under house arrest for over 2 years. Even her husband and her children have not been allowed to visit her. Her courage and her sacrifice are an inspiration to all who believe in democratic principles and government. Her continued detention without trial is the most obvious sign of the repres-

sive manner in which the Burmese military maintains its rule.

The United States once again urges the Burmese military regime to transfer power to the duly elected civilian government and release all political prisoners, including this year's Nobel Peace Prize winner, Aung San Suu Kyi.

## Remarks at the Welcoming Ceremony for Amir 'Isa Khalifa of Bahrain

October 15, 1991

*The President.* Your Highness, it is my great honor to welcome you to the White House today and to have this opportunity to consult with you on the many challenges that face our two countries and to convey my heartfelt thanks to you, a valued coalition partner. Bahrain has been a firm friend and a close ally for half a century but never more than in this past year as we've stood together to turn back aggression.

Your Highness, we spoke together many times in the aftermath of August 2d and at key moments during Desert Storm, and never once did you waver. Always you stood strong and resolute. From its strategic position in the Gulf, Bahrain served as a key staging point in Desert Storm. Your air force, the Bahraini Air Force, helped the coalition secure the air superiority so decisive to victory. Bahrain endured Scud attacks, shook off Saddam's desperate attempt to sow terror, and emerged each time more determined to prevail. Your Highness, your country's conduct in this crisis is a credit to your leadership and to the courage of the people of Bahrain.

Just as we joined forces to liberate Kuwait, common action remains a key to meeting the challenges we face today. In a few minutes, we'll begin our meetings, building on the common ground we share. And let me focus now on our approach to Iraq, and let me state our position in the simplest possible terms. Saddam Hussein will not scorn the will of the world. Iraq must never again threaten its neighbors.

We will keep the pressure on until we are satisfied that all of Saddam's weapons of mass destruction and the means to deliver them have been destroyed, until a new leadership in Iraq stands ready to live in peace with its neighbors.

Your Highness, as leader of a country that knows too well what it means to be menaced by Saddam, I know you join me in looking ahead to the day Iraq closes this sad chapter in its history and joins the cause of peace. I've said many times, and I'll repeat it here, that our quarrel has never been with the people of Iraq.

The United States, in concert with the United Nations, has proposed a comprehensive program allowing Iraq to resume oil exports to fund the purchase of food and medicine. But the international community deserves to know with certainty that the food and medicine purchased under this plan reach the people of Iraq rather than Saddam's armed forces. This program can go forward the instant Saddam Hussein accepts U.N. Resolutions 706 and 712 and puts in place a U.N.-supervised system to monitor oil exports and food distribution.

History teaches that the consequences of war echo far beyond the battlefield. Our coalition in the Gulf war did more than defeat an aggressor. Our common effort created new opportunities for lasting peace throughout the Middle East. All Americans hope to see this region, so long driven by war, blessed by peace. In that spirit, the United States supports Bahrain's decision to

participate along with its GCC partners in the upcoming peace conference. This readiness, this willingness to reach out strengthens the prospect for the only peace that can endure, a fair and comprehensive peace acceptable to all parties in the region.

Your Highness, from the moment the first American engineers arrived in your country to help develop your oil resources some 60 years ago, our countries have worked together in many ways. Our discussions today will touch on all aspects of our relations, from investment opportunities to security cooperation. And, as always, we seek to build on common ground, on the good will of nations that have worked together in the past, the good will that gives us faith in a better future.

Once again, Your Highness, it is my pleasure to meet with you today for what I'm confident will be productive discussions. Welcome to the White House, and may God bless the people of Bahrain.

*The Amir.* Mr. President, it is a pleasure for me to be visiting this great country at your kind invitation. And I sincerely appreciate the warmth and the friendship shown to myself and to my delegation. It's also given me great pleasure, Mr. President, to extend to you and to all the American people my heartfelt greetings and the warm wishes of the people of Bahrain.

During my visit here, I'm looking forward to renewing our longstanding and mutual valued friendship, to exchanging views on matters of mutual interest to our two countries. The links between the United States and Bahrain have developed in many fields for well over half a century. The cooperation between our two countries first began in the 1940's and has strengthened considerably since then, more particularly so during the last decade.

Through the Iran-Iraq war, we worked closely together to insure freedom of navigation in the Arabian Gulf. And more recently, as a part of a multinational effort to reverse the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait, our people and forces were united as never before. This experience will never be forgotten and has formed a deep bond between our two countries.

I take this opportunity to sincerely thank you, Mr. President, and the American

people for your courageous stand against aggression and for your determination that right and justice should prevail. Your stand in the multinational effort is undoubtedly a major positive contribution to future international relations.

The association between the United States and Bahrain stands as an example of what can be achieved irrespective of physical size, distance apart, or cultural differences when good will and cooperation exist on both sides. It is our duty to continue to work together and through the United Nations to ensure that peace and stability prevails between all nations. Mr. President, the world is currently witnessing major political and ideological changes, and we must all assure that the rules of law and civilized conduct are not overshadowed during these transformations.

As a superpower, the United States has a major role to play in this respect. I would like to take this opportunity, Mr. President, to praise you and your administration for your commitment to reducing confrontation and to promoting peace and cooperation through the world. We have recently witnessed the end of cold war, following the rapid collapse of historic East-West confrontation. It is my belief that we are currently also on the verge of a major breakthrough in the peace process in the Middle East, based on United Nations Resolutions 242 and 338.

There is no doubt that the United States has been a major catalyst to what has been achieved in these events. Our strategic cooperation, however, should not be allowed to overshadow the many other closed links between Bahrain and the United States. These include trade, commerce, education, science, and technology. These links have brought the people of our two countries close together, and there now exists many strong personal relationships between the Americans and Bahrainis. These personal relationships are the true test of friendship between our two countries.

To this end, the American Bahrain Friendship Society was founded in Washington last year. And both the society and all its members have my sincere good wishes and support for the future. It is my hope

that my visit will further consolidate the many ties between our two countries. It is my wish and the wish of the Bahraini people that our close relationship with the United States will continue to flourish and prosper in the years ahead, and become even stronger in the 21st century.

On this occasion, I would like to take this opportunity, Mr. President, to renew my invitation to you and to Mrs. Bush to visit Bahrain. It would give me great pleasure to welcome you to Bahrain and enable the Bahraini people to show their friendship

and appreciation to you and to the American people.

Finally, Mr. President, it is my pleasure to extend to you and to the American people my very best wishes for continued peace and progress and prosperity. Thank you very much, sir.

*Note: The President spoke at 10:13 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House, where the Amir was accorded a formal welcome with full military honors.*

## Remarks at the Dedication of the National Law Enforcement Officers Memorial

October 15, 1991

Thank you all very much. Thank you, Senator D'Amato. Please be seated, all of you. And Barbara and I are just delighted to be with you here today. Mr. Speaker, honored to have you here, sir. I understand that Senator Mitchell was here, had to leave. Senator Pell is with us. And, of course, your friend and mine, Al D'Amato, who's out there on the firing line day in and day out on behalf of our law enforcement officers. Al, thank you for that introduction, sir.

May I thank especially Craig Floyd. And I heard Barbara Dodge's moving remarks in the back, Barbara and I, just when we came here. I salute her. Of course, our Acting Attorney General, Bill Barr; former Attorney General Ed Meese; the head of the FBI is with us; head of the Secret Service; and so many others that are committed to law enforcement.

I also was told that Jim and Sarah Brady are here. I don't know if that's true or not, but in any event, they're here in spirit if they're not here in purpose. Here they are over here, as a matter of fact: Jim.

This Nation has erected many monuments to generals and admirals, privates and seamen who defended our Nation's freedom against tyranny and oppression. We gather here today to dedicate this memorial to uniformed heroes of another sort,

those who enforce the law and keep us secure here at home.

For too long, America's law men and women have been the forgotten heroes, forgotten until there's trouble, until we're stranded on the road or frantically dialing 911 at home. Today we remember these heroes and heroines. "Now the real healing can start," says Vivian Eney; Vivian, as you know, past president of Concerns of Police Survivors. Here's her quote: "When the grave doesn't look new anymore, when the grass has grown over it, this will be the place to come, to see the names, to touch the names."

Visitors will come here. Some will be children, perhaps looking for a father or mother they never really knew. Who were these people? they will ask. They were policemen and policewomen, marshals and sheriffs, State troopers, special agents. They gave their lives in the line of duty. And they were young and old, ranging from 19 to 81. And they had names as diverse as America itself: Donald Kowalski, Patrick O'Malley, Freddie Lee Jackson, Tommy DeLaRosa, Jose Gonzales, Donna Miller. And they had wives and husbands, mothers and fathers, and so many young children. Most of all they had love: Love for their profession, love for their communities, love for their families, love that can still be felt in

this special place right here today.

They devoted themselves to the timeless values that society shares. They valued the law. They valued peace, the peace of a civilized community that protects children at play, families at home, and storekeepers at work. They valued human life so much that they were prepared to give their lives to protect it. They gave much and asked little. They deserve our remembrance. Here in America's Capital, for as long as these walls stand, they will be remembered, not for the way they died, but for how they lived.

They didn't ask for honors, though honor them we will. We honor them with these walls, with these trees and grass, quiet pool of water. But we can honor them in a more profound way, a more lasting way, by strengthening the laws that they swore to uphold.

Since 1989, on a rainy spring day I know many of you remember, I've tried to persuade Congress that our police need help. Too many times, in too many cases, too many criminals go free because the scales of justice are unfairly tipped against dedicated lawmen and women like you. With your help, that will change.

We need a crime bill that will stop the endless, frivolous habeas corpus appeals that waste time prosecutors could be spending on new cases. We need a crime bill that says to police, "Look, if you act in good faith, evidence will not be suppressed in court based on needless technicalities." We need a crime bill with tough penalties, such as a 10-year minimum sentence to anyone using a semi-automatic weapon in a violent or drug-related crime with no plea bargains, no parole. And Al D'Amato touched on it, but we need a crime bill that warns would-be killers out there, "Be prepared to pay with your own life."

I asked Congress to pass these proposals more than 2 years ago. And we've gotten, very candidly, only a piecemeal response. This week, the House of Representatives is voting on a crime bill. But for that bill to be worth anything, it must contain the crucial elements that I've just cited, elements the House Judiciary Committee refused to include, unfortunately, in the bill itself. Congress is only a few blocks away. And they've heard from me, and they're going to keep

on hearing from me. But really, on this one, if you feel as strongly as I do, and I know you do, they need to hear from you.

There is a war going on out there, a war between criminals and a good society. We know that war will not end as long as evil dwells in men's souls. But we can work to lock up those who are too violent to live in civilized society. And we can support the law enforcement officers who are on the front lines saving us every single day of our lives. And we can put new laws on the books to keep new names off of these walls.

President Coolidge long ago told us, "The nation which forgets its defenders will itself be forgotten." We will not forget. America will not forget. And we will not forget, obviously, those we honor, those who died. We will not forget those who protect and serve every single day of the year.

In the Oval Office, as you all know, a lot of important papers and documents cross that desk in that majestic office, no matter who's President, every single day. Most of them stay there just a day or two. But inside the drawer, one thing stays: a New York City patrolman's badge, number 14072. I brought it along today. It belonged to Eddie Byrne, a rookie cop who was guarding a witness when he was gunned down on the orders of a drug dealer in jail. Eddie's father, Matt Byrne, asked me to keep that badge as a "reminder of all the brave police officers who put their lives on the line for us every single day." Well, I've kept it. And I have it with me here today, and I will always keep it, when I'm President and long after I leave this majestic office I'm so proud to hold.

When society asks someone to put on a badge and place it over his or her heart, we make a sacred covenant, a covenant that says we as a society stand behind those who enforce the law against those who break the law. And that's what Eddie Byrne's badge means to me.

This memorial gives meaning to that covenant, gives meaning to these lives, gives meaning to the law and what it stands for. No number of words or wreaths, no amount of music or memorializing will do justice here today, but we have begun the remembrance and begun the healing.

And once again, thank you very much for allowing Barbara and me to share this moment with you. And may God bless the law enforcement officers of our great country. Thank you very, very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 2:34 p.m. at Judiciary Square. In his remarks, the Presi-*

*dent referred to Craig Floyd, chairman of the National Law Enforcement Officers Memorial Fund; Barbara Dodge, president of Concerns of Police Survivors; William S. Sessions, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation; John R. Simpson, Director of the U.S. Secret Service; and former Press Secretary James Brady and his wife, Sarah.*

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on Nuclear Arms Reduction Talks

*October 15, 1991*

Following up on the President's initiative to reduce nuclear weapons, the U.S. Defense and Space Negotiating Group in Geneva, Switzerland, has tabled a new U.S. approach to an agreement facilitating deployment of ballistic missile defenses.

The United States is now prepared to discuss limits on the scope and timing of defense deployments, consistent with the President's direction to pursue a system providing Global Protection Against Limited Strikes (GPALS). This new approach builds on the climate reflected by the President's nuclear initiative and the positive Soviet response and should make it possible to reach an agreement facilitating the deployment of ballistic missile defenses to protect against accidental, unauthorized, or third country launches.

As we pursue an agreement in Geneva, it is essential for Congress to do its part by supporting our efforts there and by funding the Strategic Defense Initiative at a level that will enable us to deploy ballistic missile defenses at the earliest point feasible. The Senate's support for deployment of highly effective defenses against limited ballistic missile attacks is encouraging. President Bush urges the Congress as a whole to support this worthy goal.

A negotiated solution governing deployment of defenses that will protect the United States, our allies, and our forces abroad from limited ballistic missile strikes, together with congressional determination to fund such defenses, will make the world a safer place.

## Nomination of John Condayan To Be an Associate Director of the United States Information Agency

*October 15, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate John Condayan, of Virginia, to be Associate Director of the U.S. Information Agency for Management. He would succeed Henry E. Hockeimer.

Since 1989 Mr. Condayan has served as Minister-Counselor for Administrative Affairs at the American Embassy in London, England. Prior to this, he served at the U.S.

Department of State as: Director of the Office of Foreign Missions, 1988-1989; Deputy Assistant Secretary for the Office of Foreign Missions, 1987-1988; and Deputy Assistant Secretary for Operations for the Bureau of Administration and Security, 1984-1987.

Mr. Condayan graduated from Bucknell University (B.S., 1955) and Syracuse Univer-

sity (M.P.A., 1974). He was born September 1, 1933. Mr. Condayan is married, has two children, and currently resides in London, England.

## Statement on the Confirmation of Clarence Thomas as an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court

October 15, 1991

I am pleased that the Senate voted to confirm Judge Clarence Thomas for the Supreme Court. Judge Thomas has demonstrated to the Congress and to the Nation that he is a man of honesty, dedication, and commitment to the Constitution and the rule of law. The Nation and the Court bene-

fit from having a man of principle who is sensitive to the problems and opportunities facing all Americans.

I thank Senator Jack Danforth and other Members of the Senate who helped guide this nomination through to confirmation.

## Exchange With Reporters on the Confirmation of Clarence Thomas as an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court

October 16, 1991

*Q.* Where are the women?

*Q.* New meaning to Helen's [Helen Thomas, United Press International] question.

*Q.* Mr. President, are you going to speak to the Nation about the process of confirmation?

*The President.* Well, I'm going to have something to say. Whether I speak to the Nation about it, if you mean an Oval Office and that, I don't know about that; there's no decision. But I think I owe the people my observations and, more importantly, some suggestions to improve the process. That comes under the heading of the Senate business clearly, but I have some views. And there is some interaction between the administration, obviously, and the Senate.

So, we're thinking, going to get working on some ideas, flushing out some. And clearly, I'll go public with it. How I do it is yet to be determined.

*Q.* And how soon?

*The President.* Well, that hasn't been determined yet, but fairly soon, I'd say, because I think it's fresh in people's minds.

*Q.* Today?

*The President.* No, you won't have any-

thing—

*Q.* You're not going to tie this in with the swearing-in, are you, sir?

*The President.* Do what?

*Q.* You wouldn't tie that in with the swearing-in?

*The President.* No. I want to go forward with the swearing-in as soon as possible. There's a vacancy on the Court, and we haven't decided on a firm time for that. But it will be very soon indeed, if that is agreeable to soon-to-be Mr. Justice Thomas.

*Q.* Are you going to clamp down on the use of FBI reports or sharing of those with the Hill?

*The President.* I don't want to prejudge what I'm going to say. But I think there's general agreement around the country and certainly in the Senate that the present process is simply not fair. And I think Senators on both sides of the aisle are going to want to see changes in several areas.

Thank you all very much.

*Note: The exchange began at 10:04 a.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House during a photo session with House Republican leaders. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

## Remarks at the American Business Press Association's Voluntarism Awards Ceremony

October 16, 1991

Thank you all. Please be seated. Thank you all for being here. And I know that I'm joining this program in progress, but it is my pleasure to officially welcome all of you to the White House. And let me salute Gerry Hobbs, the chairman of the American Business Press; your president, John Emery; and Cathy Black, president of the association, the American Newspaper Publishers Association, and a member, I might proudly say, of our Points of Light Foundation.

Let me—I don't know where he is, he was at the door a minute ago. Here's Gregg, Gregg Petersmeyer, you can't miss him. [Laughter] But I do want to single out Gregg, salute him for the inspirational job he's doing as our key person here involved in this whole Points of Light concept.

And finally, I want to thank the American Business Press for encouraging their member publications to spill ink on behalf of such a good cause. We all know the value of competition in the business world. And this awards program shines the spotlight on companies that transform their communities through volunteer service.

As I've said before, American corporations are not just profitmaking monoliths. American businesses and America's business press aren't just stocked with human resources, so many infinitesimal fractions of the GNP. They're filled with real people, men and women, neighbors, members of our communities, parents with kids to raise, people with something to give, gifts to give. And one glance into the pages of your publications shows business at its best: people producing goods and services we need, people devoting tens of thousands of hours to worthy causes.

Take this year's grand award winner, Wegmans Food Markets, a family-run supermarket chain based in Rochester, New York, profiled in Supermarket Business. Supermarkets often draw on school-age workers to fill their part-time work force, and we all know the difficulties of holding down

a job and keeping up in school. Four years ago, Wegmans initiated the Work-Scholarship Connection, a program to help kids succeed at work and in the classroom. And their target: 14- and 15-year-olds, especially those faltering at school, the kind of kids in danger of becoming tomorrow's dropouts.

Wegmans gives these kids a part-time job and assigns each one a mentor at the supermarket: an adult coworker, possibly a supervisor, who lends a hand with homework during work breaks or maybe just lend a sympathetic ear to some teenager too untalented to adults who just don't seem to care. Each mentor works with a school sponsor to track their child's progress. And Wegmans is tough. You've got to do the job in school. And if the kids don't do well, Wegmans hears about it and cuts the kid's work hours.

But there's a real payoff for the kids who graduate. Each one gets a scholarship of up to \$5,000 to the college of their choice. And yes, if they go to a college near home, they can keep their job at Wegmans. [Laughter]

No, but that work-scholarship program shows how ordinary people can do extraordinary things. The mentors who make Wegmans' program work aren't paid. They're not glorified because they can't singlehandedly save the world. They're too busy saving the future, the child who lives right down the street.

That same spirit motivates the runners that we honor today: Bell Atlantic, for its family literacy project, profiled in School Library Journal; Eaton Corporation for its literacy work in Atlanta as reported in Business Atlanta magazine; Neon Enterprises, for its work with at-risk youth and others in need, as publicized in Restaurant Business; Red Lobster Restaurants, recognized by Training; The Human Side of Business for their 20-year policy of hiring disabled; and finally, José Paulino, whose story was told in the pages of Pharmaceutical Representative.

You won't find Jose's name on the Fortune 500, maybe, but when he's not b



making sales, you can find him at New York's P.S. 136, where he's adopted a seventh grade class. In the article, José says about adopting a class, and I quote, "It doesn't cost anything. It doesn't take that much." Well, whatever it takes, he's got his share and more.

Every one of the American Business Press's Points of Light proves you never know who's ready to help until you ask. And when Wegmans started their program, it lined up 30 junior high students who needed help and put out a call for 15 employees to become mentors, to step into the program to help. Fifty-nine volunteers stepped forward and the program's taken off from there.

So, this is a wonderful example. These are wonderful examples for our entire country. And you know, when we first started this, there were some who started emphasizing this concept that de Tocqueville found so fascinating about America, the propensity of one American to help another. Some suggested that we were trying to avoid the Government's responsibility, but that's not the way it works. This whole concept that

you all represent and believe in is really the best and most fundamental way we can of helping others and helping our own communities in strengthening the family in this country or doing better for education.

But we're going to try to do our part here at the Federal level, but I must say that I just feel overcome because I see the effectiveness of this whole spirit of Points of Light, the concept, one American helping another. And it is inspirational, and I really wanted to just come over and thank the business press for opening the pages of its very influential publications, opening eyes in so many industries to the shining story of so many Points of Light.

So, once again, my heartfelt thanks to each and every one of you, and God bless you all for the contributions you make. And now, I'm told that I get to say hello to some, at least, of those that you're honoring here today.

Thank you very, very much.

*Note. The President spoke at 11:22 a.m. in Room 450 at the Old Executive Office Building.*

## Presidential Determination No. 92-3—Memorandum on the Emigration Policies of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic October 16, 1991

### *Memorandum for the Secretary of State*

**Subject:** Determination Under Subsections 402(a) and 409(a) of the Trade Act of 1974—Emigration Policies of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic

Pursuant to the authority vested in me by subsections 402(a) and 409(a) of the Trade Act of 1974 (19 U.S.C. 2432(a) and 2439(a)) ("the Act"), I determine that the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic is not in violation of paragraph (1), (2), or (3) of subsection 402(a) of the Act, or paragraph (1), (2), or (3)

of subsection 409(a) of the Act.

You are authorized and directed to publish this determination in the *Federal Register*.

GEORGE BUSH

*[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 12:03 p.m., October 23, 1991]*

*Note: This determination was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 17.*

## Teleconference Remarks to Associated Press Managing Editors October 17, 1991

*The President.* Thank you, Ralph. Thank you very much. Thank you for the plug for the Texas Rangers. It's nice being introduced in Detroit by a fellow Texan. It's also nice to see Lou Boccardi again. He's on the corner of my screen; about half of Lou is there. But let me just say I am very sorry I couldn't join you for today's lunch, especially since it's miserable, rainy, and cold here, and I'm sure it's nice and sunny out there.

Let me open with an apology. I know that many of you depend on Washington to provide grist for news stories. And I know that we just haven't held up our end of the deal. In recent weeks, things around here have been just plain dull.

Actually, I appreciate this opportunity to speak with you. I'd like to get a couple of gripes off my chest. First, can you get the delivery people to stop throwing our paper in the shrubs? And I know you love it when people ask about that.

Second, and I know you're tired of hearing this one, but couldn't you focus on the good news for once? You know, there's a great Anne Murray song—I'm a country music fan—Anne Murray of Canada, a song called "A Little Good News." And let me recite for you one verse, one nice verse:

"I came home this evening. I bet that the news will be the same. Somebody takes a hostage, somebody steals a plane. How I want to hear the anchorman talk about a county fair, how we cleaned the air, how everybody learned to care."

Well, I think that's a great idea; not exactly what your work is about, and I understand that. But I've just about had it with all the bad news about lawyers and bankruptcies and strikes and business seizures and stock splits and profit-sharing and wars and bitter personal feuds. Just once, just once, I'd like to see you limit the sports pages to scores and standings.

Today I want to talk about a subject that many of your papers discuss regularly, our administration's domestic policy. And I've talked with audiences around the Nation about our initiatives on crime, on education,

on energy, transportation, and many other matters. But today let me focus on an issue of great concern in Detroit and, as a matter of fact, throughout our Nation: economic growth. And let me start with some good news. I cite this recognizing that a lot of people are still hurting. But the trends, the economic trends, look good.

Industrial production, for example, has risen for 5 straight months. Housing starts have risen 26 percent since January. The unemployment rate in September fell to 6.7 percent, down three-tenths of a percent in 3 months, and the lowest rate in nearly 5 years. The Index of Leading Economic Indicators has held steady or increased for 7 straight months, and it's jumped 5 percent since January. Inflation, now this is solid good news, it's fallen, a 2.7 percent annual rate. Mortgage interest rates have dropped to the lowest level since 1977.

And over the years, our administration has promised a series of initiatives that would stimulate economic growth and make our economy much stronger, initiatives that would instantly restore much needed confidence in our economic progress. Congress generally has chosen to avoid these proposals, either by preventing votes or changing the subject.

Maybe you're tired of hearing me talk about this, but the capital gains tax offers a case in point. Against the argument that the cut raises questions of fairness, let me ask you to judge. The capital gains tax affects future wealth, not present wealth. High capital gains rates discourage investment in untried products and services. They make it difficult for people with ideas to get the capital they need to make a difference. Historically, when capital gains rates fall, revenues increase, and the rich assume the lion's share of the tax burden.

Let me read you a quote about capital gains: "The tax on capital gains directly affects the ease or difficulty experienced by new ventures in obtaining capital and thereby the strength and potential for the growth of the economy." John F. Kennedy

said that.

A capital gains cut will set off an explosion of small business formation which means that your ad people will have new clients, and you might be able to give your reporters a pay raise after all. In short, a capital gains cut would give our economy a much-needed boost. It would raise real estate prices and cut the overall cost of the savings and loan cleanup. It would help people of imagination and drive.

As I've said a number of times, the capital gains tax is a tax on the American dream. And nevertheless, in 3 years congressional leaders have not permitted one single up-or-down vote on our capital gains proposals. If they were convinced that this is a tax break for the rich and would be unpopular across the country, they ought to at least let it come to a vote.

Consider other items in our growth package. We proposed a comprehensive banking reform legislation. And Congress has the opportunity to make America's banking system more efficient and more competitive internationally. But it has got to act now. It's hung up on the House side, incidentally, the House of Representatives.

Only comprehensive legislation which addresses the fundamental problems facing the banking industry will strengthen our banks and support economic growth. We've offered proposals to ease the credit crunch that affects lenders nationwide, lenders who, for instance, make it possible for newspapers to build new presses and plants, purchase new equipment, and improve their fitness in the incredibly competitive media business. We've promoted incentives for savings, investment, entrepreneurship. We've proposed increasing Federal expenditures on research and development. And we've advocated a permanent R&D tax credit.

We have worked aggressively to open foreign markets to American goods and services. And we continue to press for a successful conclusion to the Uruguay round of multilateral trade talks. This is a very important thing. And then, as you all know, we've begun negotiating a North American free trade agreement which would create a unified market consisting of the United States, Canada, just across the river from you, and

Mexico. We've pursued the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative which promises to encourage economic growth throughout our hemisphere and build ties of mutual interest.

We've promoted tort reform. And this is an important one, and I sure would like to ask your support. We have promoted tort reform to cut down on needless litigation and the costs that that imposes on every single industry. And we've fought against regulations that produce redtape without improving the quality of American life. We've still got a ways to go there, I will admit.

We've worked to build a more intelligent, flexible workforce through our America 2000 education strategy. It's a little longer-range, but very, very important. And finally, we've worked to maintain the fiscal discipline established by last year's controversial budget agreement.

When people say that we have no domestic agenda, they simply have not seen the facts. We have a good, forward-looking agenda. Congressional leaders just won't act on it. This is one of the great problems of a divided Government, where you have the President of one party and both Houses controlled by another.

I know that you will spend two sessions discussing economic issues tomorrow. And I'd also like to encourage you to think about ways of improving the coverage of economic issues. They're not the sexiest. They're not the most interesting, but they are the most vital.

Urge your reporters to take a hard, fair, informed look at these policies and then at the congressional alternatives. Ask them to study the history of capital gains cuts. Ask them to discuss banking reform proposals with leading bankers in your town. Ask them to dig deeper and deeper for the facts and to treat sweeping generalizations and slogans, whether they come from me or somebody else, with proper skepticism. Well, since you're editors, I suppose you could tell them, not ask them.

A free press truly can serve as a guide to good public policy, but only if reporters and editors take seriously their duty to inform the public in a comprehensive, balanced

manner.

I am very sorry that I couldn't join you today in Detroit. But I am glad that we have been able to get together by this video hookup, and I wish you all the best in your meetings over the next 3 days. May God bless our great country.

And now I'll be glad to take a couple of questions.

### *Persian Gulf Conflict*

*Q.* Mr. President, many of the people in this room feel that the American people didn't receive an entirely complete or timely report on the Persian Gulf war because of the requirement for press pools in virtually every situation, not just situations where independent reporting was physically impossible. One particularly sensitive issue was prior review of stories and pictures. Right now, a group of editors is talking with Pentagon people about those feelings. Without prejudging what they come up with, I wondered if you think it's possible to restore the kind of aggressive and independent reporting that characterized American newspaper reporting of World War II and Korea and Vietnam, rather than this somewhat pool-driven, briefing-driven coverage of the Persian Gulf war?

*The President.* Yes, I think there can be room for improvement. I thought some of you all's people were going to meet with Dick Cheney on this. It is my understanding that the final decision on whether to go public with disputed material really rested at the hands of the outlets.

Let me address myself to the broader question. I do think that the pooling worked to some degree. I don't agree with you, and I have to tell you this—and I expect I'm the only one. I don't know how many people you've got in the room, but the vote will be overwhelmingly against me—I think that the American people felt that they got very strong, intrusive coverage of the war. I really believe that. I also believe, and I think you might agree with this one, that there must be discipline. There cannot be everybody strolling around in a hostile environment. And I think when we saw some taken prisoner, that was pretty good evidence that there was some reason to have some kind of pooling mechanism.

nism.

But look, I can't argue with you that it was perfect. I do think the American people feel they got good, thorough coverage, and that's a credit to every single person in the room there and many, many more in other media forums all around the country. But I'd like to think we could improve it. The Desert Storm, the rules for this are not locked in concrete. They were tailored for this particular operation that had long logistic problems.

I also would like to, and I may be on weak ground here, but I thought that in World War II—and I'm old enough to remember some of it—that there was real censorship of all these dispatches. I know my mail was censored, for example, as a little guy flying or floating around on an aircraft carrier. And I think that if you look back, you'll find that there was an awful lot of pure censorship there that was not anywhere near matched by what went on under the Desert Storm arrangements.

But let me just offer you a spirit, having defined some differences here, of cooperation because we do want the best, most intrusive coverage possible and that can be done with the safety of everybody in mind and the national interest in mind. I say "national interest" because I'm still reminded of the "Saturday Night Live" program. I don't know whether any of you saw that, about the guy getting up, "Now, could you please give us the code words that would help Saddam Hussein understand what he's up against?" Or, "Could you give us directly the place that you plan for the Marines to land? Would it be this on the map or that?" And it went on and on and on. I showed this to a couple of people, and it hit, with all respect now—[laughter]—it hit a familiar chord with some.

We don't want to go to one extreme or another. And if we need to do a better job of finding the balance, we'll sure try. I think in Dick Cheney we've got an extraordinarily reasonable man, and I know he's already trying to improve the whole pooling concept and the restrictions that did cause you understandable concern.

*Q.* Thank you.

*Clarence Thomas Confirmation Hearings*

*Q.* Mr. President, one of the most disturbing issues that emerged from the Thomas hearings and confirmation process was the whole issue of sexual harassment in the workplace. Do you think that your support of Judge Thomas, the continuing perception of the "old boys' network" in Washington, DC, and in Government, your positions on abortion, all cause you a problem with women as you approach your reelection? And related to that, what are the things that you're thinking about doing that, in the words of Judge Thomas, can help heal the wounds that have emerged from the hearings, the great divisions of race and gender and class?

*The President.* That's a very broad, penetrating question. Let me try to respond. And the answer to your question is no. To begin with, I don't think that I have, as a result of all this, an increased problem with women. I go back—if you want to put it in a—and I think you put it in a political context. But I noticed on the surveys that everybody lives and dies by that women supported Judge Thomas overwhelmingly. Women activists, feminist groups might not have, but women overwhelmingly supported Judge Thomas as did men, as did the entire country with minority Americans, Afro-Americans supporting him even more than the national average. When you've separated out the Afro-Americans, support was even stronger there.

So I don't start from the defensive posture on having nominated this good man to the Court. And I also believe that he will be an independent Justice. And I believe that he is going to surprise some who think they know exactly where he stands on every single social issue.

Now, in terms of discrimination, sexual harassment in the workplace, I have a civil rights bill before the Congress now. You haven't heard much about it because they just keep beating me over the head to pass their civil rights bill; I'm talking about the Democratic leaders. Ours is the only one, I believe, that addresses further the question of sexual harassment in the workplace. And we have a good policy on this as it is in the executive branch. And I think everybody

should take it very, very seriously. And maybe even though a lot of it was deeply offensive to American families across this country with its graphic detail, maybe something good will come out of it. And by that, I mean a sensitizing of the populace to the problem, the legitimate problem of sexual harassment.

Having said that, I wish that the country had been spared some of the detail that I think should have been assigned to the Congress. Anita Hill, as you remember, she didn't want to bring out this graphic detail. And had that graphic detail not been out there, I think the hearing could have been properly done. Her charges could have been properly heard in some executive session. And I don't think the people would have been denied anything that they had a right to know about. I think sometimes when you get to subjects that are that sensitive, it is well to delegate to your elected officials.

So, I was troubled. I was thinking of my little grandchildren hearing some of the graphic sex allegations. And yet, setting that aside for a minute, I do think there was something sensitizing about the question of sexual harassment. The problem is, there was also something sensitizing about the process itself, where a good man, on the eve of confirmation, had a last-minute charge raised about him, a charge stemming back from 10 years before. And this troubled the American people, and I think that's one of the reasons support for Judge Thomas, about to be Mr. Justice Thomas, increased as the hearings went on.

So, let's hope—you know, I think you also mentioned—I didn't write the notes down properly here—I think you also mentioned what Justice Thomas said. Maybe you didn't, but I've been doing a series of interviews here. What he said about healing and getting on with it I think makes a good deal of sense.

I will be coming out, in answer to part of your question here, next week with some suggestions, not in anger, not for partisan political gain, certainly not assailing the Congress in which I once served. But hopefully, making constructive suggestions as to how we can avoid in the future that which

the American people, I think rather unanimously, think has been a kind of a messy situation.

It's been very interesting here. Everyone, including me, have been glued to our television sets. We saw some ugliness. We saw some good things. We saw some people that wanted to bring this man down for reasons having nothing to do with sexual harassment. But we also saw the prevailing wisdom of the American people.

So I don't think that these—what I think of is the women's groups, feminist groups that were on the television every day berating those that voted the other way, voting for Thomas—I don't think they speak for all the women in this country.

And I might say something I hope you don't think is too controversial. I don't believe that the civil rights leaders all speak for the American people on a matter of this nature. If they did, how come support for Judge Thomas would have been so strong among black Americans?

So, I've learned a lot. I'm still, as you can

tell from this rambling answer, trying to sort it out, and I will be for the next few days. Then I'll have some constructive suggestions. And I expect half the people in that room, maybe more, will criticize and the other half might see some merits to what I suggest. But we're a strong country, and we can get beyond the ugliness of all of this. And let's hope something good comes out of it. And I want to do my part to heal whatever wounds do exist out there.

*Mr. Langer.* Thank you.

*The President.* Well, thank you all very much. Ralph, thank you, sir.

*Mr. Langer.* Thank you, Mr. President.

*The President.* Over and out.

*Note: The President spoke at 12:15 p.m. from Room 459 in the Old Executive Office Building to the 57th annual convention of Associated Press Managing Editors, meeting in Detroit, MI. In his remarks, the President referred to Ralph Langer, president of the group, and Louis D. Boccardi, president and chief executive officer of the Associated Press.*

## Message to the Congress Reporting on the National Emergency With Respect to Export Controls October 17, 1991

*To the Congress of the United States:*

1. On September 30, 1990, in Executive Order No. 12730, I declared a national emergency under the International Emergency Economic Powers Act ("IEEPA") (50 U.S.C. 1701, *et seq.*) to deal with the threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States caused by the lapse of the Export Administration Act of 1979, as amended (50 U.S.C. 2401, *et seq.*) and the system of controls maintained under that Act. In that order, I continued in effect, to the extent permitted by law, the provisions of the Export Administration Act of 1979, as amended, the Export Administration Regulations (15 C.F.R. 768, *et seq.* (1991)), and the delegations of authority set forth in Executive Order No. 12002 of July 7, 1977, Executive Order No. 12214 of May 2, 1980,

and Executive Order No. 12131 of May 4, 1979, as amended by Executive Order No. 12551 of February 21, 1986.

2. I issued Executive Order No. 12730 pursuant to the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and laws of the United States, including IEEPA, the National Emergencies Act ("NEA") (50 U.S.C. 1601, *et seq.*), and section 301 of title 3 of the United States Code. At that time, I also submitted a report to the Congress pursuant to section 204(b) of IEEPA (50 U.S.C. 1703(b)). Section 204 of IEEPA requires follow-up reports, with respect to actions or changes, to be submitted every 6 months. Additionally, section 401(c) of the NEA requires that the President, within 90 days after the end of each 6-month period following a declaration of a national emergen-

cy, report to the Congress on the total expenditures directly attributable to that declaration. This report, covering the 6-month period from April 1, 1991, to September 30, 1991, is submitted in compliance with these requirements.

3. Since the issuance of Executive Order No. 12730, the Department of Commerce has continued to administer the system of export controls, including antiboycott provisions, contained in the Export Administration Regulations. In administering these controls, the Department has acted under a policy of conforming actions under Executive Order No. 12730 to those required under the Export Administration Act, insofar as appropriate.

4. Since my last report to the Congress, there have been several significant developments in the area of export controls:

We continued to address the threat to the national security and foreign policy interests of the United States posed by the spread of weapons of mass destruction. In Executive Order No. 12735 of November 16, 1990, and the Enhanced Proliferation Control Initiative of December 13, 1990 ("EPCI"), we had announced major steps to strengthen export controls over goods, technology, and other forms of assistance that can contribute to the spread of chemical and biological weapons and missile systems.

—On March 7, 1991, the Department of Commerce issued two new regulations and a proposed rule to implement EPCI. The new regulations controlled the export of 50 chemicals as well as dual-use equipment and technical data that can be used to make chemical and biological weapons. (56 F.R. 10756 and 10760, March 13, 1991.)

—On August 15, 1991, the Department of Commerce made the proposed rule final. The final rule expands controls to cover exports when the exporter knows or is informed by the Department of Commerce that an export will be used for missile technology or chemical or biological weapons, or is destined for a country, region, or project engaged in such activities. The rule also restricts U.S. citizens participation in such activities, as well as the export of chemical plants and plant designs. (56 F.R.

40494, August 15, 1991.)

—The Department of Commerce also issued a new regulation that revises the list of items subject to control for nuclear nonproliferation reasons. The updated list reflects technological developments in the field, as well as U.S. nuclear nonproliferation policy. (56 F.R. 42652, August 28, 1991.)

In light of the changes that have occurred in Eastern Europe, negotiations with our Coordinating Committee (COCOM) partners yielded a streamlined Core List of truly strategic items that will remain subject to multilateral national security controls. The Department of Commerce implemented this new Core List effective September 1, 1991. In implementing the Core List the Department totally revised its Commodity Control List, now called the Commerce Control List (CCL), and made certain additional substantive changes in controls. (56 F.R. 42824, August 29, 1991.)

—For the first time, all controlled software and technical data have been integrated into the CCL, including definitions for these items that parallel those of our COCOM partners.

—Following my decision to remove certain sanctions under the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, controls on certain exports to South Africa of computers, aircraft, and petroleum products have been removed. Other controls affecting South Africa, such as those implemented pursuant to the United Nations arms embargo, remain in place.

—On August 28, 1991, the Department of Commerce submitted a report to the Congress indicating that the Department was reformulating controls on exports to countries that had been designated by the Secretary of State as repeatedly having provided support for acts of international terrorism. In a few instances we reported that controls were being expanded, particularly with respect to Iran and Syria, the only two of the six countries designated as terrorist-supporting not presently subject to separate trade embargoes. In addition, the report indicated that the De-

partment was expanding controls on items of missile proliferation concern. The changes reported to the Congress were implemented in the course of revising the CCL.

Enforcement efforts have continued unabated:

—On August 21, 1991, the Department of Commerce renewed a previous Temporary Denial Order to withhold the export privileges of a Dutch company, Delft Instruments N.V., and certain related companies, in connection with an investigation of illegal reexport of U.S.-origin night vision equipment to Iraq. (56 F.R. 42977, August 30, 1991.)

—On August 28, 1991, Special Agents from the Department of Commerce's Bureau of Export Administration arrested two Iranian businessmen in Newport Beach, California, on charges of illegally exporting to Iran U.S.-origin equipment with possible nuclear and/or missile technology applications. The two businessmen were subsequently charged in a 17-count indictment with conspiracy, illegally exporting U.S.-origin equipment, and making false statements to the United States Government in connection with the exports.

—Following numerous discussions with officials of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland, the Department of Commerce has assisted the new East European democracies to implement and strengthen their export control systems,

including prelicense inspections and postshipment verifications. These developments will allow for enhanced and much-needed trade in high technology items in the region, while helping to prevent unauthorized shipments or uses of such items.

5. The expenses incurred by the Federal Government in the 6-month period from April 1, 1991 to September 30, 1991, that are directly attributable to the exercise of authorities conferred by the declaration of a national emergency with respect to export controls were largely centered in the Department of Commerce, Bureau of Export Administration. Expenditures by the Department of Commerce are anticipated to be \$20,390,000.00, most of which represents wage and salary costs for Federal personnel.

6. The unrestricted access of foreign parties to U.S. goods, technology, and technical data and the existence of certain boycott practices of foreign nations, in light of the expiration of the Export Administration Act of 1979, continue to constitute an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States. I shall continue to exercise the powers at my disposal to retain the export control system, including the anti-boycott provisions, and will continue to report periodically to the Congress.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
October 17, 1991.

## Message to the Congress Deferring Sanctions Under Driftnet Fishing Agreements With the Republic of Korea and Taiwan *October 18, 1991*

*To the Congress of the United States:*

The conservation of high seas living marine resources and averting threats to such resources have become important international issues in recent years. Much of the concern has focused on the use of the large-scale pelagic driftnet fishing method. The United States has worked with several

high seas driftnet fishing countries to assess the impacts that these methods have upon the marine environment through cooperative high seas monitoring programs. The data collected in these programs has substantiated concerns about the destructive nature of this wasteful fishing technique.

The international community recognizes



the problems posed by large-scale pelagic driftnet fishing on the high seas. In December 1989, the United States cosponsored Resolution 44/225 that was adopted by consensus by the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA), as was reaffirmation Resolution 45/197 a year later. UNGA Resolution 44/225 calls for an end to the use of large-scale pelagic driftnets on the high seas by June 30, 1992, unless jointly agreed conservation and management regimes can be put in place to prevent the unacceptable impacts posed by this fishing method on the marine environment. The scientific data show the indiscriminate nature of this fishing technique. Thus, I fully expect that all those involved in large-scale pelagic driftnet fisheries will make plans to end such fishing by June 30, 1992. Accordingly, I have instructed Secretary Baker to seek such commitments from driftnet fishing countries.

Pursuant to the provisions of subsection (b) of the Pelly Amendment to the Fishermen's Protective Act of 1967, as amended (22 U.S.C. 1978), I am reporting to you following certification by the Secretary of Commerce on August 13, 1991, that the Republic of Korea (ROK) and Taiwan violated the terms of the cooperative scientific monitoring and enforcement agreements the United States has with the ROK and Taiwan. The Secretary's letter to me was deemed to be a certification for the purposes of subsection (a) of the Pelly Amendment. Subsection (a) requires that I consider and, at my discretion, order the prohibition of imports into the United States of fish products from the ROK and Taiwan, to the extent that such prohibition is sanctioned by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

Since certification, both the ROK and Taiwan have responded to U.S. concerns in some measure. The ROK has recalled to port all the Korean driftnet vessels that were detected by U.S. enforcement patrols beyond the high seas driftnet fishing boundaries, instructed its commercial and enforcement vessels to adhere to the ROK regulations enacted pursuant to the U.S.-ROK driftnet agreement, and imposed penalties on masters and owners of 14 violating vessels. Since the ROK certification, Korean driftnet vessels appear to have operated in

accordance with the boundary provisions of the U.S.-ROK driftnet agreement; however, as of October 5, seven Korean driftnet vessels had failed to return to port in compliance with the ROK recall notice. The Government of the ROK has expressed its regret for the violations and has assured the United States that it will do its utmost to ensure that its vessels adhere to all relevant enforcement provisions outlined in the U.S.-ROK driftnet agreement.

Taiwan has yet to take remedial and punitive measures with respect to its driftnet vessels found operating outside of the prescribed high seas fishing area in the North Pacific. The authorities on Taiwan, however, have noted that the vessels in question have been boarded and investigated on the high seas by Taiwan patrol vessels and that punitive actions would be contemplated at the close of the current fishing season when the fishing vessels return to their home ports.

Taiwan has responded to the general concern of the international community by positively addressing the fundamental objective of ending large-scale pelagic driftnet fishing on the high seas by June 30, 1992, as called for by UNGA Resolution 44/225. On September 13, 1991, our representatives received a letter from the authorities on Taiwan that stated that the Executive Yuan reiterated a government policy to end the use of this fishing method by June 30, 1992. We place great reliance on the authorities on Taiwan to implement this policy in a forthright and timely manner.

I have decided to defer sanctions against Taiwan and Korea for 90 days pending evaluation of any additional remedial and punitive measures that each may take regarding the 1991 violations for which it was certified and their adherence to the driftnet agreements.

Over the longer term, I will watch closely their commitment to end large-scale pelagic driftnet fishing on the high seas by June 30, 1992, in line with the desire of the international community to end such fishing by that date.

Certification of Korea or Taiwan will be continued pending review of their performance. I have directed Secretary Mosbacher,

in cooperation with Secretary Baker, to continue to monitor developments relating to large-scale pelagic driftnetting conducted on the high seas by the ROK and Taiwan and to report to me in 90 days or as other-

wise warranted.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
October 18, 1991.

## Statement on the Middle East Peace Conference *October 18, 1991*

I am extremely pleased that Secretary of State Baker and Foreign Minister Pankin have announced that the United States and the Soviet Union are issuing invitations to a Middle East peace conference in Madrid beginning on October 30.

I myself plan to be there to help open this historic gathering, one with the potential to bring true peace and security to the peoples of the area.

As the invitation makes clear, the objective of the effort is nothing less than a just,

lasting, and comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, to be achieved through a two-track approach of direct negotiations between Israel and the Arab States and Israel and the Palestinians based upon U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

I very much hope that all those invited will respond quickly and affirmatively so that the necessary organization and preparations can be completed for this historic undertaking.

## Remarks at the Swearing-In Ceremony of Clarence Thomas as an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court *October 18, 1991*

Welcome, all, to the White House. Mr. Vice President and Mrs. Quayle, a warm welcome, and of course, to the members of the Supreme Court. And may I simply say that Barbara and I join with you and with all the Nation in mourning the loss of Nan Rehnquist, the wife of the Chief Justice.

Let me also welcome the many Members of the United States Congress that are with us today, single out but a few: Minority Leader Dole, and Chairman Biden and ranking member Thurmond of the committee, and so many others. Members of our Cabinet over here and so many friends of Clarence Thomas, who have worked with him here in Washington. And of course, I should especially single out Senator Jack Danforth, a man every American would be proud to call friend.

And of course, those special guests, the many members of Clarence Thomas' family

here today: his wife, Ginnie; son Jamal here in the front row; and Clarence's mother, Mrs. Leola Williams; his sister, Emma Mae Martin; his brother, Myers; his cousins. It reminds me of Pinafore, his cousins, sisters, aunts. [*Laughter*] But that's the way it ought to be. And all of you, some of whom drove all the way up, I see a little advertisement over here, from Pin Point, Georgia, to be here this afternoon. That's 600 long miles, but I've got a feeling they might have driven 6,000 miles to be here today.

People from far and wide, from all walks of life, all levels of education and income, have come here today in testament to the character of Clarence Thomas. But what brought you here is also something more: the power of the American ideal; the values of faith and family, of hard work and opportunity. These are the values that unite us all, that give America meaning.

America is the first nation in history founded on an idea, on the unshakable certainty that all men are created equal. When we ask our Justices to uphold the Constitution, we entrust to them the laws that give life to our principles. Clarence Thomas now joins the distinguished ranks of jurists to whom we entrust this sacred task, who, in the stark and simple phrase of Chief Justice Marshall, tells us "what the law is."

I said when I nominated Clarence Thomas that this man is a fiercely independent thinker, with an excellent legal mind, who believes passionately in equal opportunity for all Americans. Since then, the whole Nation has learned that the passion and the intellect and the independence of mind all spring from a single source, an inner strength stamped on his character long ago when he walked the dirt roads of Pin Point.

Clarence Thomas comes to the Supreme Court having worked in the private sector, having served in State government and in every branch of Federal Government. Each position will serve him well on the Court, sharpening his vantage point on the many questions that come before him. These are the man's qualifications. They are not the same as his experience.

Clarence Thomas knows firsthand the searing hate and sting of segregation. He knows the cold face of indifference, the un-

thinking cruelty that tells some men and women that society expects little of them and offers even less.

But Clarence Thomas would not be here today if there were not more to his story. He's known his share of the joys of life: the love of family, the devotion of friends, the kind gestures from people committed to decency and fairness, to justice and to the American dream.

Clarence Thomas has endured America at its worst, and he's answered with America at its best. He brings that hard-won experience to the High Court, and America will be better for it.

So, let me say to everyone here: Don't be overawed by the solemnity of this moment. Celebrate this day. See what this son of Pin Point has made of himself. See how he makes us proud of America, proud of all that is best in us.

In just a few moments, we will bear witness as the oath of office is administered to our Nation's newest Supreme Court Justice. Before we do, let me say on a personal level, America is blessed to have a man of this character serve on its highest court.

Clarence Thomas, Mr. Justice Thomas, congratulations. And now I'd like to ask Justice Byron White to administer the oath.

*Note: The President spoke at 2 p.m. on the South Lawn of the White House.*

## Message to the Congress on the Determination Not To Impose Sanctions Against Mexico Under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

*October 21, 1991*

*To the Congress of the United States:*

Pursuant to the provisions of subsection (b) of the Pelly Amendment to the Fishermen's Protective Act of 1967, as amended (22 U.S.C. 1978), I am reporting to you that on August 22, 1991, the Secretary of Commerce reported to me that the country of Mexico has been under a court-ordered embargo since February 22, 1991. No yellowfin tuna or products derived from yellowfin

tuna harvested by Mexico with purse seines in the eastern tropical Pacific Ocean may be imported into the United States.

The Secretary's letter to me was deemed to be a certification for the purposes of subsection (a) of the Pelly Amendment. Subsection (a) requires that I consider and, at my discretion, order the prohibition of imports into the United States of fish and fish products from Mexico, to the extent that such

prohibition is consistent with the General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade. Subsection (b) requires me to report to the Congress within 60 days following certification on the actions taken pursuant to the certification; if fish and wildlife imports have not been prohibited, the report must state the reasons for the lack of a prohibition.

After thorough review, I have determined that, given that an embargo is currently in effect and given the continuing negotiations with Mexico toward an international dolphin conservation program in the

eastern tropical Pacific Ocean, sanctions will not be imposed against Mexico at this time. Mexico will continue to be certified, and we will review Mexico's marine mammal incidental mortality under the Marine Mammal Protection Act if a finding is requested for 1992. I will make further reports and recommendations to you as developments warrant.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
October 21, 1991.

## Nomination of Kay Coles James To Be Associate Director for National Drug Control Policy

*October 21, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Kay Coles James, of Virginia, to be Associate Director for National Drug Control Policy. She would succeed Reggie B. Walton.

Since 1990 Ms. James has served as executive vice president and chief operating officer of One to One Partnership, Inc., in Washington, DC. Prior to this, she served as Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs at the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services in Washington, DC, 1989–1990; director of public affairs for the National

Right to Life Committee in Washington, DC, 1985–1988; and personnel director of Circuit City Stores, Inc., in Beltsville, MD, 1983–1985. From 1981 to 1983, Ms. James served as director of community education and development for Housing Opportunities Made Equal in Richmond, VA.

Ms. James graduated from the Hampton Institute in Hampton, VA (B.S., 1971). She was born June 1, 1949, in Portsmouth, VA. Ms. James is married, has three children, and resides in Annandale, VA.

## Remarks at the Welcoming Ceremony for President Václav Havel of Czechoslovakia

*October 22, 1991*

*President Bush.* Today we welcome a man whose moral authority makes him a hero not simply in his own land but everywhere that people cherish freedom: President Václav Havel.

I suspect the life of Václav Havel, President, would tax even the imagination of Václav Havel, playwright. Yet your life inspires us precisely because it shows that greatness begins with small acts of conscience and personal decency, acts that

each one of us can perform.

Confronted with a wall of lies, you summoned the courage to “live in truth,” to shun the silence that allows the lie to live, to speak out and risk the consequences. That courage sustained you through 5 long years in prison, as an outcast in your own country, to the chill autumn night 2 years ago when the people of Czechoslovakia came to Wenceslas Square. At first, a few candles flickered in the night sky. In time,

the square was ablaze with light. The Velvet Revolution had begun.

Long before that night, you had written about "the power of the powerless." In the Revolution of '89, the world saw the Czech and Slovak people break their chains; the world witnessed once more the awesome power of the democratic idea.

Today, the electricity of revolution has given way to the sober business of democracy building. Your Federal Republic faces the challenge of three revolutions: First, an economic revolution to replace the failed command system with the free market. Second, a political revolution to replace the totalitarian travesty with democratic government and the tyranny of men with the rule of law so that Czechs and Slovaks, working together, can build a secure future. And third and most important, you face a moral revolution, the need to build public trust and tolerance, to trade the cynicism that helped people survive the old regime for the idealism that will help you build a new one.

For 40 years, the ruling regime fed your people nothing but lies: a steady diet of quotas fulfilled, record harvests, unanimous votes, and unending progress; an elaborate fantasy that fooled no one. Today, Mr. President, you lead a people who know that being free means facing the truth, preferring fact to fiction, no matter how harsh the truth may be.

Your struggle is far from over. Everywhere across your country you feel the strains, the dislocations, and depressed standard of living. And I know the transition has hit particularly hard in Slovakia.

Yet your country has made impressive progress. You've taken decisive steps to privatize state enterprises, to liberalize trade and investment, to lift restrictions on private enterprise. Each barrier you sweep away unleashes the energies of free enterprise, liberates the Czech and Slovak people to pursue their ideas and ideals.

America stands with you in this effort. Our trade enhancement initiative aims at opening American markets to your products. We seek through a special review to expand your benefits under our Generalized System of Preferences. Our enterprise fund will channel capital to Czech and

Slovak entrepreneurs ready to put it to work. OPIC, the U.S. Government's Overseas Private Investment Corporation, has just completed a mission to Czechoslovakia, the largest mission OPIC has ever led to any country. During your visit, our Governments will sign the new bilateral investment treaty, assuring an attractive investment climate for American firms that do business in your country.

A few days ago, I signed a document exempting the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic from the requirement of an annual Jackson-Vanik review. I hope for early congressional action to grant your country permanent most-favored-nation status. And to aid Czechoslovakia in its efforts to join the global economy, I call on the World Bank and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development to provide assistance to pipeline projects already under consideration.

As your Federal Republic transforms itself within, it also has claimed its place in the councils of Europe. Mr. President, as a founder of Charter 77, you lived through the days when the secret police ransacked homes for papers related to the Helsinki accords. You must marvel that Prague now serves as home to the permanent Secretariat of the CSCE.

Nearly one year ago when I addressed your Federal Assembly, sir, I spoke of America's enduring role in Europe and of our vision of a new commonwealth of freedom. I know you share that vision, and I value your strong conviction that the U.S. should remain in Europe as a guarantor of security. Together, on both sides of the Atlantic, we can work as partners in a growing community of free nations to extend the values of democracy, free enterprise, and the rule of law.

Your country knows better than most the harsh lessons of history, what happens when aggression goes unchecked. When Iraq invaded Kuwait, the Czech and Slovak people stepped forward to take their place in the coalition against the aggressor. Even as it struggled to secure its own fragile independence, your country came to the defense of a nation in need.

You led the way in showing a new

Europe that the security of one state is inseparable from the security of all. I welcome the opportunity to reaffirm today my country's commitment to your success, to the promise of democracy and independence.

Once again, Mr. President, welcome to the White House. And may God bless the Czech and Slovak people.

*President Havel.* Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen. Let me, on behalf of the whole Czechoslovak delegation, thank you for your warm welcome. I have a good feeling that we are coming to friends with whom we share the same attitude toward the principal values of life and who, therefore, understand our problems and needs.

Our friendship has deep roots and has gone through a difficult test of time. In the hearts and minds of our people, it survived the adversity of the long decades of the totalitarian era to be given a new dimension by the freedom reborn in my country 2 years ago. The legacy of the fathers of Czechoslovak-American cooperation—the founder of our State, Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, and President Woodrow Wilson—has thus been fulfilled.

It makes me happy to feel that I can regard you, Mr. President, as a friend of Czechoslovakia and as my personal friend. This is not the first time when I have an opportunity to step on the soil of your country. I shall never forget the reception accorded to me during my last year's visit when I came here for the first time in the capacity of head of state. Today, I am start-

ing my first official state visit to your country, and I am looking forward to seeing it unfold no less successfully.

It will certainly be a breakthrough in our relations as significant documents are to be signed on this occasion. A permanent place among them will be held by the declaration on the relations between our countries in which we shall express our resolve to work together for the advancement of our cooperation. In so doing, we shall make a contribution, even if a limited one, to the strengthening of the traditional partnership between the United States and Europe. We do see in this partnership a guarantee of our own stability and security.

It is my conviction that our visit to your country, for which we prepared with utmost care, will achieve its purpose and confirm what I have said with much pleasure a number of times already, namely, that relations between Czechoslovakia and the United States have never been as good as they are now.

Thank you.

*Note: President Bush spoke at 10:12 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House where President Havel was accorded a formal welcome with full military honors. In his remarks, President Bush referred to Presidential Determination No. 92-3 of October 16 concerning Czechoslovak emigration policy and Charter 77, a group of Czechoslovak dissidents founded in 1977 to address human rights issues within Czechoslovakia. President Havel spoke in Czech, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.*

## Joint Declaration of the United States and the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic

*October 22, 1991*

The United States and Czechoslovakia are bound by a commitment to the fundamental principles of democracy, human liberty and the rule of law. These values form the basis of the U.S. Constitution as well as of the Czechoslovak Declaration of Independence, which was written in the United

States and signed in 1918. Slovak and Czech representatives, led by Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk and Milan Rastislav Štefánik, inspired by the concepts of freedom and democracy, brought to life the idea of a common Czecho-Slovak State. It became a model parliamentary democracy in the

heart of Europe that flourished until falling victim to Nazism and Stalinism. The United States remained steadfast in its belief that democracy and freedom must come to Czechoslovakia. The monuments to American soldiers and airmen who gave their lives for the freedom of Czechs and Slovaks bear witness to that commitment.

The Czechoslovak democratic revolution of 1989 opened the way to a new beginning in Czechoslovak-U.S. relations. The United States reaffirms its commitment to Czechs and Slovaks as they work to consolidate a free, prosperous, and independent society. The United States values the participation of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic in the commonwealth of free nations and considers its security and independence integral to the new Europe, whole and free.

Our relations are based on the United Nations Charter, on the principles embraced in the Helsinki Final Act, the Paris Charter of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and other CSCE commitments. Our nations and peoples understand that to promote fundamental human rights is also to accept the responsibility to look beyond personal, ethnic, or regional self-interest and work toward the common good. We are committed to developing our new partnership through an enhanced political dialogue and regular contacts at all levels in areas of common interest.

We will work together as members of the growing Euro-Atlantic community, supported by the Atlantic link, European integration, and regional cooperation. The CSFR considers the presence of the United States in Europe as indispensable to peace and security in this new community. Czechoslovakia and the United States will help to build a new system of cooperative security in Europe based on democracy and respect for the Helsinki principles which will complement NATO and its indispensable role in safeguarding European security. The CSFR welcomes the proposal to develop new institutional relationships with NATO, including regular meetings, participation in some of the meetings of NATO committees and groups, and increasing civilian and military exchanges.

We share the conviction that only a

market economy releases the creative potential of individuals and constitutes an essential condition for economic and social development and prosperity. The United States hopes to assist Czechoslovakia in making the transition to a free market economy as rapid and as smooth as possible. It is our mutual hope that the Czech and Slovak-American Enterprise Fund and the new Bilateral Investment Treaty will advance the progress of the reform now underway. Similarly, we support the efforts undertaken, in the context of the Group of 24, to provide assistance to the reforming economies of Central and Eastern Europe.

The CSFR and the United States call for the early conclusion of the Uruguay Round of the GATT. This agreement on trade is essential to the successful pursuit of our common goals of economic reform and growth in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and globally. Recognizing the importance of free trade, the CSFR welcomes the steps taken by the United States to provide expanded market access.

The United States and the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic reaffirm the importance of cooperative regional ties. We recognize that the strengthening of the traditional economic, cultural, and political ties which bind together the states and people of Central Europe will help them overcome historic national antagonisms and will advance their integration into Europe. The United States welcomes the increasing cooperation undertaken by Czechoslovakia and other countries of the region, and believes that such cooperation will help assure the irreversibility of democratic change and the peaceful settlement of all disputes.

The United States of America and the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic are convinced that the principles of this declaration will further strengthen the bonds of lasting friendship and cooperation between both states, as an integral element of the broader partnership that binds the United States and Europe and of a new world order based on democratic values and the rule of law.

*Note: This declaration was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary but was not issued as a White House press release.*

## Exchange With Reporters Prior to a Meeting with the Secretary of Agriculture

October 22, 1991

### *Aid to the Soviet Union*

Q. Mr. President, are you going to provide aid for the Soviets for the winter?

*The President.* Nobody is going to starve, and people are not going to be adversely affected in their health for lack of medicine. But we're not—we're going to hear from the Secretary as to what he feels is required. And we've always, the United States has always been open for humanitarian support, for humanitarian needs. But we have made no decisions on any of this yet. I read one report from Ed Madigan. I now am going to have a more detailed presentation here. And then we've got to tie all of this together.

Secretary Brady is back from Asia, where they had a meeting of the G-7 regarding the overall demands or requests from the Soviet Union. And you've got to consider the foreign policy aspects of it. Mr. Zoellick is with us today. So, we've got a lot of planning before we—

Q. Well, how quickly are you prepared to meet those—

*The President.* Well, do it in a reasonable, prudent way, to take whatever time is required to be sure what you're doing makes sense. We've got a lot of domestic problems. We've got a lot of domestic demands here, and we've got to sort it all out. So, I don't know. I can't give you an exact timeframe as to when we will have a plan. We've got many other countries we're

working with on this. So, it's not just the United States waving a wand and solving problems. We've got our own resource problems. We want to help. We've got to coordinate this with other countries. So, I just can't help you on the exact timeframe.

### *Hostages in Lebanon*

Q. Are we seeing the end of the hostage crisis in Lebanon?

*The President.* This takes me back to Maine, in August, when we kept talking about all the hostages coming out, you remember? And I said, "Listen, please don't press me on this. I do not want to get the hopes of these families up." And sure enough, one hostage released, and now, thank God, another. We're very pleased about that. But we just have to keep supporting the efforts that are going on right now to get the release of all of them. But I just can't, again, help you on timing on that.

Thank you all.

*Note: The exchange began at 2:15 p.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. During the exchange, the President referred to Robert B. Zoellick, Counselor of the Department of State. The President also referred to the Group of 7 (G-7), the industrialized democracies that participate in annual economic summit meetings. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Release of American Hostage Jesse Turner

October 22, 1991

We rejoice with Mr. Jesse Turner and his family at his release after so many years in unjust captivity. We pray that he is in good health and will soon be reunited with his family. Our special State Department re-

ception team left the U.S. at midday for Wiesbaden, Germany, to provide any assistance possible.

We cannot forget that others remain hostage. We call again for the safe, immediate,



and unconditional release of all those in the region who are held hostage outside the process of law. We also seek a full accounting of those who have died in captivity, including return of their remains.

We appreciate the efforts of all those who

helped make this release possible and welcome the humanitarian efforts of the U.N. Secretary-General. Mr. Turner had been in captivity for nearly 5 years. Four other American hostages remain.

## Remarks on Signing the Executive Order on Civil Justice Reform *October 23, 1991*

Welcome, everyone. I'm of course very grateful to Dan Quayle, our Vice President, for his hard work on the issue that I want to discuss today and to many of you here who have been very helpful in all of this. I want to single out our nominee for Attorney General, Bill Barr, the Acting Attorney General, and Ken Starr, the Solicitor General who headed the working group that produced what I think is a very fine report.

A little more than 2 months ago, the Vice President outlined our agenda for civil justice reform before the American Bar Association. That speech unleashed a national debate, a flurry of mail here at the White House, I might add, and some of the best lawyer jokes that I've heard in years. *[Laughter]*

But we're not here today to make an easy hit on lawyers. Frankly, I don't think that the problem rests with lawyers; the problem stems from a legal system that just spun out of control. Sadly, we've become the most litigious society in the world.

In order to restore sanity to our civil justice system, the Competitiveness Council that the Vice President chairs has recommended extensive and concrete steps that we can take, starting today, to get our legal system back on track. There's 50 recommendations, and these 50 recommendations include changes in the rules of discovery, adoption in certain areas of the "loser pays" rule, encouragement of alternative dispute resolution, caps on punitive damages, and changes in the rules and expert evidence to end the use of "junk science" on the witness stand.

I've named only a few of our many recommendations. Some of these proposals require Federal legislation, and we're going

to be transmitting that up to the Congress very, very soon. Other proposals require action by the Supreme Court. Today's Executive order will apply most of these recommendations, where possible, to the Federal Government. And I'm asking every agency head, many here today, to do everything possible to fully and effectively implement the Executive order.

With all that said, let me get to the heart of the matter. Civil justice reform is absolutely essential to our country's well-being. I'm talking about access to health care and quality of life. Parents are having a tough time finding an obstetrician just out there in some of the States because many obstetricians found it wasn't worth it to practice anymore. I'm talking about beneficial new products that never reach the marketplace at all because of liability concerns.

I'm talking about jobs. We got a letter the other day from an architect in California named Charles Yaeger. Here's what he wrote, "I have many friends who are going out of business because of fear of lawsuits."

And I'm talking about inflation and consumer prices. The owner of Zaun's Trustworthy Hardware in Iowa, Brad Zaun, wrote to us as follows: "As a business owner myself, the liability insurance is getting out of hand. The manufacturers could significantly lower their prices both wholesale and retail, which would stimulate our economy."

Maybe other countries don't have this problem because every other Western democracy has the "loser pays" rule in order to discourage senseless lawsuits. Maybe it's because we have most of the world's lawyers here in America. Maybe it's because

the pop culture in this country encourages lawsuits.

I don't know how many of you watch Hulk Hogan in the movie, but he's got a brand new movie out there, and at one point he asks the bad guys if they're going to beat him up. You know what the bad guys replied? "Hey, this is the nineties; we're going to sue you." [Laughter]

People around the country understand that, and they have understood it for some time. And we've got to get something done about it. You see the problem everywhere. From the hindrance of new medicines to local bans of firework displays on the Fourth of July, the fear of outlandish litigation has begun to strangle the American dream.

Americans understand that civil justice reform means growth, competitiveness, and jobs. That's why I feel so strongly about these recommendations by Dan Quayle's Competitiveness Council. This is not a par-

tisan issue; we keep making that point. It's a matter of overcoming the vested interests and changing the status quo to ensure a better and most prosperous life for all Americans.

The Federal Government is the largest single consumer of legal resources. As the client, I'm asking you, the Government's top lawyers, to help us change the status quo. The Executive order will hold you to higher standards than private practitioners. But it will also give us the opportunity to lead the country by example toward civil justice reform.

Today we're taking the first step. And now I want to invite Bill Barr and Ken Starr to join Dan Quayle and me up here as I sign this Executive order. And again, thank you all very much for coming.

*Note: The President spoke at 11:43 a.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. The Executive order is listed in Appendix E at the end of this volume.*

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Middle East Peace Conference

October 23, 1991

We are extremely pleased that we now have in hand the acceptances of all those invited to participate in the Middle East peace conference. We believe this positive response constitutes another significant milestone on the path of resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict. As the President said at the time the invitations were issued, we

view this conference as having the potential to bring true peace and security to the region. We very much hope that all those attending will come to Madrid with an open mind, ready to begin on October 30 to set aside the hatreds and suspicions of the past and work toward building a new, more peaceful Middle East.

## Nomination of Kevin E. Moley To Be Deputy Secretary of Health and Human Services

October 23, 1991

The President today announced his intention to nominate Kevin E. Moley, of Louisiana, to be Deputy Secretary of Health and Human Services. He would succeed Con-

stance Horner.

Since 1989, Mr. Moley has served as Assistant Secretary for Management and Budget at the U.S. Department of Health

and Human Services. Prior to this, he served with the Health Care Financing Administration's Office of Prepaid Health Care at the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services as Director, 1986–1988, and Confidential Assistant to the Administrator and then Acting Administrator of Operations, 1984–1986. Mr. Moley also served as a district group manager for CNA Insur-

ance Co. of Chicago and for the New England Life Insurance Co. in marketing and underwriting management positions.

Mr. Moley served in the U.S. Marine Corps, 1965–1971. He was born November 7, 1946, in New York, NY. Mr. Moley is married, has one child, and resides in McLean, VA.

## Remarks at the Veterans of the Office of Strategic Services Dinner *October 23, 1991*

Well, thank you, Judge McGivern and Geoffrey Jones and General Quinn and Vangie Bruce. Barbara and I are just delighted to be with you. I want to salute, first off, my two predecessors as DCI: Dick Helms over here and Bill Colby over there, both of whom taught me an awful lot and helped me during that one fantastic year that I was privileged to serve at Langley. And it's good to see in the audience our next Director of Central Intelligence, my dear, trusted friend, Bob Gates.

I want to salute particularly those who have come here from Norway and from France and from England honoring the memory of the OAS—OSS. Not that I should get into this language business here, OAS, OSS, you can't tell one—[*laughter*—no, but I think it's a wonderful tribute to the common bond that they are here with us tonight. I'm also delighted that Sophia Casey could be here this evening, Bill's widow.

And I wanted to salute another man I served with who's not here tonight, but that's Bill Webster, upon whom I relied so heavily and who, in my view, served so very, very well as DCI. And also the man that stepped into his shoes, Dick Kerr, who stepped in and guided and is guiding this agency in complicated times when Bill left. Dick's over here, and I'm just delighted he's with us. And I'm very grateful to both of them. Also, two other special people with us tonight: A member of my Cabinet, Carla Hills, who's doing an outstanding job negotiating these trade agreements, and also my

trusted NSC Adviser, Brent Scowcroft over here.

And one last one, a man that shows you can do it. When the President says let's go, he knows how to carry it out. And I'm talking about General Stiner, over here, who I'll always be grateful to.

I had no idea that I'd get such a big, heavy medal. I'm wondering if it's recording, around this crowd here. [*Laughter*]

But seeing Evangeline Bruce over here reminds me of a story about D-day. General Donovan, the story goes, told David Bruce that he had arranged to be buried at Arlington and asked David if he had done the same. And suddenly alarmed, David said, "No, and why do you ask?" Donovan replied, "You should get a plot near mine. Then we can start an underground together." [*Laughter*] I don't know if that's true. [*Laughter*]

But seriously, I will always treasure this Donovan Award. It will remind me always to honor the general's memory.

I may well turn out to be the last American President of World War II vintage. Time does march on. But I am one who will never forget the honor and the decency and the courage of the OSS. It will be with me as long as I live.

And as for William Donovan, he was one of those rare statesmen whose deeds and ideas will continue to guide and inspire free people long after his time, indeed long after your time and mine. Next year we celebrate half a century since Bill founded the OSS and established intelligence capabilities

to make the United States an enduring force for world freedom. And though 32 years have passed since General Donovan's death, his legacy lives in the breezes of freedom that enliven Dresden and Kiev and Krakow.

William Donovan believed that the way to avoid a hot war was to win the cold war. And for two succeeding generations, thousands of men and women in our intelligence community fought that struggle for world peace and freedom. Many of you, you OSS veterans, stood in the front ranks.

Four OSS men became chiefs of the CIA: Allen Dulles, Dick Helms, and Bill Colby and Bill Casey. Historians will record their courage, their leadership, and yes, their patriotism.

We've heard too much, and much unfair and untrue, of failure in recent weeks and too little of CIA's crucial part in this victory for freedom. And we've heard too little of the sacrifice you and those you trained made to advance democracy. We've heard too little of the cold war victory that is indeed your special triumph.

But I am confident that history will honor the "cold warriors" of the Agency, of CIA: The men and women who struggled in the shadows, sent messages over the airwaves, smuggled forbidden books and magazines, all to help pierce the Iron Curtain. History will praise the secret strategies and operations, the personal valor and organizational excellence that gave our intelligence community success in its cold war mission.

And history will indeed marvel at the vision of William Donovan. General Donovan made a clear-eyed distinction between means and ends. He saw the need for strong intelligence capabilities even outside the wartime, but he never thought of the intelligence function as an end in itself. And though he was acclaimed in his lifetime as the father of American central intelligence, he said he would rather be remembered for his contribution to a peaceful world order, to a true community of free nations.

More than three decades ago, he foresaw today's events, miraculous events. And here's the quote: "Someday the Iron Curtain will lift," he declared, "and the captive nations of East Europe will become part of a United Europe. Even Russia, purged by

future events of its desire to bully and subdue its neighbors, will be a member, and given the genius of the Russian people, a highly respected and valued member." How's that for your vision thing?

As Bill Donovan's bold vision becomes a reality, we must preserve solid American intelligence capabilities. We need them for this promising new era no less than we required them for the period that followed the Second World War.

I mentioned this earlier, but let me just state again: I have chosen a vigorous new leader to be the Director of Central Intelligence, Bob Gates. And he is a tough-minded innovator, and he is an independent thinker with a passion for excellence. And he has served by my side through Panama crisis, through Desert Storm, through the drama of August in Moscow, and I have the fullest trust in his integrity and ability.

And I was very pleased, and I'm sure you were, by the strong Senate Intelligence Committee vote to endorse Bob's nomination. And let me just say I hope you will join me in urging the full Senate to confirm him promptly. He's got a big and important job to do.

Bob's mission is to lead our intelligence community in changing as profoundly as the world has changed. The collapse of Soviet communism will affect the world as dramatically and favorably as did the defeat of Hitler and the Axis. After V-E Day, the OSS no longer needed to parachute Jedburghs into Germany. By the same logic, we have less need to apply some of our more daring and costly collection methods to gain intelligence from post-Communist Europe and Russia. Just as we can now afford to make sweeping cuts in nuclear forces once used to deter the Soviet threat, we can and we will make better use of the assets we once needed to penetrate Soviet secrecy.

By no means can we or should we or will we let our guard down. Let no one mistake our confidence and good will for weakness. We're not about to dismantle the intelligence capabilities that we've worked so hard to rebuild, but we must adapt them to new realities.

Success in the struggle against communism does not mean the CIA's work is done. Bob Gate's challenge, the community's challenge, the challenge of the excellent men and women in Langley and elsewhere in the intelligence community, is to move beyond the cold war to the complex problems of the 21st century. Tomorrow's intelligence community will need to consolidate and extend freedom's gains against totalitarianism. Intelligence will enhance our protection against terrorism, against the drug menace. Intelligence will help our policymakers understand emerging economic opportunities and challenges. It will help us thwart anyone who tries to steal our technology or otherwise refuses to play by the competitive rules. It will help us seek peace and avert conflicts in regions of dangerous tension.

One task for tomorrow's intelligence community is especially urgent: Stopping the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, biological weapons, chemical weapons, nuclear weapons, ballistic missiles. This is a life-or-death mission, and I'm going to do everything in my power to make sure American intelligence has the resources and the leadership to get the job done.

Tomorrow's job will be easier because today's intelligence community has given its successors a head start. As President, I'm privileged to know some unsung American heroes of the here and now, heroes who will never wear a medal; they'll never sit at the head table. It's well that we remember past embodiments of American courage: the Swamp Fox; the ragged Continentals; the men of the Fighting 69th; the poets and lawyers, women and men, of the OSS. But be assured that right this very day, our intelligence professionals are performing deeds as brave and vital as those of any heroes in our history. Be assured that victory in Desert Storm cost so few American lives because, in my view at least, our intelligence community did its work with characteristic brilliance.

America will keep faith with these women and men. Under Bob Gate's direction, we will dramatically expand our human intelligence collection efforts. We will give our officers and analysts the very finest in support technology. And we will

show no tolerance for those who leak secrets that protect our intelligence professionals' lives.

I was only out at Langley a short time. I want to relate something to you because few moments for me have been more painful than the occasion I had, just before I became DCI, to meet with the son of Richard Welch, a CIA station chief murdered by left-wing terrorists after his name and position had been disclosed to the press. What was I to say to this young man? Why has his father died? So that a reckless ideologue could sell more books, Philip Agee's "Counter-spy" having blown Richard Welch's cover? I don't care how long I live, I will never forgive Philip Agee and those like him who wantonly sacrifice the lives of intelligence officers who loyally serve their country.

Not long ago, not long ago over in the Roosevelt Room in the White House, I invited a group of CIA station chiefs who had been instrumental in the success of Desert Shield and Desert Storm. They were the station chiefs from that whole Middle East area. And I explained that I just wanted to shake their hands and address them face to face and tell them how deeply I appreciate their courage and devotion to our country. And I wish I could personally thank every individual who serves selflessly out there, takes the risks that they do.

But I forgot to tell them one thing: I am sick and tired of those in the political arena or, yes, in the media who do nothing but carp and criticize and second-guess the intelligence community of the United States. Measuring intentions, as everyone in this room knows, is an extraordinarily difficult task, and no one can expect every estimate to turn out to be 100 percent correct or 100 percent perfect.

Let me sum it up this way. I am absolutely convinced—and I have a responsibility, I think, to the American people to see that this is true—but I am absolutely convinced that we have the finest intelligence service in the world. It is second to none. And as President of the United States of America I intend to keep it that way, to support it, to strengthen it, and to honor those who serve with such selfless dedication.

Thank you very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 9:38 p.m. at the Washington Hilton Hotel. Prior to his remarks, the President received the William J. Donovan Medal, awarded to those who have rendered distinguished service in the interest of the democratic process and the cause of freedom. In his remarks, the President referred to Owen McGivern, chairman of the Donovan Award Committee; Geoffrey M.T. Jones, president of the Veterans of*

*the OSS; Lt. Gen. William W. Quinn, Ret., emcee for the dinner; Evangeline Bell Bruce, former OSS official and wife of the former U.S. Ambassador to the Court of St. James, David K.E. Bruce; Acting Director of Central Intelligence Richard J. Kerr; and Gen. Karl Stiner, Commander of the U.S. Special Operations Command. Richard S. Welch, a CIA official, was killed in Athens, Greece, on December 23, 1975. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

## Remarks to Public Administration Groups on Public Service October 24, 1991

Thank you all very, very much for being here. I know it's nice to get off of work. [Laughter] But I'm talking about getting people this interested in public service to come together. I'm particularly pleased to see Tim Clark, who is president of the national capital area chapter of the American Society for Public Administration; Ray Kline, over here, the president of the National Association of Public Administrators; and then my old friend Dave Maxwell, vice chairman of the Council for Excellence in Government, all interested in public service.

I am delighted to join you this morning. I come here, I hope, in a constructive vein to discuss two issues that we all care about deeply: public service and then, Tim touched on it, public faith in government.

Like many of you, I have devoted much of my adult life to public service. And I, too, cherish public service really as a special honor and a personal obligation. And I always have. Long ago, my dad served for years as the moderator of the town meeting, the Connecticut town meeting in our town of Greenwich. It convened once a month, and people came there and talked about whatever concerned them as they always do at town meetings. It could be rowdy or boring. The meetings always, though, gave people a special sense that their opinions made a difference and that they shared something special with their

neighbors and friends. Those meetings taught me just what we mean when we talk of a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

The notion of public service has always motivated Americans to be Americans. More than 150 years ago, de Tocqueville noted with some astonishment that "When an American needs the assistance of his fellows, it is very rare for that to be refused, and I have often seen it given spontaneously and eagerly." He did not mistake us for saints. He understood that freedom demands such service to others.

It also demands that public servants lead by example. Americans will not tolerate hypocrisy. People in other countries wonder why we make such a fuss when our leaders violate our standards of behavior. The reason is simple: As Americans, we feel that we have a destiny to lead, to show the way by ideals, not just to ourselves but to the entire world.

Yet while our Government rests upon unchanging principle, it cannot rest upon past achievements. Government, like everything else, must evolve. Our long and sturdy tradition of tolerance enables us to test new ideas through public debate. When Congress considers issues, no one minds a tough and honest discussion. We expect it. By the same token, we want and expect our free press to look beneath events, take account of people's motives, and ask tough questions

rather than numbly repeating partisan propaganda or baseless rumor. We demand integrity in public behavior and discourse, and when we don't get it, we react.

The recent hearings on Judge Thomas stirred a kind of anger. The American people saw some of the seamier sides of Washington life. They saw proceedings that degenerated into target practice against good men and women. Ronnie Perry of Brunswick, Georgia, wrote me a letter. I don't know him. Here's what it said: "It is my fear that good, honest, moral men and women in this country will no longer subject themselves to the ridicule that Judge Thomas had to face." Likewise, Anita Hill's backers might wonder how anyone might be expected to come forward in the future if public officials cannot maintain proper confidentiality, such as the confidentiality promised to Professor Hill.

I want to digress, though, in fairness, to read from page 3 of the hearings on the Committee on the Judiciary, because Senator Biden, in my judgment, tried. Here's what he said at the very opening of these hearings: "Second, while I have less discretion than a judge in a trial to bar inappropriate or embarrassing questions, all of the witnesses should know that they have a right to ask that the committee go into closed session." He cites a rule here, rule 26.5, "to go into a closed session if a question requires an answer that is a clear invasion to the right to privacy.

"The committee will take very seriously the request of any witness to answer particularly embarrassing questions as they view whether or not it is embarrassing to answer those questions in private." So I salute the Chairman for those words that went unheeded as the process unfolded.

The bruising hearings showed what happens when political factions let agendas overwhelm personal decency. Some people have tried to drag public debate to a new low, searching openly for dirt, any dirt, without regard to people's rights to privacy, sometimes without concern for the facts. While crusading pressure groups talk about their favorite issues, they forget that human beings sit there beneath the glare of the spotlight, vulnerable to assault from all quarters. The piranha tactics of smearing

the individual and ignoring the issue serve no public purpose. They aim to destroy lives and wreck reputations.

The dramatic hearings and the theatrics outside the hearing rooms captivated the attention of the American public, all right. Millions upon millions of Americans watched the hearings with a combination of curiosity, suspense, and, I submit to you all, disgust. The Nation was stunned and repulsed by the spectacle. The scenes from the Senate bore little resemblance to the tidy legislative process that we all studied in school and that we describe to our children, now, maybe to our grandchildren. X-rated statements, cross-examinations pushed aside the soaps and Saturday cartoons. And the process seemed unreal, more like a satire than like the Government in which all of you, in which I take so much pride; more like a burlesque show than a civics class.

The hearings also showed that politicians must contend with a host of different forces and influences. The public saw the congressional staffers everywhere; saw outside pressure groups exhorting and twisting, and the staffs ever-present, everywhere.

I worry that the hearings sent our people this kind of false message: "If you want to make a difference, don't enter public service. Join a special interest group. That way, whether it's the right or the left, join a special interest group, and that way you can fight as hard as you want or as dirty as you want without any responsibility for the results."

I served in Congress. I have great respect for Congress. I know the incredible pressure and difficulty of working there. But public faith in Congress is absolutely vital for our form of government. I think we can all work together to help strengthen its image and build greater public support.

Members of Congress criticize the executive branch all the time. That's fine, often constructively. And I offer these suggestions, then, in a spirit of constructive criticism.

First, given the outrageous nature of the leaks and the Senate's announced intention of going after them, the Senate must determine who leaked the information and turned what should have been a confiden-

tial investigation into what many people who wrote me described as "a circus" and "a travesty."

Here's a proposal that I support: The Senate should appoint immediately a special counsel to find out who leaked what and for what reasons. The public cares very much about this case, and in my view, they will for a long, long time. And the investigation ought to focus just on this case. And the special counsel should receive unfettered access to all relevant records and witnesses and should have subpoena power to get the truth. The Senate ought to set a clear goal for finishing up the investigation. I suggest January 3d, when it returns for a new session. Frankly, the American people just will not understand it if the Senate fails to bring the leaker or leakers to justice.

Second, we must promote more tolerant, less viciously partisan debate. I've heard complaints that the White House does not consult sufficiently with Congress in matters of these nominations. Frankly, I have tried to consult with Congress. And we welcome closer consultation. Let me just get that out on the table. I don't want to put any nominee through a public meat grinder. And I always welcome advice, especially in cases that might prove controversial.

Much of what I have to say today has been sharpened by discussion with Members of Congress. But let me make it clear: I will not give a group of Senators veto power over a nominee before the Senate has conducted hearings and held a confirmation vote. I will not surrender Presidential authority or powers any more than Congress will surrender its power.

In any event, no one ought to accept the charge of insufficient consultation as an excuse for this unforgivable leak.

Third, the hearings focused attention on the problem of sexual harassment in the workplace. We have taken additional steps at the White House as recently as yesterday to address the problem. We will ensure that employees of the Executive Office of the President are aware of the problem and appreciate fully our strong commitment to building a workplace free of harassment. And on March 1st, our administration submitted a civil rights bill that contains specific provisions to strengthen penalties against

sexual harassment and encourage compliance with the law. That was back on March 1st. Congress will act soon, I hope by passing my civil rights bill. And at the very least, I hope Congress will pass the portions on which we have reached agreement.

But legislation alone can't solve the problem of sexual harassment in the workplace. Sexual harassment is ugly behavior. Together, we must eradicate prejudices, not just through laws but through simple respect for other human beings. In the end, laws can punish prejudice, but they cannot, alone anyway, produce enlightenment. Only we can do that by acting on our convictions.

The Thomas hearings also raised concerns about the confirmation process generally. And let me offer several specific recommendations for reforming the process.

First, shorten the time-lapse between nominations and confirmation; shorten it to 6 weeks. It takes four times as long to secure a vote today, four times as long as it did just 30 years ago during the Presidency of John Kennedy. It took the Senate an average of 63 days to confirm our appointments sent up in 1989; 65 days for the group nominated in 1990. We now have a large group of people waiting for the Senate to vote on their nominations, and they have been waiting an average of 80 days.

At the beginning of this week, more than 190 nominations remained pending before the Senate. A few examples: I nominated Bob Clarke, Robert Clarke, for appointment as Comptroller of the Currency on January 23d, more than 9 months ago; I nominated Larry Lindsey for a seat on the Federal Reserve Board on February 28th. In times of economic concern, we need the service of these people. And if Members of the Senate don't like my nominees, then they should vote against them. But they should not stall progress by resorting to the old, and in my view, obsolete technique of placing a hold on nominations. Once again, this isn't Republican or Democrat; it is institutional.

We in the White House certainly must do our part. We will redouble our efforts to ensure that nominees complete all their required paperwork promptly and will re-



spond promptly to requests for further important information. I've asked our Office of the White House Counsel and Office of Government Ethics to see that our regulations and clearance procedures do not, however, discourage public service. I am committed to an ethical administration, but we must ensure that our rules have not become so detailed and so onerous as to scare good, honest people away from public service.

And second, we will work with committees in Congress to ensure the confidentiality of information. I have ordered that the FBI reports be carried directly to committee chairmen and any members designated by the chairmen. The members will read the reports immediately, in the presence of the agent, and then return them. No FBI reports will stay on Capitol Hill. And furthermore, members only will have access to these reports. Staffs will not have access to these reports.

This preserves confidentiality. In my view, it protects nominees. It protects potential witnesses against the nominees. And it protects the Members of Congress.

Third, Congress should establish a mechanism for investigating congressional leaks thoroughly, professionally, promptly. And I've met this week with several leaders from the Senate from both parties, and they agree that we must prevent future leaks and establish a suitable mechanism for investigating them swiftly, bringing culprits to justice.

There is no excuse for leaks that wreck lives and needlessly destroy reputations. The law already prohibits such leaks from the executive branch. And again, we intend to enforce that law rigorously. I know it's not easy. I've been there. I saw it when I was Director of Central Intelligence when we dealt with national security. I've seen frustrating leaks in the White House that have nothing to do with character assassination or national security, that simply relate to policy matters. I know it's not a simple matter here. But we've got to do better, both the executive and the legislative branch.

And fourth, Congress ought to follow the same laws that it imposes on everyone else. More than a dozen laws apply to the executive branch, but not the Congress. Most of

these laws apply to everyone in America except Members of Congress. Congress does not have to comply with the Equal Pay Act of 1963. It does not have to follow title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, a title that prohibits sexual harassment and discrimination on the basis of race, color, sex, religion, and national origin. It doesn't have to obey the provisions of the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990, the Age Discrimination in Employment Act.

I would wager that the American people do not know that Congress has exempted itself from the sexual harassment laws private employers and the executive branch must obey. And they have. We've heard choruses of criticism against the evils of sexual harassment. And we've received good suggestions about how to become more vigilant about this insidious crime. But these lessons should not be wasted on the men and women who drafted the law. For you see, when Congress exempts itself from the very laws that it writes for others, it strikes at its own reputation and shatters public confidence in government.

These exemptions encourage special interest groups to press, then, for reckless regulations, knowing that Congress might adopt such laws if it won't feel the sting of these laws. This practice creates the appearance and reality of a privileged class of rulers who stand above the law. Our founders thought it preposterous to suggest that such behavior would ever take place in America.

We did a little research. Federalist Paper number 57 asserts that elected officials, and here's the exact language, "can make no law which will not have in full operation on themselves and their friends, as well as on the great mass of society." The writer of that paper also noted ominously, "If this spirit shall ever be so far debased as to tolerate a law not obligatory on the legislature as well as on the people, the people will be prepared to tolerate anything but liberty."

The people have begun to speak now. And today I call upon the Congress to take a simple step toward increasing public confidence: Submit to the laws it imposes on others, including strict enforcement provisions, not just Ethics Committee jurisdiction.

tion, and do so by the year's end.

There's a lot of just plain people up there on the Hill trying to make a living. And people who work for Congress ought to have the same rights and legal remedies as those who work for anyone else.

But Congress also must submit to the laws that is imposed on the executive branch. And this includes the Privacy Act, which prohibits inappropriate leaks by executive agencies, title VI of the Ethics in Government Act of 1978, the independent counsel law.

And all of us should demonstrate our commitment to clean and effective government. From the very start of my administration, I made it absolutely clear that I expect my appointees to follow strict standards of propriety so the American people would have full and increasing confidence in our ability and integrity.

I established a Commission on Federal Ethics Law Reform in January of 1989. I pushed for initiatives that resulted in the Ethics Reform Act of 1989. I signed an Executive order in April '89, setting forth the principles of ethical Government service. And I charged the Office of Government Ethics with issuing a single, comprehensive, and clear set of objective, reasonable, and enforceable standards. Those standards will be ready soon. They're out now for review.

In the executive departments and the White House we do strive to set and meet high standards of public service. I'll never be happy. We can always do better in the executive branch, in the departments, and in the White House. And I pledge to the American people that I'm not here to point fingers; I will continue to see that we do a better job of all of this in the executive branch of the Government. I'm going to keep on trying. But all I'm doing here is inviting the Congress to do the same. Sometimes we protest too much, and we reform too little. And so, now is the time to act.

And finally—going on too long here, but I'm wound up on this. *[Laughter]* I really feel strongly about this. Finally, we all must remember that our business is to do the public's business. That becomes increasingly different for a Congress that contains more than 300 committees and subcommittees and makes use of nearly 40,000 workers. It

becomes increasingly difficult for a Congress that answers to no one with respect to its budget, its staff, its perks, even the enforcement of its own rules.

The business of doing the people's business gets even more difficult when committees make broad and unfocused demands. For example, the Judiciary Committee asked Clarence Thomas to submit more than 32,000 pages of documentation prior to his hearings. I'd hate to give a quiz to the Senators to see how many people read the 32,000 documents that they asked for. *[Laughter]*

A defense bill routinely runs a gamut of committees and subcommittees. I support the bipartisan effort of Senators Boren and Domenici, Representatives Hamilton and Gradison to trim this overgrown thicket of committees and subcommittees. These four are out front for congressional reform, and I salute them. Senator Boren framed the matter when he said this: "No one doubts that Congress is in trouble as an institution. In poll after poll, Americans describe Congress"—these are his words—"as inefficient, unresponsive, wasteful, and compromised by the way it finances its campaigns." "It's time for Congress to take another look at itself," these four suggest. "It's time to go beyond piecemeal efforts and to enact comprehensive, bicameral reforms."

I support the efforts of the congressional reformers. A system originally designed to help Congress do the public's business has turned into a machine so complex and bewildering that the public doesn't understand it. Many Members of Congress do not fully understand it. Only specialists and lobbyists can pick their way through the labyrinth.

The American people want more. They want a Government that will foster economic growth and fight crime and drugs and work to improve schools and build better roads and answer the concerns of the people. And they want a Government that listens, not one that commands.

And in the end, taxpayers won't be impressed with reforms if Members of Congress pay greater heed to the beltway lobbyists and pressure groups than to constituents. If people feel powerless, they will find

ways to recover their just powers.

Our founders handed down to us the finest system of government in history, one in which the legislature and the executive do battle as part of our system of checks and balances. But we must remember who is servant and who is master. Noah Webster asked in 1802, "If all officers of government are the servants of the people, how can it be expected that the masters should not, at times, take the government out of the hands of the servants."

The reforms I've proposed today will help us do the people's business. They will rein in a Government that seems remote, seems

distant and complex; they will bring it back to the people and give citizens the feeling of power that we felt at those town meetings some 60 years ago. We must remember, we come here to serve. A few simple reforms can go a long way toward building the public faith upon which our entire democracy depends.

Thank you not only for your interest but for all you do in elevating public service. It's worthwhile. Don't give up your work.

Thank you very, very much, indeed.

*Note: The President spoke at 11:52 a.m. at the National Museum of American History.*

## Message to the Senate Transmitting the Panama-United States Legal Assistance Treaty

*October 24, 1991*

*To the Senate of the United States:*

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Treaty between the United States of America and the Republic of Panama on Mutual Assistance in Criminal Matters, with Annex and Appendices, signed at Panama on April 11, 1991. I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the Report of the Department of State with respect to the Treaty.

The Treaty is one of a series of modern mutual legal assistance treaties being negotiated by the United States in order to counter criminal activities more effectively. The Treaty should be an effective tool to assist in the prosecution of a wide variety of modern criminals, including members of drug cartels, "white collar criminals," and terrorists. The Treaty is self-executing.

The Treaty provides for a broad range of cooperation in criminal matters. Mutual assistance available under the Treaty includes: (1) the taking of testimony or statements of witnesses; (2) the provision of documents, records, and evidence; (3) the execution of requests for searches and seizures; (4) the serving of documents; and (5) the provision of assistance in locating, tracing, immobilizing, seizing and forfeiting proceeds of crime, and restitution to the victims of crime.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Treaty and give its advice and consent to ratification.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
October 24, 1991.

## Presidential Determination No. 92-4—Memorandum on the Employment of Soviet Nationals October 24, 1991

### *Memorandum for the Secretary of State*

*Subject:* Employment of Soviet Nationals at U.S. Diplomatic and Consular Missions in the Soviet Union

By the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, including section 301 of title 3 of the United States Code and section 136 of the Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1986 and 1987 (Public Law 99-93) ("the Act"), I hereby determine that implementation of section 136(a) of the Act poses undue practical and administrative difficulties. Consistent with this determination, you are authorized to employ Soviet nationals in nonsensitive areas of the New Embassy Compound in Moscow under strict monitor-

ing by cleared Americans. Further, I delegate to you the responsibility vested in me by section 136(b) of the Act to report to the Congress on circumstances relevant to this determination. Such responsibility may be redelegated within the Department of State.

You are authorized and directed to report this determination to the Congress and to publish it in the *Federal Register*.

GEORGE BUSH

*[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 2:57 p.m., November 4, 1991]*

*Note: This determination was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 25.*

## Remarks at the Signing Ceremony for an Agreement Between the Department of Energy and the United States Advanced Battery Consortium

October 25, 1991

Thank you all. And Jim Watkins, thank you very much. You may want to sit there; this is fairly long. *[Laughter]* May I salute not only Secretary Watkins but Secretary Mosbacher and Bill Reilly, our Administrator. Chairman Deland was—here he is here, Mike Deland. And, of course, single out Senator Johnston and Senator Riegle with us today.

And I would like to thank the three representatives of the automotive industry who are with us and who have had such an important part to play in all of this. Welcome to the White House, all of you, and to an event that shows how America's genius rests on the timeless qualities of enterprise and ingenuity, qualities which can make the next century the new American century.

When I first heard I'd be getting together with America's competing big three, I

thought Jennings, Rather, and Brokaw would descend on the White House. *[Laughter]* So, this is a very pleasant experience. And actually, I think it's terrific that these three large motor companies were brought together in mutual cooperation.

Earlier today, I mentioned to one of my grandkids this idea that I'd be out here giving a speech about electric batteries. He said, "I hope it's not interrupted by that pink bunny with a drum." *[Laughter]*

Six months ago, Chrysler, Ford, and GM, together with California Edison and the Electric Power Research Institute, formed a consortium to develop improved batteries for electric automobiles. And they knew that widespread use of electric vehicles wouldn't become a reality until someone built more powerful, less expensive electric batteries.

And today, I am very proud to announce this agreement between this consortium and our Department of Energy, supported by utilities and battery manufacturers, to move us closer to that day. We've joined in a 4-year research project to create a new generation of batteries. And the goal: nothing less than to make electric vehicles competitive by the year 2000.

This private-public partnership will employ market forces, as Jim mentioned, to protect natural resources and point us toward a cleaner, more prosperous fuel and future. And it will help us reduce dependence on foreign oil and help us reduce pollution. It will also create American jobs for engineers and scientists during this R&D period and for battery manufacturers and then the support industries as this project moves into commercial production.

You know, regulating increased fuel economy will not significantly reduce our dependence on uncertain sources of foreign oil. And to accomplish that, we need alternatives to gasoline, and the electric vehicle is one of the most attractive alternatives around. The development of a competitive electronic auto industry will do more to reduce oil imports than rigid fuel efficiency standards that risk jobs and public safety. And let's remember: Senseless overregulation is always a one-way dead end.

But while batteries have brought us together today, batteries are not all that this day is about. The group gathered here points to a new way of doing business, combining industry and Government's intellectual and productive assets to sustain our competitiveness in the whole international arena. Electric vehicles represent the next technology milestone in the auto industry. And we intend to beat our competitors to that milestone.

Today's agreement embodies an idea whose time has come, that Government and business can help America outthink, outwork, and outperform any nation in the world.

Earlier this year, I announced the administration's national energy strategy, a blueprint of powerful ideas for America's future. And I want to salute Senator Bennett Johnston, who's been a key leader. I don't want

to say partner because that might make you all believe he believes in every detail we are emphasizing. But he's done a superb job up there in the Congress working with the Department of Energy and the White House. And I would like to avail myself of this opportunity to encourage support for our energy bill.

The agreement fits into the blueprint of America's future being strong. It reflects our commitment to diversify transportation fuels. I believe there's plenty of safeguard for the environment in it, advancing technology and increasing industry participation in research and development.

And that strategy is key to achieving for all Americans a secure, clean, and affordable energy future. The U.S. Senate will soon consider comprehensive energy legislation—it's Senate bill 1220—incorporating many of the principles that shape our strategy. And I urge Congress to do its part by enacting strong energy legislation like Senate bill 1220. This legislation is environmentally sound. It does not threaten to throw a lot of automobile workers out of work by enacting excessive CAFE standards.

And it was once observed, "Our Union is river, lake, ocean, and sky." It is also people dreaming dreams of endless possibility, caring, toiling, creating, and achieving.

And let me thank you all for coming to the White House. And it's now my privilege to witness the signing of an agreement that reaffirms the spirit of America, that tomorrow will be even better, brighter, and greater than today.

Thank you all very, very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 10:42 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to television network anchormen Peter Jennings, Dan Rather, and Tom Brokaw. The cooperative agreement between the Department of Energy and USABC was signed by Robert A. Lutz, president of Chrysler Corp.; Alexander J. Trotman, executive vice president of Ford Motor Co.; Robert H. Schultz, vice chairman of General Motors Corp.; and Secretary of Energy James D. Watkins.*

## The President's News Conference October 25, 1991

*The President.* Well, I have a brief statement, and then be glad to take a few questions.

After extraordinary debate and negotiation, we have reached an agreement with the Senate Republican and Democratic leaders on a civil rights bill that would be a source of pride for all Americans. It does not resort to quotas, and it strengthens the cause of equality in the workplace. Both the administration and the Congress can present this legislation to the people of America as a new standard against discrimination and for equal opportunity.

This agreement was reached last night in marathon negotiations, shepherded by Senator John Danforth of Missouri, nurtured by Senator Dole and other leaders of both parties. It was a proud accomplishment for the Congress and the administration. And now we can go forward together in progress on civil rights in this country.

I remember standing out there in the Rose Garden with Attorney General Thornburgh more than a year and a half ago to make an unshakable commitment to the Nation's civil rights leaders that I wanted a nonquota civil rights bill that I could sign. And assuming there are no changes in the bill as agreed to last night, we now have such a bill. And my promise will be kept, and I will enthusiastically sign this bill.

Another subject: On the Middle East peace conference I want to note the historic nature of this meeting. The Middle East has been characterized by dangerous and tragic conflict for decades. The peoples of this region still have enormous differences. But I want to commend the statesmanship of the leaders of all those parties attending the peace conference.

Sitting down together is the beginning of understanding. And we cannot know the outcome, of course. It'll take patience and determination. The United States cannot make peace in the Middle East; only the parties themselves can do that. But we can and will be a committed and active partner in the search for peace.

Secretary Baker has been patient. He's been steadfast. He's been tirelessly disciplined in working with the Soviet Union and all the parties in the region to make this conference and the promise of peace a reality. We owe him a major debt of thanks.

I also go to Madrid to meet with President Gorbachev. And I know that President Gorbachev joins me in wanting to put the hopes and aspirations of all the world behind these new opportunities for peace.

So, thank you very much. And now I'll be glad to take a few questions.

### *The Economy*

*Q.* Mr. President, on the domestic arena, the American economy is worrying an increasing number of people. Millions are out of work, and it seems almost daily statistics are pouring in making it look like there might be another recession. Aren't signs clear that some kind of action is needed, and what would you tell Americans you will do to help?

*The President.* I don't want to buy into the predicate about another recession. I don't feel that way. The economy has been sluggish. It hasn't been near as good as I would like to see it, or certainly the American people would like to see it. What would I like to do about it? I'd like to have seen the Congress take the action that I've proposed way back starting in '89 and have continued to propose on growth. We need some stimulation to economic growth.

And I think everybody is now familiar with the fact that I think a capital gains cut would stimulate growth and create jobs and create opportunity. And we get assailed as this is a tax break for the rich. I'd like to propose to Congress: Let's try it. And I'll take all the blame on the political side, and then give me only half the credit on what good that would do for the economy.

We've also had a program that includes enhanced R&D. We've got banking reform legislation that would clearly be stimulative in terms of loaning; it's hung up, up in the Capitol. We've put forward a program relat-

ed to IRA's. We've got a transportation bill that is job-intensive. We've put forward, for the most heavily adversely affected areas, enterprise zones.

Now, there's a good six-point growth package for you, and the Congress has refused to do one single thing about it. And I don't think there is one person out across this country that is in doubt that we are for these things.

So, we will see where we go from here. But I am concerned. When people are hurting, of course you're concerned about it. And I'd like to see an unemployment benefits package that includes pay-as-you-go, that doesn't add to the deficit, burden the future generations with more Federal deficit. Make it work within the budget agreement. That's what I've proposed. And by standing firm, I hope Congress will now send me such a package.

*Q.* Some Republicans on the Hill have indicated a willingness to go along with Democratic tax cuts for the middle-income class. Would you be willing to throw in on that?

*The President.* I'd be so enthusiastic about a tax cut for all Americans, but I want it to be done—it can't be done and still live within the budget agreement. I'm enthusiastic about that. But it has to be, if there's going to be anything new of that nature, it's got to be that and then figuring how to have it within the budget agreement.

And I prefer to emphasize these things: capital gains reduction, R&D, bank reform, IRA, transportation bill, enterprise zones, the thing I have said. But I'm not going to be totally opposed to some of these ideas I hear up there. But let them consider our growth package. That's what I'd start with. And then if there's some other merits, fine. But let's do it without busting the budget agreement and then saying Federal debt doesn't matter. It does matter. Deficits matter.

#### *Middle East Peace Conference*

*Q.* Mr. President, Prime Minister Shamir will lead Israel's delegation to Madrid. As recently as yesterday, he said there would be no territorial concessions to Arab States, no freeze on Israeli settlements. Can there be any progress in Madrid and afterward if

that's his stand?

*The President.* Terry [Terence Hunt, Associated Press], I knew you were going to, somebody was going to ask these questions, detailed questions about stated position of participants in the conference. It is most understandable. I'm not going to reply to them. What I do not want to do is inadvertently complicate the process. Let the parties sit down, as they plan to do, and discuss these, one priority or another. It is not for the United States to do that.

Our positions are known on [United Nations Resolutions] 242 and 338. Our positions are known on a lot of other subjects that will probably be discussed there. But we are trying to be a catalyst to bring people together and let them talk about the differences. So I'm sorry, I'm not going to respond definitively to this question, nor to others about the specific issues that divide the parties. We're not trying to impose a settlement. We're trying to bring people together so they can achieve a settlement.

*Q.* Will you outline the U.S. stands, though, when you open the conference?

*The President.* I don't think we need to do that at this juncture. The United States positions are clear. But it isn't a question. We're not having a conference about U.S. policy. We're having a conference about bringing people together to settle age-old disputes.

*Q.* Will you see Mr. Shamir?

*The President.* Yes, I certainly will, and I'll see other delegation heads. And I'll see President Gorbachev, and I hope to see the Prime Minister of Spain and the ruling monarch, the King of Spain. So I'll have, I don't know how many bilateral meetings. That hasn't been set up. But clearly I will, and look forward to it.

#### *Civil Rights Bill*

*Q.* May I give you an outline, a scenario of what may have happened on the civil rights debate over the last couple of days, and you tell me what's wrong with it? Wednesday afternoon you had some Republican Senators over here, and you and Boyden Gray passed out a piece of paper stating some objections to Senator Danforth's bill. Some of these Republican Sena-

tors went back to the Hill, some conservatives who normally would want to side with you, and they found out that the White House had misrepresented Senator Danforth's bill. They went ballistic, said you could no longer hold the line with 34 votes to get a veto of the civil rights bill sustained. And at that point you decided you had to compromise, and you basically caved. What's wrong with that scenario?

*The President.* Wrong. It's just wrong, that's all. Next question? [*Laughter*]

*Q.* Well, then, what's wrong?

*The President.* It's wrong. We didn't cave. We worked out in a spirit of compromise a negotiated settlement where I can say to the American people, this is not a quota bill. There was give-and-take on a lot of issues, and you're just putting a political spin on it that is 100 percent wrong.

*Q.* Are you confident you have the votes to sustain a veto?

*The President.* Yes.

*Q.* You were confident all the way?

*The President.* Absolutely. We've been dealing from that position. We didn't have the votes to carry my civil rights bill. So, have we compromised some? Yes.

In fact, I'm going to ask Boyden to answer the specific questions on where the give-and-take was here after I finish because it's highly technical, believe me. And with all respect, I'm not sure everybody will understand it after he explains it. [*Laughter*] But it is very technical. And all I know is, I can simply certify it is not a quota bill. It is a fair bill, and it's going to hit a lick against discrimination in the workplace. And I couldn't be more happy. In fact, we just heard from Senator Kennedy. He believes that a large number of Democrats will go along with it, too.

So, I've said I wanted a civil rights bill. I said I didn't want a quota bill. We have a civil rights bill. It is not a quota bill, and I couldn't be happier because I have not liked—

*Q.* Mr. President—

*The President.* —may I finish, I have not liked these characterizations that I really didn't want a civil rights bill. I've wanted it all along. I think many people here know that because I've said it all the time, but I don't think the American people

necessarily did. That's why it's a joyous day.

Yes, we're coming right across here.

*Q.* The civil rights bill that you do have caps damages in sex discrimination cases but not in cases of racial discrimination. Understanding that this is the first time any monetary damages have been allowed for sex discrimination cases, nonetheless, how do you justify that to women who may see it as an indication that sexual discrimination cases just aren't taken as seriously as racial discrimination?

*The President.* I just would try to dispel that notion and say, look, the main thing is to get a civil rights bill that hits against sex harassment and hits against discrimination in the workplace. So, that's the way I'd answer it. And this is the first—

*Q.* Why should there be a difference?

*The President.* This is an historic first. Let me refer you to the lawyers.

#### *Clarence Thomas Confirmation Hearings*

*Q.* Mr. President, back to the Thomas hearings. In view of the force of his unvarnished testimony during the 11th-hour hearings, sir, which many people, I think, believed saved his nomination, I wondered if you reconsidered the wisdom of placing nominees at the disposal of White House handlers whose job seems to be to shave all the rough edges off their positions and to prevent them from saying anything that might be controversial?

*The President.* I heard this question before. [*Laughter*] Not since Sunday. I think when you talk about White House handlers positioning everybody, you do a disservice to the nominees. Yes, a person that's being thrown up into the confirmation process welcomes advice and counsel. But I think if one suggests that a nominee is going to do exactly what handlers are alleged to want to happen, I think it's wrong.

So, I think the way that question comes out does a disservice to Judge Thomas, who set his own pattern. Yes, he was helped by various people. There were certain questions that they would say: "Well, you might get this question or that. How do you think that one should be replied to? Fine." But I think it demeans him to suggest that handlers are telling everybody what to say or



not to say. There's a pattern in these confirmation hearings about who gets asked what question, who doesn't. I believe that he was asked over and over again more questions on a subject or another than his predecessor.

*Q.* Well, Mr. President, Thomas himself said before he delivered his statement on Friday that it was not the product, as he put it, of any handlers. So surely, if he recognized that handlers had had a role in his testimony beforehand, don't you?

*The President.* I'm not saying there weren't people trying to help. Somehow I don't like the word "handlers"; like the prizefighter, "Okay, go in there and slug 'em again." I mean, that's not what this is all about. Maybe I'm missing your question, Brit [Brit Hume, ABC News].

*Q.* Well, aren't we talking here, sir, about people who, when they're not doing this, are lobbying on behalf of various private interests; who need to maintain good relationships, understandably, with Capitol Hill; and whose participation in a situation like this is a bit of a conflict of interest in the sense that they don't want to alienate anybody, and they don't want the nominee to?

*The President.* You see, if you suggest, if the question suggests that a nominee, in this instance Judge Thomas, would compromise principles because of some person trying to help him not wanting to alienate Congress, I would just reject that. I don't think it's an intellectually fair charge to level against him, is the way I'd handle it.

### *B-2 Stealth Bombers*

*Q.* Mr. President, Colin Powell apparently feels the Pentagon can live with half the 75 B-2 Stealth bombers that you have proposed. Do you agree? And if so, how will you keep opponents of the program from chipping away at the lower number?

*The President.* Well, we have a program. It's up there. And we will be discussing a wide array of defense matters as we go forward now. And I don't want to take a position on one key player's alleged position and compare it to how somebody else in the administration feels.

I will have something to say as we go along each step of the way as to administration position and not permit myself to be

drawn into debating what one key player says over what another key player might feel. So, I can't help you on it. I'm just not familiar either with Colin's latest comments on that.

*Q.* It sounds like there's some give in your position, though, that you're not rigid on the 75.

*The President.* Well, I wouldn't say that. We've got a proposal up there, and let's see where we go with it.

### *Budget Agreement*

*Q.* Mr. President, when you signed the budget agreement with Congress, the economy was not known to be in a recession, the Soviet Union had not collapsed, and therefore, you had not ordered a cutback in the Nation's nuclear arsenal, and estimates hadn't come out that the U.S. could live with a much smaller defense force. Why not revisit the budget agreement in light of all this and in light of the fact that the budget deficit is going to be higher than the agreement called for anyway?

*The President.* I will not revisit it because it's the only cap we have on outrageous congressional spending. It's the only way you control the excesses of spending. It is the only guarantee that the taxpayer has that his interest, to some degree, will be protected.

And if you revisit it in the sense of removing these constraints, the spending gates would open. We've already seen it on some legislation. The unemployment benefits is a good, recent example. Don't worry about budget deficits. Don't worry about those people that are paying the taxes. Just throw on some more spending. And I'm sorry, I don't want to reopen the budget agreement because I think the constraints on spending are helpful.

There have been some things that have broken it. I think the bank problems and some of these have been extraordinary. But if we redo that agreement you're going to see a windfall of spending programs. And it's constraining us in our budgeting, and it constrains Congress in its spending. So, I'm just not going to revisit it.

*Q.* Well, isn't it a problem, sir, to be constrained like that in terms of trying to deal

with new problems that have arisen like the continuing unemployment?

*The President.* Yes, it's a problem. But it helps you deal with an old problem that has plagued us for years, constraining Federal spending. But sure it is. What President wouldn't like to have a free, open wallet just to give money for every good cause that comes along? A lot of people would like that. There's a lot of problems in this country, some of which would require more money. But there also is a responsibility here to try to hold the line on excessive spending. And that is where the budget agreement comes into effect.

*Bank of Credit and Commerce  
International Investigation*

*Q.* Mr. President, considering your concern about propriety in Government, what was your reaction when a senior member of your White House staff, Ed Rogers, left the White House employ and signed a contract with a Saudi sheikh accused of being a key figure in the BCCI scandal?

*The President.* Well, he is a free citizen to do anything he wants once he leaves the White House. My concern is about the White House itself, that it be beyond any perception of impropriety.

*Q.* Well, what do you think he was selling to the Saudis except for accessing—

*The President.* Ask him. I don't know what he's selling. I don't know anything about this man, except I've read bad stuff about him. And I don't like what I read about him. But I would suggest that that matter is best dealt with by asking this man what kind of representation he is doing for this sheikh. But it has nothing to do, in my view, with the White House.

*Q.* Even though he left here only 3 weeks before and had never had a job in private industry before?

*The President.* Well, Ann [Ann Compton, ABC News]—

*Q.* His only job had been working for you.

*The President.* —suppose you left here and went out into the private sector for some company, and you'd been editing and writing all your life, and you started off—I don't know that it would be the function of the President to suggest what employment somebody should take. If you ask me, would

I like to go out there, leave my job and go to work for this sheikh when I get through being President, no, I wouldn't like to do that. [*Laughter*]

*Tax Cuts*

*Q.* Washington is seeing something of a bidding war this week on tax cuts, started by some of the meetings you had here with Republicans. Has the bidding war ended? Have you been able to shut it down? And the second question is, if any kind of tax cuts can't break the budget deal, doesn't that make it a nonstarter?

*The President.* Give me the first part again.

*Q.* Well, have you shut the bidding war down?

*The President.* Well, I don't think we can shut it down. I think it's understandable when you have bad economic numbers come in from time to time, mixed, I must happily say, with some reasonably good ones, the people get concerned. I'm concerned. But I don't want to say to them, well, you shouldn't come forward with proposals, but I don't want to participate in a bidding war.

We've got some good proposals up there. Some are being attacked, I think rather unfairly, for pure political reasons; things that would have stimulated the economy long before now. And I don't need to repeat those six again, but if you'd like me to, I will.

But nevertheless, I really do think that these are things that would stimulate jobs and stimulate growth and new business formation. And Congress wants to try some other approach. They are not together in their act. I'll look at the processes. I will keep in mind whether they bust the budget agreement or not, and then I'll make some determination and might well come out with a new combination of what I think is best. Maybe I should do that.

But no, it doesn't trouble me that people are concerned about the state of the economy as they see it or concerned when people are out of work. Of course, they should be concerned. So, I can't criticize someone for his or her proposal as to what to do up there.

*Q.* As long as the price for a cut in the capital gains tax from the Democrats' perspective is going to be a hike in rates or some form of rate limit, it's got to be a nonstarter from your perspective, doesn't it?

*The President.* I've proposed a capital gains cut with no income tax increases, and I like that idea. I don't want to be out there again getting caught up in some meat grinder on taxes again. And I don't think the American people want to have their taxes raised again, whether lower income, middle income, or higher income. There's an awful lot of discomfort in this country about higher taxes. A lot of people think we ought to be doing a better job on controlling spending. It's one of the reasons I don't want Congress to bust the budget agreement. So, we're going to stay on this. Anything I propose will have real growth to it.

The other point for the economic reporters here and those that concentrate on that is, let's be sure what we do helps. Let's be sure it helps in timely fashion. And that's a key point: What's needed, what will help. And I'm trying to sort that through with the best economic advice I can get.

#### *Clarence Thomas Confirmation Hearings*

*Q.* Mr. President, there are published reports that you personally approved the campaign by Republican Senators to discredit Anita Hill. Marlin said that that was not true. Whether that was true or not—

*The President.* It wasn't true. Let me just stop you right there. It was not true. Now, go ahead.

*Q.* Did you condone the Republican tactics? And if you didn't, as the head of the Republican Party and President of the United States, why didn't you stop it?

*The President.* What tactics are you talking about, please?

*Q.* Well, there were a lot of critics of the Republican Senators who—

*The President.* No, I'm not one of those.

*Q.* —who led a campaign to discredit Anita Hill's testimony.

*The President.* Well, the testimony raised certain questions in the minds of the American people who overwhelmingly supported Clarence Thomas, incidentally, right at the end as well as along the way. I think it's

appropriate to inquire about that testimony.

*Q.* Did you have any problems with the kinds of questions they asked or the innuendo that there were other things there that they could not bring—

*The President.* I had problems with the whole thing. I gave a speech yesterday on my problems, which I think are the problems the American people had with the whole process, because, you see, I think those graphic, X-rated charges, no matter whether they prove true or not, should be done behind closed doors. I think the American people have a right to know, but they also have a right to delegate. And in my view, Joe Biden was right at the very beginning of the whole hearings when he suggested that witnesses could be accommodated behind closed doors. That's the way I'd like to have seen the matter resolved.

And I don't think the American people would be any worse off for it, nor would Clarence Thomas or Anita Hill be any worse off for it. I think they'd be better off for it.

*Q.* Could I just ask, did you think she was treated fairly?

*The President.* I don't want to accuse Senator Biden of not running a fair hearing. I've said in the very beginning—

*Q.* Ohhh.

*The President.* I've said in the very beginning I thought that he did a good job on that. So, please don't try to draw me into what was fair and not. Some people were disappointed in the results. They might not think it was fair. I was pleased with the results because I think the American people's confidence in this judge has been proved to be correct.

*Q.* Albeit you believe Anita Hill was not telling the truth and your nominee was, are you concerned at all, Mr. Bush, that three women who were scheduled to testify about the so-called glass ceiling—

*The President.* No, not concerned about that.

*Q.* Even though they said the treatment of Anita Hill was what persuaded them they should not go public and criticize their employers in public?

*The President.* Look, there's a lot of

people on all sides bubbling around out there in moments of discontent. I think the country's glad to have the matter resolved. I think it resolved itself satisfactorily in terms of the end result, Clarence Thomas being on the Bench. I think I was vastly persuaded by his points about what had happened to him and his family as a result of this. So, renewing it, or if the question is, do I think it could have been extended so three other people could come forward, no, I don't think so.

Q. No, sir, this is a separate hearing in which three women refused to testify about another area of job discrimination, saying that what they considered the public flaying of Anita Hill reflected what might happen to them if they went—

*The President.* Excuse me, I missed your point. Yes, I am concerned about that. I'm concerned about good people who might otherwise be attracted to Government won't come forward to come into Government because they themselves don't want to be possibly put through that kind of a meat grinder. Yes, I am very much concerned about that.

Q. Excuse me, Mr. Bush, these were women who were already in Government who said, previous to Anita Hill's testimony, that they had suffered job discrimination because they were women. Following her testimony and treatment by the Judiciary Committee, they refused to testify in public for fear of similar treatment, even though there may have been legitimacy to their claims, which you claim was not the case with Anita Hill. What I'm asking is, are you—

*The President.* I didn't claim that.

Q. —worried about a chilling effect?

*The President.* You're putting words in my mouth. I didn't claim any such thing, but go ahead.

Q. Are you worried about a possible chilling effect?

*The President.* Yes, I just said so. Yes, I am worried about a chilling effect. The more that kind of open, flamboyant debate where people's characters, on one side or another, get attacked, I worry about it. And I addressed myself to that in a speech yesterday and had some suggestions about it. And one of them, I don't think I specifically

made there, I think they ought to have more executive sessions when it comes to this, or it comes to hearing people's concerns so they can come forward. Yes, I do worry about that.

### *Louisiana Gubernatorial Elections*

Q. Sir, you campaigned in Louisiana for Buddy Roemer, and what is your political analysis of the kind of climate that would produce the number of votes that came in for a former Klan leader and a Nazi sympathizer, David Duke, who claims to be a Republican?

*The President.* I don't know. I didn't follow the issues that much down there to know why people that voted for him did that. I want to be positioned in that I could not possibly support David Duke because of the racism and because of the very recent statements that are very troubling in terms of bigotry and all of this.

Having said that, I can't help you on the other questions that obviously influenced a lot of very plain, honest, decent voters down there. But there's a discontent amongst a lot of voters, and maybe he touched a chord on that. Having said that, to the degree it was attractive to voters because of race or bigotry, I would denounce that vigorously.

Q. Would your repudiation go so far as to advise the people of Louisiana to vote for his opponent or perhaps write in another name?

*The President.* I already supported Buddy Roemer, and I don't know how the rules work down there in that at all. But I am very unhappy that the Governor was not renominated here or got into the runoff. I'm very unhappy about that because I still feel he's a very reasonable man, forward-looking man, and good man. But I'm not going to inject myself in here except to say we can never in any way support David Duke for the reasons I gave. So, please don't try to draw me into a runoff in that State. I'm not going to be so drawn.

*Mr. Fitzwater.* One more.

*The President.* Yes, this is the last one.

### *Middle East Peace Conference*

Q. Are you going to be in a position in

Madrid at the meeting with President Gorbachev to answer some of his proposals about nuclear weapons with proposals of your own?

*The President.* No.

*Q.* If not, what are you going to talk about?

*The President.* Well, open-ended. We're going there—the matrix is a peace conference for the Middle East. But I'm sure we'll discuss bilateral issues, and I'll be prepared to discuss nuclear weapons. I'll be prepared to discuss their economy and ours. I'll be prepared to discuss anything that he's interested in. We always have wide-ranging discussions, and I'm looking forward to that part of this very, very much.

But the reason I was so quick is I don't want to leave the impression that we're coming forth with a new four-point program or six-point program in response to his positive response to our initiative.

Let me end this press conference by—Ellen [Ellen Warren, Knight-Ridder], last one. All right, I did recognize you earlier. I'm sorry, but this is it now, really.

#### *Harassment in the Workplace*

*Q.* There are some people, sir, who think that the message from the Anita Hill-Clarence Thomas hearings, the message to women is, don't bother to come forward on sexual harassment because you won't be believed. Sir, do you believe that is a message, or would you tell the American women that they should come forward?

*The President.* I say they should come forward. But let's do it in a climate so people are not destroyed in the process. And that's why I'm saying, let's do it behind closed doors, or let's have procedures that you don't leak information that Anita Hill gave that she asked be confidential, and then somebody goes out and insidiously leaks it, and she's drawn into a public debacle that she didn't want in the first place.

Yes, I'm concerned about that and her feelings and everything else related to it. And I've made proposals that I think would help, including the way we handle FBI reports. So, when people can't come forward for fear of their character being damaged and being dragged through the mud, of course, I worry about it. And that's why I

styled some proposals yesterday that I think will help address the problem. Whether it will solve a lot, Ellen, I don't know. And I repeat, it's true for not just women coming forward on a sex harassment case or to back up Anita Hill, but it's true for people that might otherwise come into Government. And they don't want to be dragged into these kinds of disclosures that go after their character.

And I don't know how we solve the problem entirely. But I have made some suggestions that I think will help.

*Q.* But why, sir, shouldn't women now be concerned that their character will be damaged by coming forward, understanding that most sex harassment hearings are not on television?

*The President.* Well, why should a nominee not be concerned that his character will be blasted as Judge Thomas' was? You're putting it on one basis. You're putting it on the feminist basis. Yes, I'm concerned about that. And I've made proposals to do something about it.

I'm also concerned on a public service basis. And in this instance, I was very much concerned about the character assassination of Clarence Thomas, that there's a way to handle these things. You delegate intelligence matters; why can't you delegate—and without the people having a right to know every detail—why can't you delegate in the hearings the judgment on these matters to the Senators to do behind closed doors? And why can't we facilitate the process by guaranteeing as best we can against insidious leaks that damage people the minute the door opens? And so, I've made some proposals on that. And yes, I'm concerned.

But I don't want to end on a downer note here. I want to end by saying, I can't tell you how pleased I am about this civil rights vote. You know, some people have said, "Well, the President may not really want a civil rights bill; he wants an issue of some sort"—my political opponents charging that over and over again. And the fact now that we have a good, strong, reasonable civil rights bill, I think it's good for the American people. I think it transcends party politics.

And I salute Bob Dole and Jack Danforth on our side and others on the Democratic side who have been willing to work in a constructive fashion, ups and downs in the negotiating process, charge and counter-charge, but today we have a good civil rights bill. And I'd like to ask the Senate to promptly pass it without change. And I'd like to ask the House to accede to it. And let's do something that's good and upright in the field of civil rights for the American people.

Thank you very much.

#### *Civil Rights Bill*

Q. Sir, do you understand what's in the bill?

*The President.* You guys want to talk to Boyden?

Q. Yes.

*The President.* But here's my problem on the—some of the detail is highly technical, so I'd like to ask—but yes, I understand the issue.

*Note: The President's 106th news conference began at 11:25 a.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House. During the news conference, the following persons were referred to: Edward M. Rogers, Jr., former Deputy Assistant to the President and Executive Assistant to the Chief of Staff, and Sheikh Kamal Adham of Saudi Arabia.*

## Message to the Senate Transmitting the Jamaica-United States Legal Assistance Treaty

*October 25, 1991*

#### *To the Senate of the United States:*

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Treaty between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Jamaica on Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters, signed at Kingston on July 7, 1989. I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the Report of the Department of State with respect to the Treaty.

The Treaty is one of a series of modern mutual legal assistance treaties being negotiated by the United States in order to counter criminal activities more effectively. The Treaty should be an effective tool to assist in the prosecution of a wide variety of modern criminals, including members of drug cartels, "white-collar criminals," and terrorists. The Treaty is self-executing.

The Treaty provides for a broad range of cooperation in criminal matters. Mutual as-

sistance available under the Treaty includes: (1) the taking of testimony or statements of witnesses; (2) the provision of documents, records, and evidence; (3) the execution of requests for search and seizures; (4) the serving of documents; and (5) the provision of assistance in proceedings relating to the forfeiture of the proceeds of crime, restitution to the victims of crime, and the collection of fines imposed as a sentence in a criminal prosecution.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Treaty and give its advice and consent to ratification.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
October 25, 1991.

*Note: This message was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 28.*

## Teleconference Remarks to the American Gas Association October 28, 1991

*The President.* Mike, thank you very much, and thank you for those goods words. And may I salute your chairman, Bill McCormick, the incoming chairman, Dick Farman. And I am delighted to be able to join you by satellite in San Diego at the 73d annual conference of the American Gas Association.

I'd like to talk to you today about our energy future, about America's energy future, the indispensable foundation for the goods we produce, the enterprises we launch, and the quality of life we enjoy. When our administration developed our national energy strategy, three principles guided our policy making: Reducing our dependence on foreign oil, protecting our environment, and promoting economic growth. As a part of our comprehensive energy strategy, natural gas is key to all three.

First, decreasing our dependence on insecure energy supplies is a top priority of this administration. We're willing to practice what we preach. In April of this year, I took action to put the Federal Government in the lead on increasing energy efficiency by issuing an Executive order that calls for sharp reductions in Federal energy use. Under this new mandate, overall Federal energy consumption will be reduced by 20 percent from 1985 levels within a decade. Fuel consumption in the Federal fleet will be pared by 10 percent from current levels within 4 years, and the Federal Government will increase its purchases of vehicles powered by alternative fuels like compressed natural gas.

Contrary to gloomy predictions of the seventies, when misguided Federal regulation created natural gas shortages, we are blessed now with abundant supplies of natural gas within our own borders. In fact, the Department of Energy recently reported a 113-percent replacement of reserves for 1990 in the lower 48, the lower 48 States. To assure that supplies of natural gas remain ample, we must rely on the logic of the marketplace. And that is why in 1989

we enacted a law phasing out the last Federal wellhead price controls on natural gas so that the free market could do its work.

Second, we're committed to preserving and protecting the environment. No question about that. We looked to the ingenuity of the free market as we worked to defend our precious environment through enactment of the Clean Air Act amendments. The AGA was one of the first major trade groups to endorse our administration's proposal for clean air legislation. And I am very grateful, and I thank you for that effort. As clean-burning natural gas is put to work in generating electricity, for fueling vehicles, cooling and heating, and supplying the needs of the industry, Americans know that the environment stands to benefit.

And third, energy security and environmental protection must go hand-in-hand with economic growth. And that growth depends upon opening new markets and new opportunities for American industry. A North American free trade agreement will promote economic growth throughout this continent. Your industry knows what I am talking about. The northern tier of Mexico is the largest single export market for U.S. natural gas, and with this agreement we are looking forward to continued growth and opportunity.

Economic growth also depends upon an educated work force. America's natural gas producers, companies, and utilities are doing a great deal to make their communities places where learning can happen. Your Education 2000 program, a 10-year, industrywide commitment to helping our Nation reform its schools, is a great example of the partnerships necessary to invent a new generation of American schools. I urge you and all of your members to continue to engage in the education reform movement so that we can prepare American children to compete and win in the global marketplace.

Economic growth, environmental protection, energy security, and a well-prepared work force are crucial to America's success

in the next century. As part of the fabric of daily life in America, your companies and employees can make a real difference. In many ways you already are, and for that, I thank you.

I wish you a successful conference and best wishes in the coming year. And now I'll be glad to take a few questions.

*Mr. Baly.* Mr. President, our chairman, Bill McCormick, has a question for you.

*Mr. McCormick.* Mr. President, we praise you for your leadership in the Clean Air Act amendments passed by the Congress last year, and we were pleased to support the administration's goals in the act. We also appreciate your work toward enactment of the national energy strategy that you proposed earlier this year. AGA has been supportive of this initiative since the outset. The Senate looks like it will begin debate soon on the NES, and we wanted to know how you foresee the debate shaping up and your administration's role as the debate unfolds?

*The President.* Bill, as I said earlier, securing a clean and affordable energy future is a very important objective of our entire administration. And that is why I am supporting this bipartisan energy bill, S. 1220 to the technocrats there, that should go before the Senate very soon. This bill incorporates many important principles of this national energy strategy of ours.

During the Senate's deliberations on this bill, we are going to be working very closely with Senators Bennett Johnston, well-known to all of you there, Malcolm Wallop, the same, to ensure that our key provisions remain intact. In keeping with our goal of increased domestic energy production, I remain committed to providing environmentally responsible energy development in ANWR, in the Alaskan Wildlife Refuge. And I want to avoid the crippling effects of excessive CAFE standards because we cannot sacrifice public safety and jobs all in the name of fuel efficiency mandates.

We need your industry's help in getting a good bill on my desk. We are expecting some very tough votes, but I am confident that the American people will understand the importance of enacting a comprehensive, balanced energy bill. And let me add, I'm very comforted by the fact that our

national security requirements are clearer now and that the threat is less difficult. But I do not want to see us increasingly dependent on foreign sources of energy. And I want to see drilling in this country continue. It can be done in an environmentally sound way, and I think everybody in your audience there knows that we must continue to drill and produce in this country. We'll do our best, though, to get this energy bill passed.

That's it.

*Mr. Baly.* Mr. President, our chairman-elect, Dick Farman, has a question.

*The President.* Shoot, Dick.

*Mr. Farman.* Mr. President, in your remarks, you mentioned AGA's Education 2000 program, and we're all looking forward to hearing later in today's meeting from Gregg Petersmeyer on your administration's national service efforts. Would you care to comment on what other domestic initiatives your administration is currently working on or has plans to introduce this year?

*The President.* Well, Dick, thank you, and I'm glad Gregg Petersmeyer will be there—he's been made famous by "Doonesbury," if any of you inflict that upon yourselves, reading that cartoon—because Gregg has done a great job on this Points of Light principle that we believe in and that your association believes in with your own approach to education. So, I'm delighted that Gregg will be out there with you.

But look, on the domestic agenda, we've advanced a broad, aggressive domestic agenda over the last 2 years. It's included such legislative successes as the Clean Air Act amendments; the ADA, that's the Americans with Disabilities Act, a sweeping piece of civil rights legislation; our child care bill, one that gives choice to parents; and our HOPE bill, that's H-O-P-E, our housing bill that promotes tenant management and ownership of public housing. And we've already mentioned our America 2000 education initiative, touched on this national energy strategy of ours. And Congress, right now, is considering provisions of the administration's crime bill.

We've sent up two crime bills since 1989, and we're just now seeing action on the key



provisions. Some of you may remember that I challenged the Congress to complete action on two bills, that crime bill and our transportation bill, in 100 days. That was back at the time of the State of the Union, I believe. And incidentally, the transportation bill is a bill that would stimulate a sluggish economy. It's job intensive, and it would do that, stimulate, without busting the budget agreement, without increasing our Federal deficit. But here we are, almost 8 months later, still waiting for both.

We now have a civil rights bill that I can certify to the American people is not a quota bill. It is fair, and it's good. And just last week, I signed an Executive order to enact reforms in our civil justice system. I hope some of you saw that.

We need liability reform. We need to check the reckless use of lawsuits and the propensity for more and more outrageous settlements. We'll be sending legislation to the Congress on that very, very soon. And there is one area where you all weighing in can really get something done.

But most importantly, we have offered numerous economic reform proposals which, if they had been enacted by Congress, would have long ago promoted the economic growth that America needs. I am sure some of you are sick of hearing this, but I have proposed a capital gains cut that would in my view create more jobs and create them soon. We've proposed penalty-free withdrawals from these IRA's for first-time homebuyers. Clearly, that would stimulate or would have stimulated the housing market. I've proposed more Federal funds for research and development, a little longer range but very, very important. Your industry knows this. I've proposed enterprise zones to stimulate our hardest hit urban areas. It's not going to cost the tax-

payer. It will eventually mean money to the Treasury because you get those new businesses started in those areas. And then the transportation bill that I just mentioned, and incentives for increased savings and investment.

Throughout the coming legislative year, we will fight tooth and nail for economic growth, opportunity, and jobs. And I will fight against legislation that will bust the budget agreement and further burden the young people of this country with more and more debt, with bigger and bigger Federal deficits.

Now, and I realize that this only is a thumbnail sketch of our agenda, but I hope I have responded to your question. And I know there is a lot to be done. I am not relaxed about the economy, but I am not going to jump in and take steps out of some congressional panic that might make the situation worse or might burden future generations of America more.

So, thank you very much for asking the question, and thanks for the opportunity to be out there with you today in this unique way. It works well from our standpoint, and I hope it came through loud and clear over there. But over and out, and many thanks.

*Note: The President spoke at 12:09 p.m. from Room 459 in the Old Executive Office Building to the 73d annual conference of the American Gas Association, meeting in San Diego, CA. Michael Baly III, president of the AGA, served as moderator for the teleconference. In his remarks, the President referred to C. Gregg Petersmeyer, Assistant to the President, Office of National Service. The President also referred to Corporate Average Fuel Economy (CAFE) standards for automobiles and the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR).*

## Remarks to Travel and Tourism Industry Chief Executive Officers October 28, 1991

Thank you all very, very much for being here. And I normally don't go around wearing make-up. I want you to know that. But

we have a little studio in here, and I've just completed a satellite broadcast out to the West Coast. And I did not want to keep you

waiting any more.

But Bob, thank you very much for being here. Let me salute two that you may have heard from. I don't know whether Mike Boskin and Roger—Roger Porter was here, and Mike Boskin, I believe. Has he been? They are key players on our team, and I'm glad they've participated. I want to salute John Keller, who is sorely missed at the White House. He and I worked together for many, many years, and now he's over there. We're still working together but out of different buildings, and I know he's doing a good job. I want to salute Rock Schnabel and Roger Ballou, the president of American Express Travel Related Services, whom I've just met out here. So, here we go.

I am told that this is perhaps one of, well, put it this way, one of the most unprecedented gatherings of travel and tourism executives. And I want to thank you all for taking the time to come here. I wanted to just pop in on this briefing to show support for the extraordinary contributions that your group is making, not only to the industry, travel and tourism industry, but to the economic well-being of our Nation. And it's high time that this industry, travel and tourism, a \$327 billion economic powerhouse, received the recognition that it so richly deserves.

Let me just cite some numbers that most of you know, but some around the country don't know. In 1990, international visitors spent more than \$50 billion on U.S. tourism and transportation services. We expect a \$5 billion increase in 1991. U.S. earnings from tourism are growing faster than our receipts from goods and services as a whole, and this has been the case for over 30 years.

In terms of income generated and jobs created or sustained, tourism is among the top 3 industries in 37 of our 50 States. In 1990, nearly a million Americans owed their livelihood to international visitors. Add to that just over 5 million jobs generated by domestic travel and tourism for a total of nearly 6 million American jobs.

This solid record of growth has not gone unnoticed by small communities and by rural areas facing the challenge to diversify their economies. More and more rural communities are making tourism a part of the economic development options for the

nineties. And the U.S. Travel and Tourism Administration, along with other Government agencies, are working to put small-town America on the tourist map.

An example of our administration's commitment to this idea is a Presidential initiative on rural economic development which recognizes that new economic opportunities for rural America will be found primarily in off-farm employment opportunities such as tourism, retirement living, and commercial recreation. As part of that initiative, Federal agencies will provide leadership for educational outreach programs in rural tourism development.

I am also pleased to report that next month USTTA and other Federal agencies will sponsor a nationally televised conference, "Turn It Around With Tourism," in conjunction with, in this instance, the University of Minnesota. This conference is intended to strengthen tourism-related businesses in small towns and in rural communities.

On the international front, this administration has sought to foster liberalized trade and to obtain the adaptation of international rules for the conduct of trade in services, including tourism, as well as encourage trade-related investment. Several initiatives will have this effect by reducing barriers to tourism services, thereby opening up additional travel markets to companies.

They will also "lock in" beneficial conditions for market access in key existing tourism markets. Such an example is the fact that the United States has signed trade addenda with five Eastern European countries including Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the Soviet Union. And we are currently working on a sixth addendum with Romania. These addenda will ensure that the U.S. travel industry receives the same benefits from agreements with our trading partners as other industries.

Supporting this industry takes the work of everyone, public and private. Our daughter, incidentally, our only daughter, Dorothy, helped me understand this when she worked in the Office of Tourism in the State of Maine. As for me, tough duty though it may be, I continue to do my part for the commercial recreation industry.

[*Laughter*] Fishing, boating, tennis, golf, running, hunting, and all of this. Horse-shoes. It's tough duty. Somebody has to do it, and I'm going to keep on. I don't care what they say about it. [*Laughter*] But seriously, this is a multimillion dollar industry, recreation industry, not to be taken for granted.

But the people who can really get America moving are right here in this room. Working side by side, the public and private entities you represent under the slogan of "GO USA," and led by Bill Marriott, have managed to overcome the temporary lag in traveler confidence that was caused by the Persian Gulf war. And today, as we kick off phase two, under the leadership of Jim Robinson, I'm sure this coalition will be enormously successful stimulating travel to and within the United States.

In a moment, I'm going to turn this over to John Keller, the Under Secretary. But let me just simply reiterate my support for the agency, a small agency that is critical to this country's international competitiveness in the global market, and for "GO USA." I look forward to watching this partnership between Government and private sector companies grow and prosper, at home and abroad.

And as for me, although it is not exactly tourism in action, I will be leaving at 9:30 this evening for Madrid. And I might just

say one word about that. These are important meetings. This is historic, and I don't want to get peoples' hopes too high because there is a long, long way to go before we have the makings of or have agreement for peace in that troubled corner of the world, the Middle East. But it's worth it. Believe me, it is worth it to reach out. And it is only the United States, it is only our country, that can serve as this catalyst for peace. And so, I'm looking forward to this, and I'm hoping that it will be a first step now, this conference, in bringing peace to this part of the world that has suffered too long from war and conflict.

So, thank you again, once again, for all you're doing for this wonderful industry, and thank you for the opportunity just to drop in and say hello. Thank you.

*Note: The President spoke at 12:26 p.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. In his remarks, he referred to Secretary of Commerce Robert A. Mosbacher; Michael J. Boskin, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers; Roger B. Porter, Assistant to the President for Economic and Domestic Policy; John Keller, Under Secretary of Commerce for Travel and Tourism; Rockwell A. Schnabel, Deputy Secretary of Commerce; J.W. Marriott, Jr., president and chairman of the Marriott Corp.; and James D. Robinson III, chairman and chief executive officer of American Express Co.*

## Message to the Senate Transmitting the Bahamas-United States Extradition Treaty

October 28, 1991

### *To the Senate of the United States:*

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Extradition Treaty between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Commonwealth of The Bahamas signed at Nassau on March 9, 1990. I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Department of State with respect to the Treaty.

The Treaty is designed to update and standardize the conditions and procedures for extradition between the United States and The Bahamas. Most significant, it substitutes a dual criminality clause for a current list of extraditable offenses, so that, *inter alia*, certain additional narcotics offenses will be covered by the new Treaty. The Treaty also provides a legal basis for temporarily surrendering prisoners to stand trial for crimes against the laws of the Re-

questing State.

The Treaty further represents an important step in combatting terrorism by excluding from the scope of the political offense exception serious offenses typically committed by terrorists; e.g., crimes against a Head of State or first family member of either Party, aircraft hijacking, aircraft sabotage, crimes against internationally protected persons, including diplomats, hostage-taking, narcotics trafficking, and other offenses for which either the United States or The Bahamas may have an obligation to extradite or submit to prosecution by reason of a multilateral treaty, convention, or other international agreement.

The provisions in this Treaty follow generally the form and content of extradition treaties recently concluded by the United States. Upon entry into force, it will supersede the existing Extradition Treaty between the United States and The Bahamas.

This Treaty will make a significant contribution to international cooperation in law enforcement. I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Treaty and give its advice and consent to ratification.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
October 28, 1991.

## Message to the Congress Transmitting the Annual Report on the State of Small Business

*October 28, 1991*

*To the Congress of the United States:*

I am pleased to submit my second annual report on the state of small business. Nineteen ninety was an exciting year for small enterprises internationally—a year when new winds of economic freedom blew strongly across Central and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. It was also a year of new and difficult challenges, as citizens of those nations struggled to build new free market economies.

American business also faced new challenges in 1990, as the economy slowed after nearly 8 years of expansion. Gross national product grew more slowly in 1990 than in previous years and real business earnings were down from the previous year's level. Fewer start-up businesses opened their doors than in 1989, and more businesses closed.

Yet even in this slower growing economy the strong spirit of American enterprise flourished, as small businesses continued to hire and train almost 9 out of 10 of America's new private sector workers. Research indicated that small business owners also tend to retain their employees longer in economic slowdowns.

Evidence of women's and minorities' im-

pressive strides into business ownership continued to surface. Newly available census data indicated that women's business ownership jumped by more than 57 percent from 1982 to 1987, while business ownership by Black Americans increased by more than 37 percent.

We have much to celebrate in the fact that American business ownership increasingly reflects our great national strength—our diversity. The 20 million individuals who own small businesses continue to make remarkable contributions to the vitality of our economy. I believe that, working together, government and the private sector can make the economic environment even better for small businesses and for all Americans.

My Administration is committed to opening doors to free and fair trade, so that more American entrepreneurs can compete globally. For example, thanks in part to the "fast track" authority recently approved by the Congress, we will continue to improve our trade with Mexico, where 85 million people buy 70 percent of their imports from the United States. And the United States-Canada Free-Trade Agreement is stimulating trade with our northern neigh-

bors.

Another priority is to reform our pension system. In small firms, for example, only 25 percent of employees are covered by pension plans. Often for legitimate business reasons—but at a significant cost in retirement security for employees—fewer pension plans are being formed than in previous years. We can do better. We can increase pension portability, pension accessibility, pension flexibility. We can eliminate some of the administrative headaches associated with pension plans, and my Administration has been working on legislative proposals to do just that.

I believe we can and must make health care more available and affordable—especially for those 35 million Americans without health insurance. Unfortunately, many of our Nation's uninsured are workers in small businesses, which employ many older, seasonal, and temporary workers—higher risk, higher cost workers from the standpoint of health insurers. These small firms often find the financial and administrative costs of health insurance prohibitive. We have many minds working on that problem in this country—and I think it will turn out that the best solutions are local ones, rather than national Government mandates.

We can free up more capital for investment in new products, new processes, new technologies, new ideas. Decisions about which new ideas are worth investment are best made by those who have the most to lose—the investors. It makes sense, then, that incentives to invest more—as we have

proposed in the form of lower taxes on capital gains—will help channel new capital to good ideas, innovations, and businesses. That in turn will mean more economic growth and more jobs for Americans.

Another urgent priority for our Nation is education. We are not making the grade in education, and that threatens the ability of workers to perform their jobs and the ability of our Nation to compete in a global market. We have been working with the Governors to develop a set of goals that will make American students first in the world in math and science and make every American adult literate by the year 2000. Small businesses, which employ many of our entry-level workers, are on the front lines of this war against illiteracy, and their involvement will be key.

It is certainly true in this last decade of the 20th century that the big picture—the national and international view—is exciting as new democracies are formed, new leaders take the stage, nations move towards market economies. But I am more and more convinced that real change happens mostly at the small level, the local level, the individual level—in the millions of places where new ideas are born, new enterprises are established, new workers are trained. I am confident that individually and together, in the spirit of American enterprise, we will meet and surpass the challenges before us.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
October 28, 1991.

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Proposed Antinarcotics Summit *October 28, 1991*

President Bush has accepted an invitation from the Presidents of Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela to attend a second antinarcotics summit. The President has invited the participants to the United States for this summit and proposed that it be held in early 1992, perhaps as early as

February. This is also the second anniversary of the successful Cartagena summit of February 1990.

Since that day in Cartagena when the President met with the Presidents of Bolivia, Colombia, and Peru, we have made tremendous strides in the drug fight, both at

home and abroad. That meeting brought the international effort against drugs into focus as has no other event. The struggle has become a national priority for many nations, including Mexico which has been invited to participate in this summit.

Since we set forth our common goals in the Declaration of Cartagena, cocaine consumption in the United States is down. The drug mafias have been attacked, and trafficker routes have been disrupted throughout the region. We have been working together to create alternative development and new trade opportunities in the hemisphere, and we have negotiated bilateral

agreements to strengthen our unified front against drug abuse and trafficking. Efforts against chemical supplies and money laundering are also improving.

The five Andean Presidents jointly invited President Bush to meet with them to "undertake a joint evaluation of the advances made in the battle against narcotics so as to be able to set even more audacious goals in our effort to defeat once and for all this scourge of mankind." Hence, this summit will be expanded and will build on the excellent base established at Cartagena 2 years ago.

## Statement on Signing the Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1992 and 1993

*October 28, 1991*

Today I have signed into law H.R. 1415, the "Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1992 and 1993." The Act contains welcome new authorities for the Department of State, many of them included at the Administration's request. For example, the Act provides an important authorization of funds for construction of a secure chancery in Moscow, and for full payment of assessed contributions and arrearages to international organizations and for peacekeeping activities. These are especially helpful in light of our current relationship with the Soviet Union and the expanding peacekeeping role of the United Nations. I want to express my appreciation to the Congress for its cooperation in this effort. I regret, however, that the Congress has included several provisions in the Act that raise constitutional or other difficulties.

Article II of the Constitution confers the Executive power of the United States on the President alone. Executive power includes the authority to receive and appoint ambassadors and to conduct diplomacy. Thus, under our system of government, all decisions concerning the conduct of negotiations with foreign governments are within the exclusive control of the President. Some of the provisions of H.R. 1415 could be in-

terpreted as directing or limiting through legislation the conduct by the President of foreign relations. Such an interpretation would violate fundamental constitutional principles.

For example, section 129 would prohibit the issuance of Israel-only passports and the issuance of more than one official or diplomatic passport to any U.S. Government employee for the purpose of acquiescing in the Arab League countries' policy of denying entry to persons whose passports reflect that they have travelled to Israel. It also directs the Secretary of State to enter into negotiations to seek an end to this policy. I am sympathetic to the goals of this legislation and have made this issue part of the Administration's discussions with the countries that engage in such practices.

The Constitution, however, vests exclusive authority in the President to control the timing and substance of negotiations with foreign governments and to choose the officials who will negotiate on behalf of the United States. A purported blanket prohibition on the issuance of more than one official or diplomatic passport to U.S. Government officials could interfere with my ability to conduct diplomacy by denying U.S. diplomats the documentation necessary for

them to travel to all countries in the Middle East and could upset delicate and complex negotiations. I therefore am directing the Secretary of State to ensure that this provision does not interfere with my constitutional prerogatives and responsibilities.

Section 322 and title IV also raise constitutional concerns. These sections deal with Middle East arms control policy and purport to direct the President specifically how to proceed in negotiations with the United Nations and with foreign governments. This Administration is strongly committed to ongoing negotiations regarding restraints on the transfer of conventional arms and weapons of mass destruction to the Middle East. However, I must construe these sections consistent with my responsibility for conducting negotiations with foreign governments.

Section 301(b) requires the Secretary of State to designate an official with responsibility for, among other things, developing a proposal for the prosecution of Persian Gulf war criminals in an international tribunal, including proposing to the United Nations the establishment of such tribunal. I am sympathetic to the goal of this provision. I note, however, that the responsibilities of this official are to be understood by reference to section 301(a). In guiding him in the performance of his duties, therefore, I will keep in mind that section 301(a) expresses only "the sense of the Congress." In conjunction with these provisions, section 301(c) requires me to submit a report to the Congress describing evidence of war crimes and identifying war criminals. I will interpret this provision in a manner consistent with my constitutional authority to protect state secrets and sensitive law enforcement information.

On a different matter, several sections impose significant reporting requirements on the Secretary of State that could be read to compel the disclosure of sensitive diplomatic activities or communications and/or state secrets. Section 114 requires unclassified reporting of certain activities in the confidential fund maintained for emergencies in the diplomatic and consular service. The mandatory public disclosure of some of these activities would be inimical to the success of U.S. foreign policy, and I shall

therefore interpret this provision consistent with my constitutional authority to protect such information.

Title V, Chemical and Biological Weapons (CBW), raises concerns with respect to both the President's control over negotiations with foreign governments and the possible disclosure of sensitive information. Title V's provisions establish sanctions against foreign companies and countries involved in the spread or use of chemical and biological weapons. Title V demonstrates that the Congress endorses my goal of stemming dangerous CBW proliferation. In signing this Act, it is my understanding, as reflected in the legislative history, that title V gives me the flexibility to protect intelligence sources and methods essential to the acquisition of intelligence about CBW proliferation. In part, such flexibility is available because title V does not dictate the timing of determinations that would lead to sanctions against foreign persons.

In connection with another arms control provision, section 323, I am signing this Act on the understanding that the sanctions that must be imposed as a result of this new section apply only to exports to foreign persons of items controlled pursuant to the Arms Export Control Act, and not to exports to foreign persons of items controlled by any other law.

Section 198 deals with the publication of the "Foreign Relations of the United States historical series" and the declassification of Department of State documents. This section also must be interpreted in conformity with my constitutional responsibility and authority to protect the national security of the United States by preventing the disclosure of state secrets and to protect deliberative communications within the executive branch. To the extent that section 198 addressed the standards for declassification of national security information, it will be interpreted to effect no change in the standards set forth in the existing Executive order on national security information. Further, section 198 will be implemented in a manner and on a schedule that will not risk ill-considered release of protected information.

Other provisions that might be construed

to require disclosure of the content of sensitive diplomatic communications, state secrets, or intelligence information will also be interpreted consistent with the President's responsibility to protect such information. *See, e.g.*, sections 127, 129(c), 133, 192, 193, 356(b), 404, 506(b), and 508. Similarly, section 235 will be interpreted consistent with my responsibility to protect privileged material.

A number of other provisions of H.R. 1415 also pose serious constitutional problems. Section 173 would impose unconstitutional restrictions on my appointment power with respect to members of the Board of the Inter-American Foundation. Section 175(b), by requiring the Secretary of State to submit "legislative recommendations" to the Congress, would infringe on the Executive's constitutional prerogative to submit "such measures as [the President] shall deem necessary and expedient." U.S. Const., Art. II, section 3. By directing the opening or restricting the closing of consular, diplomatic, and United States Information Agency offices, sections 112, 206, 216, and 223 would constrain the exercise of my constitutional authority to conduct foreign relations and, in particular, to direct ambassadors and other representatives of the United States. Because of these constitutional difficulties, I will treat these provisions as advisory.

Section 234 mandates the creation of a Kurdish broadcast service at the Voice of America (VOA). This Administration agrees that the Iraqi Kurds need information on events in the free world and pertaining to their own situation, and also agrees with the statement in section 234 that the Voice of America provides an effective means to accomplish this. However, this Administration believes that the creation of VOA language services through legislation limits the ability of the Agency to respond to rapidly changing international situations in a flexible and timely manner. For these reasons, this Administration will continue to oppose the

specification in legislation of languages, broadcast hours, and organizational arrangements.

H.R. 1415 also includes requirements for more than 60 new reports to be submitted to the Congress. While I recognize the value of reports in assisting the Congress in its legislative responsibility, taken together such reports put a heavy burden on the reporting agencies at a time of scarce resources. I hope that, in the future, the Congress will balance its legitimate need for information with the time and expense involved in preparing a report, and make an effort to minimize reporting requirements, both in terms of the number and frequency of reports that must be submitted, as well as the level of detail required.

Finally, I object strongly to section 122, creating the position of Assistant Secretary of State for South Asian Affairs. A single Assistant Secretary handling both the Near East and South Asia, as is the case under the Department's current organization, is best for the conduct of foreign policy as well as from a management perspective. Having a single bureau enables the Department of State to develop an integrated approach to such crucial issues as proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the Islamic revival, and the Afghan situation—all of which involve both the countries of South Asia as well as those of the Near East. From a management perspective, this would be the smallest geographic bureau in the Department, and therefore would be inefficient and expensive. More generally, I will continue to work with the Congress to obtain the organizational flexibility needed to conduct our foreign policy most effectively.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
October 28, 1991.

*Note: H.R. 1415, approved October 28, was assigned Public Law No. 102-138.*



## Statement on Signing the Departments of Veterans Affairs and Housing and Urban Development, and Independent Agencies Appropriations Act, 1992

*October 28, 1991*

Today I have signed into law H.R. 2519, the "Departments of Veterans Affairs and Housing and Urban Development, and Independent Agencies Appropriations Act, 1992."

The Act provides the funding necessary for our space program, key elements of the Nation's research enterprise, a strong program of environmental protection, important programs relating to the Nation's veterans, and various housing programs. While many sections of the Act provide funds for priority activities requested by the Administration, several housing provisions are flawed.

Although it does not fully fund the Administration's request for civil space activities, the Act provides the funds necessary to maintain a balanced and forward-looking space program. An increase of almost 10 percent is provided for space science programs. Funding is provided to advance work on the engine for the proposed New Launch System. In addition, Space Station Freedom, an essential step in meeting our future space objectives, received an increase of almost 7 percent, an amount adequate to keep the project on schedule during the current fiscal year.

The Act funds the Administration's request for a range of environmental protection programs. The operating budget of the Environmental Protection Agency, which includes funds for implementing the Clean Air Act, enforcing our environmental laws, and improving the science base for environmental protection, will grow by approximately 11 percent. I am pleased that the Act also funds my request for special grants to accelerate progress in meeting sewage treatment requirements in Boston Harbor, New York Harbor, Los Angeles, San Diego, and Seattle. I would note that the Congress has again reduced my request for funding for Superfund cleanups. The Administration is committed to accelerating progress in cleaning up hazardous waste sites.

The Act provides an 11 percent increase for important research and education programs under the National Science Foundation (NSF). I believe that a strong basic research program is vital to America's continuing ability to compete in world markets. Although this Act provides a higher proportion of requested research funds than has been the recent practice, the Act has reduced the requested 16 percent increase for research and related programs to an 11 percent increase. These core research programs of the NSF primarily fund individual investigators, the backbone of American science and the source of most of our new discoveries. I ask the Congress to work with me to ensure the future strength of America's vital research and development enterprise.

This Act meets the needs of our Nation's veterans. The Act provides \$13.6 billion for VA Medical Care, an increase of \$1.3 billion over the FY 1991 enacted level. This increase will allow the Department to provide quality care to all eligible veterans and will enhance access to important services, including those for veterans who are AIDS sufferers and for veterans seeking drug abuse treatment. The \$581 million appropriation for the administration of VA benefits provided in the Act will enable the Department to handle all benefit claims, including those related to Desert Shield/Desert Storm. Therefore, I am not designating an additional \$14.1 million for the administration of benefits as "emergency requirements" under the provisions of the Budget Enforcement Act.

I am disappointed, however, in several provisions of the Act related to housing. Language in the final Act—contained in neither the House- nor Senate-passed versions of the bill—prevents HUD from promulgating a regulation concerning the Public Housing program. This extraordinarily objectionable provision cancels HUD's ef-

forts to make vitally necessary reforms in the Public Housing program. By this action, the Congress ensures that HUD pays local housing authorities to operate vacant public housing units. This means that there is less incentive to take needy people off of waiting lists. Further, this provision points to the problems that arise when the Federal Government subsidizes buildings rather than people.

I am greatly concerned over the inadequate funding levels for the Administration's important housing initiatives that emphasize tenant choice, homeownership opportunities, and coordinated housing-service delivery to the homeless. The Congress has provided approximately 40 percent of the requested funding level for the Homeownership and Opportunity for People Everywhere program (HOPE), a program that would enable low-income persons to take control of their lives through homeownership. Further, the Congress has provided no funding for the flexible rental housing component of the Shelter Plus Care program, the Administration's initiative for the homeless.

I am disappointed that the Congress continues to support housing programs that are very costly and that do not offer choice to poor families because new buildings, rather than poor families, receive subsidies. Further, the Congress has provided \$150 mil-

lion for unauthorized, special purpose projects, an action that is inconsistent with the policy goals of the Department of Housing and Urban Development Reform Act of 1989.

I am disturbed that the Congress has chosen to waive the non-Federal matching requirement for the HOME program for 1992. The graduated match required in the HOME program reflected both the spirit of partnership between States, localities, and the Federal Government and the strong incentive toward rehabilitation of substandard housing and tenant-based assistance. The waiver not only eliminates the incentive for rehabilitation and tenant assistance, but, more significantly, it strips the program of the ability to induce more investment in low-income housing.

The Congress had an especially difficult task balancing the diverse and competing priorities funded in this Act. Notwithstanding the concerns I have expressed, I appreciate their efforts. We will continue to work with the Congress to seek solutions to the problems I have noted and to attend to the priorities I have identified.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
October 28, 1991.

*Note: H.R. 2519, approved October 28, was assigned Public Law No. 102-139.*

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## Statement on Signing the Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1992 *October 28, 1991*

Today I have signed into law H.R. 2608, the "Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1992."

While providing less than I had requested, this Act includes funding for important programs at the Department of Justice that make major contributions to the fight against crime and illegal drug use in our society. In addition, funding provided for weather satellites should avoid any possible

future gap in coverage and protect our public safety. Finally, the Act provides needed funds for programs to conduct the Nation's foreign affairs and public diplomacy programs. Especially important is the funding for our contributions to the United Nations, other international organizations, and peacekeeping activities.

Section 503 of the Act prohibits the use of funds to issue Israel-only passports and more than one official or diplomatic pass-

port to Government employees in certain circumstances. This prohibition applies to issuing passports for the purpose of complying with the policy of some Arab League nations of denying entry to persons whose passports reflect that they have previously visited Israel. I am sympathetic to the goals of this provision and have made this issue part of the Administration's discussions with the countries that engage in such practices.

The Constitution, however, vests exclusive authority in the President to control the timing and substance of negotiations with foreign governments and to choose the officials who will negotiate on behalf of the United States. A purported blanket prohibition on the use of funds to issue more than one official or diplomatic passport to U.S. Government officials could interfere with the President's ability to conduct diplomacy by denying U.S. diplomats the documenta-

tion necessary for them to travel to all countries in the Middle East and could upset delicate and complex negotiations. I therefore am directing the Secretary of State to ensure that this provision does not interfere with my constitutional prerogatives and responsibilities.

As with the Acts of the last 2 years, I interpret the provisions related to the Legal Services Corporation as not restricting the authority of future recess appointees to exercise all powers conferred upon members of the Board of Directors of the Corporation.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
October 28, 1991.

*Note: H.R. 2608, approved October 28, was assigned Public Law No 102-140.*

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater Condemning Terrorism on the West Bank

*October 28, 1991*

We condemn the senseless act of violence conducted on the West Bank today. We have previously warned that extremist groups might try to use violence to disrupt the forthcoming Middle East peace conference. They cannot be allowed to succeed in

sabotaging the peace process. We call upon all parties to condemn this act and reject violence, especially at this critical time. We offer our sympathies to the victims of this terrorist act.

## Statement on Signing the Treasury, Postal Service and General Government Appropriations Act, 1992

*October 28, 1991*

Today I have signed into law H.R. 2622, the "Treasury, Postal Service and General Government Appropriations Act, 1992."

I am pleased that this Act provides significant funding increases for major Administration priorities, including modernization of tax processing systems in the Internal Revenue Service, drug interdiction activities in the United States Customs Service, and drug rehabilitation and treatment pro-

grams financed through the Office of National Drug Control Policy.

I commend the Congress for lowering postal rate subsidies for certain third-class mailers who use nonstandard envelopes that cost more to process and deliver. I look forward to working with the Congress to continue our joint efforts to reform this program.

A number of provisions in the Act condition the President's authority, and the authority of affected executive branch officials, to use funds otherwise appropriated by this Act on the approval of various committees of the House of Representatives and the Senate. These provisions constitute legislative vetoes similar to those declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in *INS v. Chadha*. Accordingly, I will treat them as having no legal force or effect in this or any other legislation in which they appear.

In addition, title I of the Act contains several provisions that limit the ability of the Office of Management and Budget to perform certain review functions (e.g., the prohibition on using funds for review of ag-

ricultural marketing orders). These provisions raise constitutional concerns because they impair the President's ability to supervise the executive branch.

Balancing the competing priorities of Government programs is a difficult task. I appreciate the efforts of the Congress in developing this Act. We will continue to work with the Congress to seek solutions to those concerns I have noted.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
October 28, 1991.

*Note: H.R. 2622, approved October 28, was assigned Public Law No. 102-141.*

## Nomination of William Edwin Ryerson To Be United States Ambassador to the Republic of Albania

*October 28, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate William Edwin Ryerson, of Virginia, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Albania. This ambassadorial appointment follows the resumption of U.S. relations with Albania on March 15, 1991.

Most recently Mr. Ryerson served as chief of the United States delegation in Tirana, Albania. Previous assignments included: Associate Director, Visa Services Directorate, Bureau of Consular Affairs at the U.S. Department of State, 1990-1991; consul general at the U.S. Embassy in Belgrade, 1986-

1990; Serbo-Croatian language training at the Foreign Service Institute, 1985-1986; chief of consular section at the U.S. Embassy in Bonn, 1981-1985; Office Director, Office of Public and Diplomatic Liaison, Visa Services Directorate, Bureau of Consular Affairs at the U.S. Department of State, 1980-1981; and Berlin desk officer, Office of Central European Affairs at the U.S. Department of State, 1978-1980.

Mr. Ryerson graduated from Cornell University (B.A., 1960). He was born December 10, 1936, in Pompton Lakes, NJ. He is married, has four children, and resides in Arlington, VA.

## Statement on Signing the Department of Transportation and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1992

*October 28, 1991*

Today I have signed into law H.R. 2942, the "Department of Transportation and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1992."

This Act includes funding to maintain and

improve our transportation systems. The Act also contains strong provisions pertaining to testing for drug abuse and alcohol misuse in the transportation sector. These

provisions, which had our full support, send a strong signal to those who travel on mass transit and other systems: We are committed to ensuring that America's transportation systems are safe.

In one respect, however, this appropriations measure lacks meaning. The Congress still has not presented me with a surface transportation reauthorization bill. This appropriations Act appears to suggest that States have \$16.8 billion in grant assistance to award new highway construction contracts this fiscal year. In reality, until the reauthorization bill passes, the States have only \$5.8 billion to award from funds left over from last year. New funds are unavailable because the Congress has failed to enact the reauthorization bill in a timely

manner.

The Administration proposed a highway bill on February 13 of this year. On March 6, I challenged the Congress to present me with a bill I could sign in 100 days. The delay in enactment of the highway bill disrupts the construction industry, costs jobs, and slows down needed improvements to our transportation systems. We need to put people back to work. I urge the Congress to develop expeditiously a bill I can sign.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
October 28, 1991.

*Note: H.R. 2942, approved October 28, was assigned Public Law No. 102-143.*

## Statement on Signing the Continuing Appropriations Bill *October 28, 1991*

Today I have signed into law H.J. Res. 360, making further continuing appropriations for fiscal year 1992.

Providing for the operation of the Government through Continuing Resolutions is an undesirable practice. However, a Second Continuing Resolution for FY 1992 is necessary at this time in order to keep certain activities of the Government functioning while the Congress completes the appropriations process.

I commend the Congress for presenting me with a simple, straightforward extension of funding that is not burdened with unre-

lated provisions. I also urge the Congress to complete the ordinary appropriations process by November 14, which is the date this Resolution expires except for activities covered by the Foreign Operations appropriations bill.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
October 28, 1991.

*Note: H.J. Res. 360, approved October 28, was assigned Public Law No. 102-145.*

## Message to the Congress Transmitting an Executive Order Prohibiting Certain Transactions With Haiti *October 28, 1991*

*To the Congress of the United States:*

Pursuant to section 204(b) of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, 50 U.S.C. section 1703(b), and section 301 of the National Emergencies Act, 50 U.S.C. section 1631, I hereby report that I have

again exercised my statutory authority to issue an Executive order with respect to Haiti that:

(a) Continues to block all property including bank deposits of the Government of

Haiti in the United States or in the control of U.S. persons including their overseas branches;

(b) Continues to prohibit any payment to the *de facto* regime in Haiti by U.S. persons or by any person organized under the laws of Haiti and owned or controlled by a U.S. person, and to require that payments owed to the Government of Haiti be paid when due into an account in the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, unless otherwise directed by the Treasury, to be held for the benefit of the Haitian people; and

(c) Prohibits, effective 11:59 p.m. e.s.t., Tuesday, November 5, 1991, trade between Haiti and the United States, with an exception for trade in informational materials. The order further excepts exportation to Haiti of (i) donations intended to relieve human suffering; and (ii) rice, beans, sugar, wheat flour, and cooking oil. An import exception is also created for goods containing parts or materials exported from the United States through Tuesday, November 5, 1991, assembled or processed in Haiti, and imported into the United States before midnight on December 5, 1991.

Items (a) and (b) reaffirm the action I took in issuing Executive Order No. 12775 on October 4, 1991, and continue to be warranted by the circumstances described in my report to the Congress of October 4, 1991, regarding that Executive order. Item (c) is a new action taken in view of the continuing crisis in Haiti and of the resolution of the Meeting of Foreign Ministers of the Organization of America States adopted on October 8, 1991, which *inter alia* urges member States to impose a trade embargo on Haiti.

I have instructed that this order be implemented with due regard to humanitarian needs of the Haitian people.

I am enclosing a copy of the Executive order.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
October 28, 1991.

*Note: This message was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 29. The Executive order is listed in Appendix E at the end of this volume.*

## The President's News Conference With President Mikhail Gorbachev of the Soviet Union in Madrid, Spain

*October 29, 1991*

*President Bush.* Well, just very briefly, I want to thank President Gorbachev. We've had yet another very constructive meeting. We're here, of course, for this international conference on the Middle East, and I can express my gratitude to President Gorbachev for the very constructive role that the Soviet Union has played in the actions leading up to this conference. We're grateful to him for that.

We also discussed some of the matters of mutual interests involving the situation inside the Soviet Union, the dynamic change there, the commitment to reform that is still very strong. And all in all, as far as I'm concerned, it was yet one more very good meeting with the President.

*President Gorbachev.* I join what Mr.

President just said and wanted only to say a couple of words for myself. We agreed on holding this meeting since it was a very convenient opportunity in order to coordinate our watches, synchronize our watches, to talk a little about what is of mutual interest to the Soviet Union and to the United States.

Yes, it's true that we began by—we talked about all the many years of effort that we made. Especially our joint efforts in the very recent past, both of the United States and the Soviet Union, has brought us to the point now where, today, tomorrow, this long-awaited forum, this long-awaited conference is opening. And let's hope that given everything that we might encounter along the way during these negotiations

within the confines of this conference, let's hope that it all turns out for the best and positively.

In any case, President Bush and I have agreed that having opened this conference and having left Madrid, we not at all expect to be somewhere on the side. On the contrary, we're going to facilitate as much as possible, use all the remedies that we have at our disposal. I think that all the participants of the conference and we, too, wanted to—both today and tomorrow we'll talk about it some more, maybe to appeal to everybody that they act responsibly with great understanding that what is beginning within the framework of this Madrid conference—how meaningful it is, and that everybody be very constructive as much as possible.

Further, we said a lot and talked a lot about—since I had the intention to pose before President Bush several questions, several issues vis-a-vis what's happening internally in the Soviet Union, and also because he and Mr. Secretary of State also had a whole series of questions in order to ask, for the benefit of their own understanding, to try to find out where we now are in the Soviet Union and to get a better grasp of what kind of issues and problems we're trying to solve.

This took quite a large percentage of our time, probably the majority of our meeting. I'm very satisfied by the position which was held, by the position of the President of the United States, and hope that—have all the basis to believe and feel that this is yet another step in strengthening the mutual understanding and cooperation between our two countries, right at the stage of all the great and momentous changes that are taking place.

And finally, we had an exchange of information and views as to what each of the sides is doing in the context of disarmament and all the initiatives that have been undertaken.

The President and I gave a very high mark to the way we are solving a lot of these very burning issues which for many years have plagued us. But now basing ourselves on all the experiences that have happened over the last few years, especially how well we're getting along now with our

two countries, between the Soviet Union and the United States, also among the members of the two governments of the two countries, that we're finding very good solutions.

In any event, we wanted to have a very short meeting to chat and maybe not overload ourselves too much because the subject of this meeting, in fact, is the opening of the conference. But in fact, we had a very substantive discussion. I think it will be very useful for both parties, for both sides. Thank you.

### *Nuclear Arms Reduction*

*Q.* This is a question to President Bush and President Gorbachev. You are now talking about disarmament or arms control. How much of the two schedules of both the Soviet Union and the United States, schedules of disarmament and arms control, how much are they similar, the two schedules of the two countries?

*President Bush.* We made some sweeping proposals a while back. President Gorbachev immediately responded positively to our proposals. Then he came forward with some additional proposals. And I would say after analyzing his, and his analyzing our proposals, that our schedules are very close to in line. And what we've agreed to do today is to talk further on the practical steps involved.

We had good discussions on the whole question of nuclear arms reduction and nuclear safety, but I can assert from the U.S. side that our schedules, as you refer to them, talk to them, are very close. And now what we've got to do is iron out more detail, have more discussion. And we've agreed to send our top people, including Mr. Bartholomew, to discuss with the Soviet side what additional steps we can agree on, additional to those that have already been agreed. I think we both want to go forward with CFE and START ratification very promptly.

*President Gorbachev.* I would have to merely confirm what President Bush said. There's no reason to worry or have any concern from either one of the other side. In view of the thing that people say, "Well, maybe this was found or that was found,"

certain initiatives, some people have concerns on schedule. No, there's nothing to worry about, I think. That's very important to say. And this is also a sign of responsibility and determination.

Secondly, I want to confirm what was said. We did, in fact, agree how this mechanism will work, the mechanism which will give us or provide the opportunity for us to continue discussing these issues, to keep each other informed, and to clarify issues for each other as they arrive.

In addition, we've also agreed that there be created two groups which will discuss issues having to do with strategic stability. Included among that is strategic stability for the future. I think we'll also be handling these kinds of issues and looking far into the future.

#### *Aid to the Soviet Union*

*Q.* Mr. President, did you tell Mr. Gorbachev that you would provide any additional aid to the Soviet Union? And further, do you think the Western nations should withhold aid from breakaway Republics, such as the Ukraine, who refuse to cooperate on military and economic matters?

*President Bush.* On the latter point, we discussed a lot that relates to the Republics, but we still are very respectful of the changes that are taking place. I asked for certain clarification from President Gorbachev on this.

What was your point on the Ukraine?

*Q.* I was wondering whether or not the Ukraine, which says that it won't cooperate on the economic union, and it's also insisting on joint control with Moscow of nuclear missiles—if you think that Western countries should provide aid to—

*President Bush.* I think that what we ought to do, and we did have a long discussion with President Gorbachev, is figure out the best package that we can do that will come as close to meeting his requirements as possible for economic aid. And clearly, some will go to the Republics. So, that all requires negotiation. There is no agreement on specific amounts or anything of that nature, but we did have a strong—we had a good discussion of the requirements.

And again, I think the American people, when it comes to food aid and medicines,

clearly want to be of assistance to the Soviet Union. And secondly, we are very interested in trying to do our part to see the reforms continue. And so we had a wide discussion about that. But no specifics have been agreed on. We will go back and talk to our representative that attended the G-7; David Mulford attended the G-7 finance meetings in Moscow. And then we'll have more negotiation and discussion with President Gorbachev on that.

*Q.* But it's not a barrier if the Ukraine refuses to cooperate on the economic and military matters?

*President Bush.* Well, I think it's President Gorbachev's feeling that they will cooperate on economic matters, but I defer to him on that.

*President Gorbachev.* I'm used to answering tough questions, so I agree. I agree to answer this part of your question as well. Yes, we for a long time now, President Bush and I, have been discussing the cooperation at this very, very difficult phase of our reform process where the Soviet Union now finds itself. And I must say that, inevitably, given the very substantive nature and the principal nature and sometimes even sharpness of our discussions, nonetheless, we and the President, and the administration, we know that the President and the administration in Washington has shown great understanding and cooperation towards our plight.

We today, as well, discussed this within the context of saying that today in the Soviet Union, today people from the G-7, the deputy finance ministers of the G-7, are meeting there to discuss this issue in particular. The very specific answer is that the result of the meeting—there have participated 12 Soviet Republics, and every one of them signed a memorandum by which they confirm the unified responsibility that they bear for paying the debts of the Soviet Union. They have empowered, all the 12 Republics have empowered their representatives to delegate their powers over to Vneshekonombank and have it be the central juridical face, also to decide who bears what responsibility in the Republics, who to have dealings with, who's going to have the authority.



So, I think that when you look at it at first glance, it might be a technical issue, but in very fact it points out that if you have solidarity among all the Republics today on this, let's hope that in the future that is continued. So, let's say now today that all 12 have signed.

Now, how about the Ukraine? Two days ago, I think it was Friday morning, I spoke with the Prime Minister of the Ukraine, Mr. Volkin, who said to me in this talk, he told me that the Ukraine, after the decision by the Supreme Soviet, when he put forth his own program, among a whole series of other things that was said in that program, one of those issues was to enter the circle of Republics and sign the economic treaty. Their Supreme Soviet voted, I think it was 283 or 284 in favor of the position of the Prime Minister of the Ukraine and only 39 against. This gave him the opportunity, now based upon the decision of the Supreme Soviet, to tell us and report to us that in fact he will sign. Maybe he's already signed it since I left Moscow, but in these last several days he will have signed this. So, I hope this takes care of your concern.

And finally, returning to today's conversation, I told President Bush I felt it necessary to report to him the most important thought, that now we have come up through this stage and now are actually beginning to make realistic, concrete steps toward the marketplace, stabilizing finances, taking steps to liberalize prices, taking steps aimed at quickening, speeding up the process of regularizing the financial order in the country. To really take a hard look and get our hands around the debts. In other words, that very specific process that has to move us to the marketplace, that is now beginning.

And in fact, all of our society is now faced with a rather complex set of decisions. This precise moment when we are especially sensitive to what we are doing in our country, and we feel sensitively what the attitude is of all of our partners abroad. We have to take a look at what's been going on. I've reported to all the people—I just told the President what all the G-7 partners were talking about in Moscow, and we will get back once again to this issue and help them find a specific solution. Thank you.

### *Leadership in the Soviet Union*

*Q.* Since your departure from Moscow, who is taking your place in Moscow? Who is fulfilling your duties?

*President Gorbachev.* Okay, I'll try to answer quickly because I know that nobody is. I'm still the President. Nobody is taking my place. Everybody else is doing what they're supposed to be doing and carrying out their functions. Whether I am more calm and confident now than I was before, I didn't lose my balance then, and I haven't lost it now. I'm fully confident that what we're doing is ultimately necessary, and I will do everything that's in my power to do everything necessary. Nobody is going to take me out of the action. The choice has been made.

*President Bush.* Let me respond to this, what I understand was the second part of the question. I have had a history of very satisfactory negotiations with President Gorbachev. You're correct in that. Secondly, when the coup attempt took place, we stood up against that. And thirdly, I sense no difference in how we talk and the frankness with which we exchange views, no difference, certainly from my standpoint, in the respect level for President Gorbachev. We in the United States watch with fascination and keen interest the developments inside the Soviet Union, the dramatic movements towards the reforms that he, himself, committed himself to years ago.

So, it is not for me to fine-tune every detail of change inside the Soviet Union. It is for me to continue to negotiate with President Gorbachev, with his total understanding, I'm sure. We've had many contacts with the Republics as well. And so, we will deal with what's there. And I'm very happy to see my friend again and to have had very fruitful discussions that have not in any way been altered by the tragic coup attempt last summer.

### *Middle East Peace Conference*

*Q.* Mr. President, both of you, in terms of the Madrid conference, can there be a lasting, a just settlement in the Middle East unless there is a tradeoff of conquered land for peace? And also, with your hands-off policy, aren't you really—you've brought

them to the table. Does it mean "you guys fight it out" and there will be no involvement of the sponsors?

*President Bush.* Did you have an order in which you'd like that replied to?

*Q.* No, you can answer it any way you like.

*President Bush.* Thank you, Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International].

Do you want to go first?

Look, the invitation went out. In the invitation it talked about Resolution 242 and 338. The American position is well-known. The Soviet position is well-known. But what is important here is getting the parties together. And one way you don't do that is for either the Soviet Union or the United States to try to impose a settlement. So, let them sort it out. We're available. We're there, the Soviet side, the U.S. side. Secretary Baker will remain on our side after I leave tomorrow.

But we're not here to impose a settlement. We are here to be a catalyst. I think the worst thing we could do is reiterate our own positions to such a degree that one side or the other became disenchanted before they even talk to each other. This is historic because people are sitting down to talk to each other for the first time. So, at least from the U.S. side, it is not my intention to try to impose a settlement or to go back to years of differences and reiterate strongly held convictions.

On the U.S. side, what we're interested in is getting Israel and its neighbors to sit down and talk, talk in a multilateral facet and then go forward bilaterally.

*Q.* But you didn't answer my question.

*President Bush.* What was it? I thought I gave a good answer to it. [Laughter]

*Q.* Can there be peace if there is not a tradeoff?

*President Bush.* I told you, let the parties work all this out, Helen. Who is it for you and me to sit here in this lovely Soviet Embassy to try to say what the requirements are going to be? I told you what the invitation said, based on 242 and 338. Everybody knows what that means. So, there's no point in me going beyond that. Please don't try me again today, as you did yesterday. [Laughter]

You know Helen?

*President Gorbachev.* Yes. I've got to say that President Bush really vocalized what our approach is, what we decided to follow and to keep to. So, I think that this is the proper way, the proper approach. Respect also to the participants of the negotiating process. This is very tough for them, very difficult meetings where they're going to have to maybe do quite a bit of work, all of them, so that they all come out to a final, positive conclusion.

Of course, it doesn't mean, like I said before and I want to reiterate again, this does not mean that we are simply going to stand on the side and that it doesn't really make any difference to us what happens. No, that's not at all. Our role of playing our good offices, using our good offices, we will perform. But everything else, what is decided upon, what is agreed to, must use what we have today, all of us, at our disposal.

We need a new climate of international relations. A new situation has to be developed, new relations among leading countries in the world, first of all the Soviet Union and the United States. And then included in that also, reestablishment of diplomatic relations with Israel. Use everything that we have to find the keys, to find all the right chords, to get rid of all those old, outdated issues and problems. Find a solution which would satisfy the interests of everybody. Without a balance, without taking into account everybody's needs, we will not succeed.

Therefore, President Bush has just informed you about the process that we have agreed to and the kinds of approaches we will be dedicated to. Thank you.

*Q.* Given Syria's position regarding the regional negotiations and, of course, its refusal so far to enter this negotiations, is it your position, sir, that the parties to the regional negotiations should go on and conclude agreements regardless and independent of the element of withdrawal that is apparently most important to the Syrian position? And secondly, should settlements and negotiations for peace go on hand-in-hand, independently?

*President Bush.* These are both very important questions and they're very substantive questions, but once again I think it

would be counterproductive for me—let President Gorbachev decide on his own—but it would be counterproductive for me to give definitive answers to how I feel those two important questions should be resolved. The U.S. has historic positions; the Soviet side has historic positions.

We brought these parties together now in something that most people thought could never happen. And once again, it would be counterproductive for me to set conditions or to say from the U.S. side how these two questions that you properly asked about be resolved. I'm simply not going to do that. This is too sensitive a time. We're trying to get in here to have people start discussions on their own. And I don't want to give anybody any reason whatsoever to walk away or to make additional demands because of something I have said.

So, I simply, respectfully, will not answer your question in the detail that I know you'd like me to do.

*President Gorbachev.* During the preliminary stages where we were preparing this conference, there was quite a number of very sharp issues that were raised, even in the press a lot, quite a bit is being written, publicized, people's points of view, opinions. But tomorrow the conference starts. And so, this preliminary, preparatory phase, in spite of all the difficulties that we've encountered, all the discussions that have been had, all the things said in the press—nonetheless, we are here at the opening. Let's just open the conference, and let's start working.

It seems to me that the sides themselves can only win if they maintain a position of principle but are constructive. Everybody's concerns are real. But let's really say we're not going to substitute by our actions that which happens at the negotiations at the conference.

#### *Aid to the Soviet Union*

*Q.* The issue of economic assistance, that the United States said for all the time that first they have to deal with the center when it comes to foreign aid, and now in many of the enterprises we're moving hard currency—in what position the United States found itself. In other words, is the United States more actively working with the Re-

publics, and namely Russia itself, or still going to deal only through the center?

*President Bush.* Well, I thought I addressed myself to that. Clearly, we're here today, and we're dealing with President Gorbachev. I have kept contacts with President Yeltsin. You asked specifically about the Russian Republic. But on a matter of this nature where we're talking about credit and we're talking about hopefully humanitarian assistance, it is important that Americans get the view that the center and the Republics are together on these matters. But we don't plan to change our dealings with President Gorbachev or, indeed, with President Yeltsin or leaders of the other Republics. And I think, I have the feeling they both understand that. It's a little vague, but I don't believe I can be more specific on your question than that.

I think under the economic agreement President Gorbachev was explaining to me today, the Republics are indeed together with the center, closer together with the center on these economic matters than ever before, which makes it much easier for the United States or the G-7 or the other countries that clearly want to assist in the reform process, in helping this go forward.

*Q.* President Gorbachev and President Bush as well, despite what you've said about the economic situation, it's not entirely clear to me. Did you, sir, President Gorbachev, make any specific, any new requests for assistance? And did you, Mr. Bush—you've indicated in talking about a package, is this something over and beyond what we have heard before? If you could be more specific, it would help us.

*President Gorbachev.* Well, in general, if you would bear in mind the fact that recently, between myself and the leaders of the G-7, there is a regular exchange of views and information, then many of the issues directed to President Bush. Well, he knew about a lot of these issues anyway. He already was informed of it.

At the same time, based upon our requests, the President of the United States and other leaders of the European Community were working on these kinds of questions. Now, in this connection for them to decide, a couple of days ago they decided to

have this meeting of the deputy ministers of finance who came to Moscow to discuss this cooperation, the assistance. And they, I think very substantively, went through and made assessments of what is the real situation and came to one single, unified understanding. And that's very important if you're going to make decisions.

They had a unified, single opinion of what is going on. They established a series of positions, opinions that they came up with, and the governments and these countries will then be told about this.

So now, when the President goes back to Washington and I go back to Moscow, we will listen to what these recommendations of the specialists are, talk about it, think about it. Then we will then be able to be in a position to finally make a determination on this question.

I don't think that everything is solved by this. Maybe it will be several times in the future we may have to come back and ask other assistance, because life casts up a whole variety of surprises. But the very fact that we have fruitful, constructive, specific, businesslike, and very promising work going on, and it also bodes well for future results. Thank you.

*President Bush.* That's essentially the way I would have answered the question.

*Q.* That there is nothing specific?

*President Bush.* You heard President Gorbachev use the word "specific," but I'd say we're in a phase of discussing details, which obviously means specificity. But I endorse what he said about needing further work and consultation on this, each with our own economic side, and then follow through with more discussion.

So, there were some specifics discussed, but we will go forward as he indicated.

*Q.* What is the magnitude of what you're discussing now in contrast to what it was—

*President Bush.* We've agreed, we're not going to go into magnitudes of it right now.

*Q.* Thank you.

*Note: The President's 107th news conference began at 2:55 p.m. at the Soviet Embassy. In his remarks, President Bush referred to Reginald Bartholomew, Under Secretary of State for International Security Affairs, and David C. Mulford, Under Secretary of the Treasury for International Affairs. President Gorbachev spoke in Russian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.*

## The President's News Conference With Prime Minister Felipe González of Spain in Madrid

*October 29, 1991*

*The President.* I simply want to thank Prime Minister González and also Foreign Minister Ordóñez for this fantastic cooperation and leadership on this conference. In a very short period of time, Spain has pulled this whole thing together, and everyone I've talked to tells me that it has been just nothing short of a miracle. And of course, I am very grateful for the hospitality, but also for the way they've handled these arrangements. And so, I want to thank the Prime Minister and everybody else involved in these wonderful arrangements.

In terms of U.S.-Spain bilateral relations, they are very, very good. We, of course, are excited about 1992, the quincentenary of

Columbus' first voyage to America. That all can wait until after this visit, but nevertheless, we're here at the beginning of interesting times in terms of U.S.-Spanish relations which I can attest to are very, very good.

But my sincere thanks to you, sir, for all you've done to facilitate the convening of this historic conference.

### *Middle East Peace Conference*

*Q.* I would like to ask President Bush what do you think about Spain's cooperation in the future in the peace process in the Near East after the Madrid conference is over and for the future phases where they might also have a role? And we would

like to know if this visit excludes the fact that in July of '92 you will be here; does this exclude the fact? Thank you.

*The President.* First, this visit here does not exclude future visits of any kind although we have no firm schedule for my own personal travel in 1992.

Secondly, because your Prime Minister is widely respected in the countries that are participating, who knows what the future role of Spain will be? And it could well be in terms of—they've already offered the facilities for ongoing talks, one kind or another, bilateral talks. And so, Spain having demonstrated not only its interest but your Prime Minister having demonstrated his knowledge about the area, I would say we'll just have to wait and see, see what the parties want. But they've already served in an extraordinarily useful role in hosting this conference.

*Q.* President Bush, at a meeting that you had in Camp David when you met the King of Spain, was that when you decided that Spain would be the perfect place? Could you tell us a little bit about what happened? Was it your proposal? Was it the King's proposal? We'd really like to know a little bit more about how Spain was chosen. Thank you, sir.

*The President.* No, I think Secretary Baker has explained it very well that it had to be a place where the participants would feel at home and comfortable, and Spain immediately came to the fore. I can't say that other sites were not considered. I believe there was some consideration given to The Hague, some consideration given to a spot, Lausanne, I believe, in Switzerland. But Spain emerged, as the leading choice. And with all great respect for His Majesty—and I might say what a joy it was to Barbara and me to have the King and Queen of Spain at Camp David—that matter was not decided at that level.

*Q.* Mr. President, 10 days ago or just about, Secretary Baker did not want to make, to predict chances of success of this conference. Four days ago the French President Mitterrand did not want to do it again. Now, just the day of the conference, how do you rate chances of success? And also from President González I would like to hear his own impression. Thank you.

*The President.* I rate it the same way that Secretary Baker did 10 days ago, not wanting to rate it or quantify that. But the very fact that it's taking place, the very fact that the parties are coming together is, I think, an important sign that there is a chance for success. But I think we would all agree that there's a lot of hard negotiation between the parties to take place before we can say with joy in our hearts that there will be lasting peace in the Middle East. So, I can't quantify it for you, but I'd say that I'm more optimistic today just because we're this much closer to the actual convening of the conference.

*The Prime Minister.* Years ago, we had hoped that something would lead to negotiations in this region, and it seems that we finally have something that is going to lead to these conversations. For the first time in 43 years, we have the possibility of dialog in this region, and I think that this is really hope for all of us.

#### *Latin America*

*Q.* We would like to know what you talked about this afternoon. And we would like to know if you mentioned Cuba and if you talked about new ideas in the Caribbean area.

*The Prime Minister.* There has been nothing but very pleasant and friendly conversation. We reviewed the conference itself, the peace conference, and we've also reviewed the situation in Central America. We didn't mention Cuba except a passing mention. We talked about the situation in Europe and the Soviet Union. And the meeting was very friendly and very cordial, as President Bush has just said.

*The President.* May I add a word to that, please? Prime Minister González has a very special standing in South America, Central America, and the leaders there turn to him often for advice and counsel, as we do. So when we talk, for example, today about Salvador, his role as a special "friend" of the Secretary-General, you're familiar with the term "friend" to the Secretary-General, we can talk to a man who has established not only his knowledge and his interest in the area but has a following in the area.

So, the visit from my standpoint did not

relate simply to the conference, nor to bilateral relations between Spain and the United States, but getting his views once again on matters affecting our own hemisphere including the antinarcotics business. So, we spent maybe 10 minutes talking about that and getting his ideas on that.

Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International]?

### *Middle East Peace Conference*

*Q.* Mr. President, assurances were given to each of the parties by Secretary Baker on your behalf. Do each of the parties know what assurances were given? When will the American people know these assurances, since we obviously will be responsible for any commitments you've made?

*The President.* Well, Helen, I'd have to refer that question to the Secretary of State. And I think the American people have a right to know these things, but I think sometimes when you're having quiet negotiations to make something happen, the American people assign their trust to the President, to the Secretary of State to conduct these sensitive matters. This conference is historic. And there's nothing that's going to be of difficulty for the American people in any way; I can assure you that. But I would simply leave to Jim any discussion of any details of that nature.

*Q.* Will they be made public at any point?

*The President.* I don't even know what you're talking about. What ones are you referring to?

*Q.* We understand assurances were made to each party—

*The President.* Like what?

*Q.* —to bring them to the table. We don't know.

*The President.* Well, they're here, put it that way. And we're very, very pleased, and I don't think there are any secret covenants if that's what you're getting at. But I'm sorry, I just don't know what you're talking about. But let me refer you to the Secretary of State on this.

*Q.* White House officials have said that there are assurances.

*The President.* Well, assurances, I mean, there are certain things in our policy that we'll assure all the time.

### *Terrorism on the West Bank*

*Q.* To Mr. Bush. Do you believe that the violence in the Middle East the last 36, 48 hours was an attempt to disrupt the peace talks before they began? And if you do, your comments on such tactics.

*The President.* Condemning such tactics—total condemnation of the kind of violence we've seen. And if they were designed to disrupt the conference, let's hope they fail. And I think it's just one more, actually, these terrorist acts of violence are one more reason I'd like to see this conference succeed, so people will not resort to the violence in the future that they have resorted to in the past.

*Q.* Prime Minister González, your comments as well?

*The Prime Minister.* I apologize, but we really don't have much time left. I'm trying to get an international balance here. From on that side—

### *Spain*

*Q.* Mr. President, what will be the role of Spain in the new world order?

*The President.* A very respected partner who stands for peace and democracy and whose leaders are respected around the world. And I think that the fact that we consult very closely with Prime Minister González on various matters—and I've touched on some of them: the Middle East; touched on our own hemisphere; I remember talking to him at the time of Desert Storm—means that as far as the United States goes, Spain has a very special standing and can be extraordinarily helpful in terms of world peace. So, you have to see what the situation is, but I've given you some examples of where they've already played a very constructive role.

### *Middle East Peace Conference*

*Q.* Do you miss the United Nations in this conference? And why have you allowed Israel not to pay any attention to the U.N. for many years?

*The President.* I think the conference is properly structured. The United Nations, we've all seen, has come into a very important new phase in its existence, fulfilling the dreams of some of its founding fathers in

terms of peacemaking, peacekeeping in various parts of the world. The standing up against the aggression caused by Iraq is perhaps the foremost example. But they're also playing a useful role, still, in trying to achieve peace in Cyprus. They're trying very hard, the Secretary-General is, in El Salvador. And you look around the world, and they are very active, constructively so, in many areas.

In this particular area, because of the view of some of the parties, it was deemed better to go forward in the way the conference is structured now. But that isn't to denigrate the United Nations. Israel, I think everybody knows the history, feels that in the United Nations they are ganged up on. That's their view, and they're an important player here. And their views had to be considered as this conference was structured. I think other countries in the area that are going to be participating clearly went along with this.

*The Prime Minister.* As far as I remember, Secretary Baker and Secretary Pankin talked about 338 and 242, the United Nations must be very pleased that we finally have started a dialog, a dialog that everyone has waited for, for such a long time.

*Q.* For President Bush: Sir, do you know any reason at this point why the bilateral negotiations would not get underway, and can you tell us what day they're scheduled

to start?

*The President.* The bilateral negotiations that would follow this opening session? No, I know of no reason why. I mean, I can think of a lot of conditions, but it's not helpful to go in and elaborate on everything that might go wrong. What I want to do is point out what might go right. And what might go right is these countries realize that this is the best hope for peace.

And I think that's what I will be talking about in my opening remarks tomorrow. I expect President Gorbachev will be talking about the same thing. So, I see no built-in stumbling block that will keep these talks from going forward, if I'm interpreting your question correctly.

*Q.* What day will they begin?

*The President.* I can't answer that. I just don't know. I think all that has to be negotiated out.

*The Prime Minister.* Thank you very much, and the first time we're 5 minutes late. Thank you very much.

*Note: The President's 108th news conference began at 7:03 p.m. in the Moncloa Palace. The following persons were referred to: Foreign Minister Francisco Fernández-Ordóñez of Spain; King Juan Carlos I and Queen Sophia of Spain; Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuellar of the United Nations; and Foreign Minister Boris Pankin of the Soviet Union.*

## Appointment of John A. Gordon as Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

*October 29, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to appoint Brig. Gen. John A. Gordon as Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. He will also serve as Senior Director for Defense Policy and Arms Control.

Since 1989 General Gordon has served as Director for Defense Policy and Arms Control for the National Security Council. From 1987 to 1989, he served as Commander of the 90th Strategic Missile Wing at F.E.

Warren Air Force Base in Wyoming. In addition, General Gordon served in various military assignments for Air Force Strategic Missile Units, 1985-1987. From 1981 to 1985, he served in several positions in the Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs at the Department of State, including Director for Strategic Nuclear Policy and for Defense and Arms Control Matters. General Gordon was involved in a wide range of research and development plans in his assignments

with Air Force Systems Command, Strategic Air Command, the Office of the Under Secretary of the Air Force, and Sandia National Laboratories.

General Gordon graduated from the Uni-

versity of Missouri (B.S., 1968); the United States Naval Post Graduate School (M.S., 1970); and Highlands University (M.A., 1972). He is married, has one child, and resides in Alexandria, VA.

## Remarks at the Opening Session of the Middle East Peace Conference in Madrid, Spain

*October 30, 1991*

Prime Minister González, and President Gorbachev, Excellencies. Let me begin by thanking the Government of Spain for hosting this historic gathering. With short notice, the Spanish people and their leaders stepped forward to make available this magnificent setting. Let us hope that this conference of Madrid will mark the beginning of a new chapter in the history of the Middle East.

I also want to express at the outset my pleasure at the presence of our fellow cosponsor, President Gorbachev. At a time of momentous challenges at home, President Gorbachev and his senior associates have demonstrated their intent to engage the Soviet Union as a force for positive change in the Middle East. This sends a powerful signal to all those who long for peace.

We come to Madrid on a mission of hope, to begin work on a just, lasting, and comprehensive settlement to the conflict in the Middle East. We come here to seek peace for a part of the world that in the long memory of man has known far too much hatred, anguish, and war. I can think of no endeavor more worthy or more necessary.

Our objective must be clear and straightforward. It is not simply to end the state of war in the Middle East and replace it with a state of nonbelligerency. This is not enough. This would not last. Rather, we seek peace, real peace. And by real peace, I mean treaties, security, diplomatic relations, economic relations, trade, investment, cultural exchange, even tourism.

What we seek is a Middle East where vast resources are no longer devoted to armaments. A Middle East where young people no longer have to dedicate and, all too

often, give their lives to combat. A Middle East no longer victimized by fear and terror. A Middle East where normal men and women lead normal lives.

Let no one mistake the magnitude of this challenge. The struggle we seek to end has a long and painful history. Every life lost, every outrage, every act of violence, is etched deep in the hearts and history of the people of this region. Theirs is a history that weighs heavily against hope. And yet, history need not be man's master.

I expect that some will say that what I am suggesting is impossible. But think back. Who back in 1945 would have thought that France and Germany, bitter rivals for nearly a century, would become allies in the aftermath of World War II? And who 2 years ago would have predicted that the Berlin Wall would come down? And who in the early 1960's would have believed that the cold war would come to a peaceful end, replaced by cooperation, exemplified by the fact that the United States and the Soviet Union are here today not as rivals but as partners, as Prime Minister González pointed out.

No, peace in the Middle East need not be a dream. Peace is possible. The Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty is striking proof that former adversaries can make and sustain peace. And moreover, parties in the Middle East have respected agreements, not only in the Sinai but on the Golan Heights as well.

The fact that we are all gathered here today for the first time attests to a new potential for peace. Each of us has taken an important step toward real peace by meeting here in Madrid. All the formulas on



paper, all the pious declarations in the world won't bring peace if there is no practical mechanism for moving ahead.

Peace will only come as the result of direct negotiations, compromise, give-and-take. Peace cannot be imposed from the outside by the United States or anyone else. While we will continue to do everything possible to help the parties overcome obstacles, peace must come from within.

We come here to Madrid as realists. We do not expect peace to be negotiated in a day or a week or a month or even a year. It will take time. Indeed, it should take time: time for parties so long at war to learn to talk to one another, to listen to one another; time to heal old wounds and build trust. In this quest, time need not be the enemy of progress.

What we envision is a process of direct negotiations proceeding along two tracks: one between Israel and the Arab States; the other between Israel and the Palestinians. Negotiations are to be conducted on the basis of U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

The real work will not happen here in the plenary session but in direct bilateral negotiations. This conference cannot impose a settlement on the participants or veto agreements. And just as important, the conference can only be reconvened with the consent of every participant. Progress is in the hands of the parties who must live with the consequences.

Soon after the bilateral talks commence, parties will convene as well to organize multilateral negotiations. These will focus on issues that cross national boundaries and are common to the region: arms control, water, refugee concerns, economic development. Progress in these fora is not intended as a substitute for what must be decided in the bilateral talks; to the contrary, progress in the multilateral issues can help create an atmosphere in which longstanding bilateral disputes can more easily be settled.

For Israel and the Palestinians, a framework already exists for diplomacy. Negotiations will be conducted in phases, beginning with talks on interim self-government arrangements. We aim to reach agreement within 1 year. And once agreed, interim self-government arrangements will last for 5

years. Beginning the 3d year, negotiations will commence on permanent status. No one can say with any precision what the end result will be. In our view, something must be developed, something acceptable to Israel, the Palestinians, and Jordan, that gives the Palestinian people meaningful control over their own lives and fate and provides for the acceptance and security of Israel.

We can all appreciate that both Israelis and Palestinians are worried about compromise, worried about compromising even the smallest point for fear it becomes a precedent for what really matters. But no one should avoid compromise on interim arrangements for a simple reason: Nothing agreed to now will prejudice permanent status negotiations. To the contrary, these subsequent negotiations will be determined on their own merits.

Peace cannot depend upon promises alone. Real peace, lasting peace, must be based upon security for all States and peoples, including Israel. For too long the Israeli people have lived in fear, surrounded by an unaccepting Arab world. Now is the ideal moment for the Arab world to demonstrate that attitudes have changed, that the Arab world is willing to live in peace with Israel and make allowances for Israel's reasonable security needs.

We know that peace must also be based on fairness. In the absence of fairness, there will be no legitimacy, no stability. This applies above all to the Palestinian people, many of whom have known turmoil and frustration above all else. Israel now has an opportunity to demonstrate that it is willing to enter into a new relationship with its Palestinian neighbors: one predicated upon mutual respect and cooperation.

Throughout the Middle East, we seek a stable and enduring settlement. We've not defined what this means. Indeed, I make these points with no map showing where the final borders are to be drawn. Nevertheless, we believe territorial compromise is essential for peace. Boundaries should reflect the quality of both security and political arrangements. The United States is prepared to accept whatever the parties themselves find acceptable. What we seek, as I

said on March 6, is a solution that meets the twin tests of fairness and security.

I know—I expect we all know—that these negotiations will not be easy. I know, too, that these negotiations will not be smooth. There will be disagreement and criticism, setbacks, who knows, possibly interruptions. Negotiation and compromise are always painful. Success will escape us if we focus solely upon what is being given up.

We must fix our vision on what real peace would bring. Peace, after all, means not just avoiding war and the costs of preparing for it. The Middle East is blessed with great resources: physical, financial and, yes, above all, human. New opportunities are within reach if we only have the vision to embrace them.

To succeed, we must recognize that peace is in the interest of all parties; war, absolute advantage of none. The alternative to peace in the Middle East is a future of violence and waste and tragedy. In any future war lurks the danger of weapons of mass destruction. As we learned in the Gulf war, modern arsenals make it possible to attack urban areas, to put the lives of innocent men, women, and children at risk, to transform city streets, schools, and children's playgrounds into battlefields.

Today, we can decide to take a different path to the future, to avoid conflict. I call upon all parties to avoid unilateral acts, be they words or deeds, that would invite retaliation or, worse yet, prejudice or even threaten this process itself. I call upon all parties to consider taking measures that will bolster mutual confidence and trust, steps that signal a sincere commitment to reconciliation.

I want to say something about the role of the United States of America. We played an active role in making this conference possible. Both the Secretary of State, Jim Baker, and I will play an active role in helping the process succeed. Toward this end, we've provided written assurances to Israel, to Syria, to Jordan, Lebanon, and the Palestinians. In the spirit of openness and honesty,

we will brief all parties on the assurances that we have provided to the other. We're prepared to extend guarantees, provide technology and support, if that is what peace requires. And we will call upon our friends and allies in Europe and in Asia to join with us in providing resources so that peace and prosperity go hand in hand.

Outsiders can assist, but in the end it is up to the peoples and Governments of the Middle East to shape the future of the Middle East. It is their opportunity, and it is their responsibility to do all that they can to take advantage of this gathering, this historic gathering, and what it symbolizes and what it promises.

No one should assume that the opportunity before us to make peace will remain if we fail to seize the moment. Ironically, this is an opportunity born of war, the destruction of past wars, the fear of future wars. The time has come to put an end to war. The time has come to choose peace.

Speaking for the American people, I want to reaffirm that the United States is prepared to facilitate the search for peace, to be a catalyst, as we've been in the past and as we've been very recently. We seek only one thing, and this we seek not for ourselves, but for the peoples of the area and particularly the children: That this and future generations of the Middle East may know the meaning and blessing of peace.

We have seen too many generations of children whose haunted eyes show only fear, too many funerals for their brothers and sisters, the mothers and fathers who died too soon, too much hatred, too little love. And if we cannot summon the courage to lay down the past for ourselves, let us resolve to do it for the children.

May God bless and guide the work of this conference, and may this conference set us on the path of peace. Thank you.

*Note: The President spoke at 10:30 a.m. in the Salon de las Columnas at the Royal Palace.*

## Nomination of Lisa A. Hembry To Be a Member of the National Museum Services Board

*October 30, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Lisa A. Hembry, of Texas, to be a member of the National Museum Services Board for a term expiring December 6, 1995. She would succeed Diana D. Denman.

Since 1988, Ms. Hembry has served as a

senior associate with the Staubach Co. in Dallas, TX. Prior to this she was the public affairs director for KRLD Radio in Dallas, TX, 1982–1988.

Ms. Hembry graduated from Southern Methodist University (B.S., 1975). She resides in Dallas, TX.

## Message to the Senate Transmitting the Argentina-United States Legal Assistance Treaty

*October 31, 1991*

*To the Senate of the United States:*

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Treaty between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of Argentina on Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters, signed at Buenos Aires on December 4, 1990. I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the Report of the Department of State with respect to the Treaty.

The Treaty is one of a series of modern mutual legal assistance treaties being negotiated by the United States in order to counter criminal activities more effectively. The Treaty should be an effective tool to assist in the prosecution of a wide variety of modern criminals, including members of drug cartels, “white collar criminals,” and

terrorists. The Treaty is self-executing.

The Treaty provides for a broad range of cooperation in criminal matters. Mutual assistance available under the Treaty includes: (1) the taking of testimony or statements of witnesses; (2) the provision of documents, records, and evidence; (3) the execution of requests for searches and seizures; (4) the serving of documents; and (5) the provision of assistance in locating, tracing, immobilizing, seizing and forfeiting proceeds of crime, and restitution to the victims of crime.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Treaty and give its advice and consent to ratification.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
October 31, 1991.

## Message to the Congress Transmitting the Annual Report of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration October 31, 1991

### *To the Congress of the United States:*

It is my privilege to provide you with the annual reports on activities under the Highway Safety Act and the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act, both enacted in 1966. These reports provide a summary of our activities during calendar year 1990 and of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration's priority plan for the next 3 years. The plan will be an evolving guideline for the agency's safety activities to improve motor vehicle and traffic safety.

The plan includes motor vehicle rulemaking on the crashworthiness of passenger cars, light trucks, and vans; vehicle rollover stability; and safety improvements in heavy trucks, school buses, and child safety seats.

It also calls for initiatives to promote State laws and programs to increase safety belt use, motorcycle helmet use, and to discourage drunk and drugged driving.

The report on motor vehicle safety includes the annual reporting requirement in title I of the Motor Vehicle Information and Cost Savings Act of 1972.

In the Highway Safety Acts of 1973, 1976, and 1978, the Congress expressed its special interest in certain aspects of traffic safety that are addressed in the volume on highway safety.

I am pleased to inform you that 1990 was a year of significant gains in traffic safety.

The traffic fatality rate, the accepted measure of risk on the road, was 2.1 deaths per 100 million vehicle miles traveled, the lowest in history and down 36 percent since 1980. Safety belt use is also higher than ever, with 49 percent of Americans buckling up, and drunk driving fatalities have declined significantly.

There is good news for Americans in virtually every critical part of the highway safety picture. The decline in the fatality rate is especially encouraging and means that we are able to drive with less risk. The dramatic increase in safety belt use and public concern about drunk driving have translated into thousands of lives saved and injuries avoided.

The progress we have made is, of course, no consolation to the relatives and friends of the 44,500 people who, despite the safety advances and greater public awareness, lost their lives in traffic accidents in 1990.

As we continue to pursue highway and motor vehicle safety programs that are most effective in preventing these deaths and injuries, I am convinced that significant progress will be made through the combined efforts of government, industry, and individual motorists.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
October 31, 1991.

## Remarks on Unemployment Benefits Legislation October 31, 1991

*The President.* I just want to say a word before this meeting. I am looking forward to making some comments on this unemployment benefits. I have been saying all along that I want to sign an unemployment benefits package, and I want it to be one that does not bust the budget agreement. We want a temporary program that takes

care of the people that are hurting out there, and there are people that are hurting. And I've said this all along, I am very much concerned about it.

I want a temporary program, and I want to live within the budget agreement so we do not increase interest rates on everybody. And thirdly, I want one that does not raise

taxes only to make the economic problems worse. And I am hopeful that the Democrats will now come forward with such a package. And they have one that busts the budget agreement, and they have one that is not confined the way I think it ought to be.

And so, I don't know where you all think it stands, but I'd like to—leaders, and you're doing a great job trying to work it out, but we are for it, but not for a reckless one that burdens every single taxpayer in this country.

*Senator Dole.* If I could just reinforce that. I didn't mean to interrupt you, Mr. President.

*The President.* No, I want to hear what—

*Senator Dole.* But I just made a statement on the Senate floor saying pretty much the same thing. Let's set—you know, we've taken care of civil rights. That was very important. The next most important thing in the agenda is the extended benefits. We ought to sit down and work it out in a bipartisan way without busting the budget in paying for it. And I hope we can do that in the next few days.

*Representative Michel.* Well, I want to say, too, Mr. President, we've had our substitute. You don't know, Bob Dole, and our substitute that we've had on the table there. I suspect we'll probably have to make some modification of that, but we're holding to your criteria that it be of a temporary nature, that it pay for itself, and not cause the other problems that you have alluded to here.

And I would add the highway bill, Bob, is a very important job-builder that we've got to get done here in addition to those that you have mentioned.

*The President.* We've got to increase jobs right away.

Well, we've got a lot to talk about, but this one is important. And I get a little annoyed at the politics being played at the expense of people that do not have benefits and need them. And what we're talking about is protecting all the taxpayers and helping those who are out of work. And that is what I want to do. And I have discovered something around here; the only way you can get reasonable legislation to

protect all the people is to beat back bad legislation that is going to further burden all the people. And so, we'll just have to do that, and I appreciate your leadership and your help in trying to get some sense coming out of the Congress on this important issue. People are hurting, and they ought to be helped.

*Representative Gingrich.* Can I comment just for a second, Mr. President? I just want to say, I think I know from our meetings in this room that you have been prepared for over 2 months to sign a bill that would have gotten nearly 3 million families extended checks on a regular basis. And those checks could have been going out for 2 months. And I think that, you know, I hope that in the next couple of days we can get a bipartisan agreement that will let you sign a bill that is responsible and that gets those checks out. But it is tragic to see people putting commercials on television about the checks that aren't being sent while they take the action to block the checks. So, I just want to reinforce: At any point in the last 2 months we could have signed, we could have passed and signed a responsible bill, and the checks would be out there right this minute. So, I hope this week we'll be able to do it.

#### *President's Home in Maine*

*Q.* Mr. President, what do you hear about your house, sir?

*The President.* Well, what I hear has not been from under the heading of good news. But I don't want to burden everybody about that. There are a lot of people that were hurt by this storm, and a lot of people in California that were hurt by fires that just wiped them out. And Barbara and I are in a fortunate position that we can bounce back. But it is not good news, and we'll just go up and take a look. Rather devastating to our family, but when I compare that to the fortunes of others, why, we've got a lot to be grateful for.

*Note: The President spoke at 10:02 a.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House, prior to a meeting with the Republican congressional leadership. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

## Remarks on Presenting the President's Environment and Conservation Challenge Awards and Signing the Executive Order on Federal Recycling

October 31, 1991

Some beautiful day here in the Rose Garden. And may I salute Secretary Lujan and Secretary Jim Watkins here and Bill Reilly, EPA Administrator. Of course, Chairman Mike Deland and Dick Austin of GSA. Welcome to the White House, and Happy Halloween to all.

I saw something on TV last night that I'd like to respond to before we begin here. Despite what happens to Linus every year in the pumpkin patch, I do believe in the Great Pumpkin. Now, you old guys wouldn't get it, but I'll tell you—*[ap- plause]*

It is a real pleasure to have our Presidential award winners—the Challenge Award, it's called—here on such a beautiful late October day. And I'd especially like to thank the awards partners who made this first-time awards ceremony possible. Gil Grosvenor, behind me here, of the National Geographic; Frank Bennack here of the Hearst Corporation; Mr. Allison is here today representing Drew Lewis of the Business Roundtable; and Russell Train of the World Wildlife Fund. Let me also add a note of thanks to the awards selection committee and the technical advisers.

Last month, I had the chance to visit the Grand Canyon, a magnificent, almost miraculous sight on a spectacular day. And the scale of all that actually staggers the senses. And that day in September, I spoke about the power of innovation and the strength of cooperation as the foundation for a new generation of environmental action.

Today, we are honoring 9 medalists and 23 citation winners who embody the new generation of environmental entrepreneurs. As President, I've had the distinction of honoring Americans for their achievement in the arts, humanities, sciences. And this time now has come for the country to honor achievement in the understanding and conservation of our environment.

We have with us today people who have formed partnerships to protect natural wild-

life—from the Great Lakes in the north to the Playa Lakes in the Great Southwest, and from the Sacramento River to the barrier islands off the Atlantic seaboard.

We are also recognizing companies that have integrated environmental values into virtually every single business decision, whether they are involved in fast food or financial services, newspapers, utilities, household products, or furniture.

And we honor other winners because they pioneered new technologies that save both money and the environment with creative solutions to challenges like agricultural pollution and ozone depletion and state-of-the-art techniques for recycling paper, metal, and plastics.

And finally, we recognize groups who have inspired a new respect for the environment in millions of Americans: newspaper and magazine groups, book publishers, teaching institutions, media advisers to TV and film industries, even the Girl Scouts. And these outstanding Americans have given us cleaner technologies and products, better ways to manage natural areas, and a greater capacity for environmental problem-solving. They are working to improve the quality of life for all Americans through a safe and healthy environment.

Earlier in this century, a man I deeply admire also visited the Grand Canyon and likewise shared his thoughts with the crowd assembled. Looking out over what he called a vista of "great loneliness and beauty," President Theodore Roosevelt said: "The ages have been at work on it, and man can only mar it. We have gotten past the stage when we are to be pardoned if we treat any part of our country as something to be skinned for 2 or 3 years for the use of the present generation, whether it is the forest, the water, the scenery. Whatever it is, handle it so that your children's children will get the benefit of it."

Each of you understands President Roose-

velt's challenge. Each of you has acted on it, taken it upon yourselves to ensure that future generations will inherit a safe and healthy environment. And for that, you have my admiration, my gratitude. And please keep up the good fight. And now let's, if we could Mike, hand out these well-earned awards.

*[At this point, the President presented the awards and citations in the following categories: partnership, environmental quality management, innovation, and education and communications.]*

While you all are here, I have a special announcement to make. We talk a lot about recycling. Well, today we're going to save a few trees by giving two speeches at the same time—*[laughter]*—piloting a new program in recycling audiences, too. So here goes. *[Laughter]*

But seriously, we are taking a major step in placing the Federal Government in its proper role of leadership by example by

increasing all Federal recycling and use of recycled materials. By signing this Executive order today, we will establish a Federal Recycling Coordinator and individual recycling coordinators at each Federal agency. And we are directing, where possible, products made from recycled materials are procured for Government use. Simply put, we are requiring all Federal agencies to strengthen their recycling efforts, hopefully thus setting an example for others around our country.

And so, with that said, I am very pleased to sign this Executive order.

*[At this point, the President signed the Executive order.]*

Thank you all. Such a beautiful day. Thank you for being with us.

*Note: The President spoke at 11:29 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. The Executive order is listed in Appendix E at the end of this volume.*

## Remarks at the Swearing-In Ceremony for William Taylor as Chairman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation October 31, 1991

*The President.* Thank you, Father White, for the prayer.

It's a pleasure to welcome William Taylor aboard as he takes on one of America's toughest jobs, Chairman of the FDIC.

I'm delighted that Bill's family could be with us here. I don't know if they've been introduced, but Sharon, his wife, and then Claire, William, and Emily, and his sister, Ruth. We're especially pleased you all are here, and you've got good seats for the occasion, I noticed. *[Laughter]* That's the way it ought to be.

I'm also pleased to salute our Secretary of the Treasury and Secretary of Housing Jack Kemp; Alan Greenspan, the Chairman of the Fed; and Richard Breeden of the SEC. I don't see Bob Clarke. Oh, here he is, sitting right here, Bob Clarke, and also Tim Ryan with us from OTS. And missing in action are two Members of Congress who were

supposed to be here, but let's hope they're not doing things bad up there on the Hill. *[Laughter]*

Bill Taylor is a thorough professional who really does exemplify the highest ideals of selfless public service. With more than 20 years' service as a bank regulator, he has earned a sterling reputation for fairness and also strength of leadership. He also brings to his new position valuable private sector experience in the banking and real estate finance industries.

My top priority must be for this country economic growth, sustaining and accelerating that which has been proclaimed by economists as an emerging recovery. And in this, I already have benefited from Bill Taylor's advice. His ideas have helped shape our intensive efforts to ease this credit crunch, the credit shortage. And I know from working directly with Bill that he has

a creative and independent mind—he calls them as he sees them—a deep understanding of banking, and above all, a firm sense of responsibility and duty.

We will not enjoy a full recovery until we get our banking system in order. The FDIC belongs to a larger, more complex financial system that needs comprehensive renewal and reform. For all his talent and integrity, Bill Taylor won't be able to do his work to the fullest if we fail to give him the teammates and the tools that he needs.

Vital members of the bank regulation team have been held up by the Senate's confirmation process. The Nation has been waiting more than 9 months for the Senate to act upon my nomination for Comptroller of the Currency. Two nominees to fill vacancies on the Federal Reserve Board await Senate votes. One of these has been delayed more than 8 months.

And in my speech to the public administrators last week, I had a lot to say about reforming the confirmation process, including the archaic practice of placing "holds" on nominees. At this moment of such pressing need for action and leadership, the Senate must act now to go get our top-level bank regulation team in place. We have good people. And they ought to be put in there, and let them do the job.

Let me say today, I will repeat this message over and over: The Congress needs to act on a comprehensive growth package, and the Senate on each one of these vital nominations.

Our regulatory team also needs modern tools to keep America's banks strong in competitive global markets. While the rest of the world forges ahead, our banks and businesses bear the dead weight of banking regulations enacted more than half a century ago. And I have asked Congress to enact comprehensive reforms of our banking laws to bring them up to date.

My bank reform package will knock down restraints that keep us from competing on an even basis with the banks of others, European banks, Japanese banks. Odd as it may seem, we permit a bank in Birmingham, England, to open branches in California, but we forbid a bank in Birmingham, Alabama, from doing the same thing. We can't compete if we place our own

banking industry in shackles.

Our plan for deposit insurance reform would safeguard depositors' hard-earned money and protect the taxpayers' pocket-books as well.

Our legislation would set standards for prompt action by bank regulators. This can help us preserve sound banks and ensure sound loans.

Most important, our reforms would allow banks to offer new products and services and to tap new sources of investment. Diversification of risks and assets would put our banks in a stronger position to simply make good loans. This would give America's small and medium-sized businesses, which depend on banks for their capital, the wherewithal to grow. This would let us move forward the way we always have, by extending credit for the pursuit of prudent risks and by supplying capital to create new jobs and open up new opportunities.

Our battle for banking reform faces opposition not just from protectors of the status quo. Incredible as it may seem, some in Congress actually want to move banking laws backward to make our banks even less competitive in the global marketplace. Congress must not give in to the interest groups that seek to hold back progress. The stakes are too high, and we cannot afford to wait any longer. Nothing will stop me from fighting on principle for real bank reform that gets our economy moving toward the future.

Bill, I know that you will be proud to lead what I am told is a bunch, a group, of really dedicated professionals over there at FDIC. And all of you enjoy my fullest support in the tough job that you there at that agency face. And be assured, I will continue to make every effort to strengthen America's banking system so that it can support a strong and competitive economy now and in the 21st century.

Thank you very much. And now let us all witness the swearing-in of this good man to go over to FDIC.

*Note: The President spoke at 1:03 p.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. In his remarks, the President referred to Father Constantine White of the*



*Russian Orthodox Church of Saint Nicholas, Orthodox Church in America; Richard C. Breeden, Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission; Robert L. Clarke, Comptroller of the Currency; and T. Timo-*

*thy Ryan, Jr., Director of the Office of Thrift Supervision. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

## Remarks Congratulating the World Series Champion Minnesota Twins

*October 31, 1991*

Please be seated, everybody. And may I first salute our Cabinet members with us today: Lynn Martin, Jack Kemp, and Bob Mosbacher was to be here. Maybe he didn't get a good seat. *[Laughter]* And I want to salute the Senators from Minnesota, Senator Durenberger, Senator Wellstone. Of course, Carl Pohlad, Tom Kelly, and the players, the coaches, and the official family of the Minnesota Twins.

Dave Durenberger was so confident that he called after the first game of the series to arrange this marvelous event. *[Laughter]* He now takes full credit for the weather. What a day! What a glorious day, the last day of October! And it's Halloween. You've got to be careful around here with the Congress still in session. *[Laughter]* Sorry.

Members of the Minnesota congressional delegation, we're just delighted to have you here really, Members of the House and Members of the Senate. And, of course, to two dear friends of mine, commissioner of baseball Fay Vincent and Bobby Brown, Dr. Bobby Brown, the president of the American League.

I also want to single out people that are usually singled out in a different way. And I'm talking about our umpires: Richie Garcia, Drew Coble, Don Denkinger, Rick Reed, Terry Tata, and Harry Wendelstedt. Can we get them to stand up? Thank you, guys. Good to see you again. Thank you all for coming. We're just delighted to see you here. I remember how Bill Klem, a famed umpire, put it. He says, "I never called one wrong from my heart." And that's how Presidents feel, baseball fans and fellow Americans.

First, let me say it's a pleasure to see so

many great amateur players here with us today: Two Washington, DC, champions, the Bell Multicultural High School boys and the H.D. Woodson High School girls. Where are they? Right there. All right, you guys. And America's Little League champions from Danville, California. Where are those guys? You champions stand up there. Let's show them off here.

And we're lucky to have four Babe Ruth League championship teams with us today. They come from Cincinnati and Oakland, last year's World Series teams, and from La Crescenta, California, and Marietta, Georgia. Our son George Jr., the Texas Rangers guy, called, and he wants me to scout all of you. So, if you'll stick around after this.

Let me welcome the authors of "That Championship Season," the 1991 Minnesota Twins, a team that helped deepen America's love affair with baseball. It is absolutely wonderful what this ball club did for sports and for the spirit in our country. You showed why baseball is the most democratic of sports. It's also the most Republican of sports. *[Laughter]* But whether in the major leagues or Little League, what counts is the size of your heart and your dreams.

And in 1990, I don't want to remind them of this, they didn't have their best year. They came in last in the West, American League West. And this year, they rose like Lazarus to win their division, beat Toronto in the playoffs, and then came the 88th World Series. And what a series it was: Five games decided by a single run; three went extra innings; five games won in the last inning, and four in the last at-bat. It was a series of indescribable tension, a Fall Classic for all time.

And let me take a moment, incidentally, to talk about that other team in the World Series. What a season it was also for the Braves. What a tribute to character, to human character. They, too, went from worst to first. They, too, captivated this Nation. And they made us hope that the series, like the season itself, would never draw to a close.

Sadly, both now are over. But what memories you have given us. Of infielders Chuck Knoblauch and Greg Gagne, who I gather is not with us today. Chuck here? I think it was Abe Lincoln who said, "You can fool some of the people all of the time, and all of the people some of the time." But it took Gagne and Knoblauch to fool a baserunner one time. *[Laughter]*

We recall Brian Harper's clutch hits, Kirby Puckett's game-six winning home run and that circus catch near the wall. Suddenly, Kirby's glove has become more valuable than Michael Jackson's. *[Laughter]* And Kent Hrbek's brilliance in the field. I refuse to be drawn into that controversy and comment on the play when Kent tagged Ronnie Gant after Gant came off first base. But Barbara asked me to point out to Kent that she could use some help around the house with heavy lifting. *[Laughter]*

Finally, we think of other moments that made this a series of snapshots of the mind. Dan Gladden's 10th-inning, game-7 hustle;

Gene Larkin, coming off the bench. We recall Tom Kelly, managing furiously against Bobby Cox; one of the greatest bullpens in baseball history; and Jack Morris winning two games, including a final-game shutout and thrilling the game's most eardrum-popping fans.

Perhaps Mr. Morris, the series' Most Valuable Player, put it best of all, "It's unfortunate that anyone had to lose this series because this was a true classic in every sense of the word." So each of you made this a kaleidoscope of beauty. Each showed why millions of Americans watch baseball, listen to, read about, debate it, and why for a few golden days each October, each of us becomes a self-anointed expert.

And that wonderful friend, Fay's friend and I'm proud to say mine, the late Bart Giamatti, once wrote that baseball is designed to break your heart. True. But it also lifts as perhaps no sport can. So really, thank you guys for the memories, for coming to the White House on this spectacular day, for giving our country a wonderful lift. And God bless you and the rest of our country as well. Thank you all very, very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 1:48 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

## Statement on Signing the District of Columbia Mental Health Program Assistance Act of 1991

*October 31, 1991*

Today I have signed into law H.R. 1720, the "District of Columbia Mental Health Program Assistance Act of 1991," which permits the Secretary of Health and Human Services to enter into an agreement with the Mayor of the District of Columbia with respect to capital improvements necessary for the delivery of mental health services in the District of Columbia.

The Act would, among other things, establish "buy American" provisions to govern procurements made under the Act.

The Act purports to require the United States Trade Representative to rescind a waiver of the Buy American Act of 1933 in regard to any country that the Mayor of the District of Columbia, in consultation with the United States Trade Representative, determines has violated the agreement providing for such a waiver. The decision to rescind such a waiver is an exercise of significant authority that must be undertaken by an officer of the United States, appointed in accordance with the Appointments

Clause, Article II, sec. 2, cl. 2, of the Constitution.

Because the Mayor of the District of Columbia is not an officer appointed in conformity with the Appointments Clause, the Mayor may not exercise the authority to rescind, or to direct a Federal official to rescind, the waiver. The Mayor of the District of Columbia has not asserted any such power. In order to enforce the Act consistently with the Constitution, however, I instruct the United States Trade Representa-

tive to construe any such determination by the Mayor, made pursuant to section 11(b)(1) of section 4 of the Act, as a non-binding recommendation.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
October 31, 1991.

*Note: H.R. 1720, approved October 31, was assigned Public Law No. 102-150.*

## Remarks at the Bush-Quayle Fundraising Dinner in Houston, Texas October 31, 1991

Please be seated. And Bob, thank you. Thank you for the superior and wonderful job you've done. You know, this is the very first event for the Bush-Quayle fundraising effort. And we wanted to start amongst friends, and we wanted to get somebody good, somebody effective, to head this dinner. And I can't think of anybody better than Bob Cruikshank and all those up here and all those out there that have come through. It is wonderful beginning. And I'm grateful, and I know Dan is, to every single one of you.

I want to thank my Vice President, your Vice President, and his marvelous wife, Marilyn. I can't begin to tell you of all the things he does. But I think the country now sees his substance and his value, and it's something I see every single day that I'm President as we take on a Congress that, frankly, needs a little leadership up there. I've heard him take the gloves off a little bit there, and that's fine. That suits the heck out of me.

I also want to say to Bob Mosbacher how grateful I am to have him at my side. I know all of you know him. Everybody in this room knows him as a friend. But I know him not just as a friend of long standing but as an effective member of our Cabinet. And I can tell you, he is out there domestically and around the world promoting the American free enterprise system, looking after the interests of American in-

vestment, American jobs, here and abroad. And Bob, I'm very grateful to you.

May I also thank Bobby Holt. Yes, Midland's out there somewhere. *[Laughter]* Holt is everywhere, and he's doing a wonderful job as our chairman, our national chairman, taking the role Bob Mosbacher had so successfully filled for us in the previous campaign.

Senator Phil Gramm, I agree with everything Dan Quayle said about him. I see him in action. And I'll tell you, when you have the minority in the Senate, when you have to play defense because of the numbers, you want a tenacious bulldog, free thinker, enterprising Senator at your side like Phil Gramm. I'm grateful to him every single day that I'm President.

I want to thank Willie Alexander for being with us; and Reverend Claude Payne, my pastor; Milo Hamilton, of course; and then the Aggies, the Texas A&M Singing Cadets. I don't know how they can still stay standing. This is about a 45-minute speech. Let's see how they do at the end of this one. *[Laughter]*

It's great to be back. Milo, one slight correction: You said I said, "There's so-and-so." I was looking at Red Adair, and I said, "There's that so-and-so." *[Laughter]*

You know, coming back here really does take you back in a sense to roots. I first became active in politics out in Odessa and Midland in '52 when I headed the Eisen-

hower-Nixon campaign, Barbara at my side. In '56, the same role. I think it was in that year that she and I conducted the very first primary that was ever held in Midland, Texas. Three people—some of you have heard this story; it happens to be true—three people voted all day in that precinct: Barbara, me, and one drunk that thought he was going to the Democratic precinct. [Laughter] And that's the gospel truth. [Laughter]

Then, I came down here to Texas, and early in the sixties I became Harris County Republican chairman. There, I think more than anyplace, Barbara and I first got a taste of what was to become a way of life for us. The party was small, very, very small in those days. And yet, the ideals and the ideas were sound: Fiscal sanity; people controlling their own destinies more; limited government; trust in the people; a compassionate, fair government; strong defense; a country not afraid to lead. Those were some of the things that brought us together in this tiny party matrix 30 years ago in Harris County. And I must say, those are the same ideals that both Dan and I have, the same ideas that we believe in. Thirty years later, I still feel strongly about those principles and other fundamental principles that join us here tonight.

Lately, the opposition up there in Washington says we don't have an agenda. But I've noticed that their agenda for Congress is stopping our agenda for America. They are old thinkers, tired, old ideas, and all they want to do is block the agenda that I was elected to perform on by the American people. And I'm a little tired of it. You work your heart out for new ideas in trying to bring new systems to this country, and you face the same old tired liberal clichés in Washington, DC. We are pro-growth. We are pro-family. We are a pro-freedom agenda. And that is our agenda, to build a better America. And I wish we had more people in the Senate like Phil Gramm, and we'd be singing swiftly ahead, I'll tell you.

I was privileged to work with my dear friend Hugh Liedtke and others in starting two or three very small companies here in Texas. And I never forgot, and I never will forget what America owes to its small business men and women. That's one reason

that, for over the last 3 years, I've fought against policies that would drive small business into the ground through Government mandates.

Every time you turn around, you've got some subcommittee chairman that's been there 30 years trying to mandate new benefits and tell some guy in Midland or Odessa how to run his life. And we're sick and tired of it. And next year, we're going to change it.

Dan Quayle has a committee trying to do something about overregulation. And you ought to hear them squirming over there in the House of Representatives, refusing to let him get his job done because they're thinking old, tired thoughts that the Federal Government ought to regulate every inch of your life. And we're tired of that one, too.

Look, I'll be the first to agree we need economic growth in this country. But we can't get it if Congress keeps piling on mandated benefits, wonderful new programs designed by a subcommittee chairman in Washington, DC, telling everybody exactly how they're going to take their leave, what they're going to do about helping people in their neighborhoods. This isn't the way America ought to be operating. I get frustrated at times, but I've got this wonderful sense that we can change that next year by taking our message that the Congress has been around there too darn long, controlled by the same party. And it's time to change it.

Let me give you an example. I'm just getting warmed up because I heard George Mitchell on the television a few minutes ago. Now, let me tell you something here. [Laughter] Let me talk to you about an issue. I don't think there is anybody in this country, any fairminded man or woman, who doesn't sympathize with someone who wants to work and is out of work. It's very easy to demagog on this issue. Nobody who has one grain of compassion likes to veto an unemployment compensation bill. But someone—and I think I was the one elected to do this—must consider the welfare of all the people in this country.

So, let me tell you what my position is on this unemployment compensation. Number

one: I want to see the Democrats in the Senate lay politics aside and help those whose unemployment benefits have run out. Families are hurting out there. And I've said for months that I want to help them.

Secondly, I want a bill that, in helping them, does not burden every single taxpayer in this country, those that are working and those that aren't working. I don't want to see the budget agreement that Phil Gramm and others worked so hard to get into place, the spending caps on it, the only control that you as taxpayers have on a spendthrift Congress, I don't want to see it broken. And the only safeguard we have against more and more spending is that budget agreement. Every time I turn around, the liberal Democrats want to bust the agreement. That would add to the deficit and eventually add to the tax burden of present generations and the debt burden of future generations.

Number three on this same subject: We have a proposal before the Congress that extends benefits. It lays aside all this political rhetoric that you hear from these Democrats and gets the checks in the mail to those families that are hurting and does it within the budget agreement. Bob Dole proposed that weeks ago. But the Democrats want to ram it down my ear in a political victory, and I'm going to veto their bill if they send it down in a way that's going to bust this budget again. Now, they can mark that one down.

I think it's a crying shame to play politics when people are hurting in this country. I really believe that. And they can get a bill signed by me tomorrow if they get going and send something down that lives within the budget agreement that we all agreed to, that they themselves agreed to. You tell me who's playing politics with that issue when people are hurting in this country.

It's not all negative. At times, we're able to persuade. I remember how Lyndon used to talk: "Come reason with me." Wrench the guy's arm out of his socket. *[Laughter]* And he was working with control of both Houses of the Congress. I don't know how he'd do it today.

But sometimes we are able to persuade the opposition to cooperate, to join with us.

I've reached out to the Congress. I don't believe there's a person in America that thinks I haven't reached out to the Congress, not always in a kind and gentle way but always reached out to the Congress, trying to get something done for the American people and do it in a manner I was elected to do it. I was the one that was elected, Dan Quayle and I were the ones that were elected by all the people in this country. And the Senators have their responsibilities. Of course they do. But I think I have a responsibility to perform on what I told the people 3 years ago that I would do.

We did get the Clean Air Act through: compromise, good, fair negotiation with the Democrats, amendments that employ free-market incentives and really do help the environment. We advanced the cause of property rights and home ownership with this HOPE, this home ownership initiative. We're broken down the barriers to employment of 43 million Americans with our landmark Americans with Disabilities Act, which I was very proud, emotional in signing last year on the South Lawn of the White House.

Other times we can do some positive things on our own. Just last week, I signed an Executive order to take the first steps in reforming our legal system. Dan Quayle's committee came up with some very sound recommendations, and I was proud to incorporate them into an Executive order. We're trying, frankly, to put an end to some of these outrageous lawsuits and monstrous settlements that scare every small businessman, every doctor, and everybody else in this country to death.

There's only so much of it we can do with Executive orders. We need liability reform legislation. And yet, that legislation is bottled up by these people I'm saying tonight are old thinkers. They just don't want to take on the pressure groups, the lobbies, the tough constituents that come together and try to get for the few that which the many are denied.

Americans want liability reform. And I'd like to see the Congress move out now and do something about it. Dan Quayle has been out there on the cutting edge of this, and I am 100 percent behind him.

And I might say that he's touched—he referred to it—touched a sore spot with some of the members of the ABA, the American Bar Association, when he called for legal reform. But he touched a nerve with a whole lot more everyday Americans who just plain stood up and cheered. He's done a great job on it, and I am very proud to have him by my side on this issue and all the other issues we're talking about here tonight.

The Senate did a good job in a bipartisan manner on the crime bill. But then it goes over to the House, and some of these old thinkers I'm telling you about are denying the changes that the American people so clearly spoke about in the Presidential elections of 1988.

You talk about these incentives to get jobs—we've got some incentive in a transportation bill, a job-heavy transportation bill and yet a good one. We beat back some bad legislation. We've got a good one there. In the State of the Union Message, I said to Congress, "Hey, how about passing a transportation bill in 100 days?" That was 241 days ago, and they haven't got it down to my desk to be signed yet. I think the people are tired of this kind of old thinking, old politics.

One area where we don't need a lot of legislation, need some but not a lot, is in education. We have an initiative called America 2000, a concept designed to literally revolutionize our schools. Lamar Alexander, David Kearns, coming together as a fantastic team there, rethinking, working with Governors, Democrats, Republicans alike, to redefine what we need to achieve educational excellence.

And you talk about an exciting concept, one that's gathering momentum and excitement around the country, it's that one. And fortunately, we don't need a lot of legislation because one of the key education committees that you have to go to is tired. Think how much money are we going to spend for this, how much money are we going to spend for that, programs that have failed.

It's not a question of money. It's not a question of that. We spent \$190 billion in 1980 on education. We spend \$400 billion today, and we're way back in the tail end of

education around the world. It isn't good enough. And we've got to think anew. Give me more Senators like Phil, and give me more Congressmen like Bill Archer, and by golly, you'll see the change in education that the American people want.

You hear about consumer confidence. Yes, there's a lack of confidence. And one thing that would change it right now is sound, forward-looking banking reform legislation. And we've got those proposals, and they've been gutted by partisan infighting. How I long for a Congress where we can at least take the offense on these important issues.

One subject that many of you know an awful lot about in this room, a national energy strategy. We need that from the Congress. It would mean jobs. It would mean increased production, and it would mean less dependence on foreign oil for our energy requirements.

And I am going to continue to support environmentally responsive access to ANWR, the Alaskan refuge, for energy production. We need it. And if you're worried about caribou, take a look at the arguments that were used about the pipeline. They'd say the caribou would be extinct. You've got to shake them away with a stick. They're all making love lying up against the pipeline. And you've got thousands of caribou up there. And yet the same voices, the same voices are arguing against ANWR today. I mean, come on. [*Laughter*]

I want to see us reduce our reliance on foreign oil. And we can if we pass an energy bill, one like the one that came out of Senator Bennett Johnston's—good Democrat on this issue—and Senator Malcolm Wallop, came out of their committee.

You know, we hear a lot about economic growth. I've called for economic growth initiatives in three State of the Union Messages. And a part of that, one part of the economic growth, was a capital gains tax cut. So, what happens in Washington, DC? They jump up and down and scream, "This is a tax cut for the rich." Let me tell you, I'll make them a proposal right here tonight. I will take all the political heat that they can muster. Whatever country, however much demagoguery they can bring to

bear on that issue, I'll take that heat if they will give this capital gains cut a chance, because it will create jobs and get America back to work again. And it is not a tax cut for the rich. It is a jobs measure, a small-business-creation measure, a shot-in-the-arm-for-a-sluggish-economy measure.

History has already shown that it does not add to the deficit. The Treasury scores it as a plus, not a minus. It reduces the deficit. So, let the opposition carry on all they want. We've all heard it before—good heavens, I'm 67, I've heard it for a thousand years—"tax cut for the rich, breaks for the rich." Let's try something a little bit different than the mandated programs from Washington that offer people a lack of dignity and a lack of hope. And in the meantime, give the Americans a break. Give them some jobs. Get going with our motivation package.

Finally, it's time we got rid of a practice where a privileged few stand outside the law, where attending to the national interest takes a back seat to serving the special interests. And very frankly, it's time that the United States Congress started following the laws it imposes on every citizen in this country.

I gave the Congress a gentle nudge on this the other day, pointing out that with all the pious cries during those Thomas hearings, Congress, now, get this, has exempted itself from sexual harassment laws. Word of honor. Yesterday the Senate did take one step to put itself under the same laws that the rest of the people have to obey. But that's just not enough. It's time that those who make the laws, live by the laws that they make others live by. Now, that is fair-play, and it's long overdue.

And speaking of Clarence Thomas, I am delighted that he's on the Supreme Court. Men supported him overwhelmingly. Women supported him overwhelmingly. Blacks supported him overwhelmingly. But the liberals in the Senate didn't support him at all. And I'm glad that the people won out on that one.

When I hear the critics in Congress arguing about our priorities, foreign policy or domestic policy, I wonder where their priorities are. The "global marketplace" isn't off in Europe or Asia or in Africa. It's right

here in our neighborhoods, in our businesses, in our schools. Take a look at our North American free trade agreement. It will have a monumental effect on the quality of life here in the United States over the next decade.

We're not doing this to be nice to Mexico. We're doing it because it is in the best interest of the workers and the people of the United States of America. Every billion dollars in new trade means 20,000 more jobs. A better educated work force means higher quality products, which means more economic growth. The cycle continues, and growth means more jobs, more opportunity for everyone.

But the world beyond our borders affects us in other ways. And we've got to make a choice: Do we meet its challenges, or do we fall behind?

And yes, since I've been President, we have been called upon to meet one crucial challenge after another. And meet them we did, each and every one. From Eastern Europe to Panama, to the Persian Gulf, to dealing with the Soviet Union as history unfolds before your very eyes, in all of these, it is America that stands as a beacon of freedom throughout the world. And our prestige around the world has never been higher than it is today.

I'm still on Madrid daylight saving, or something. My eyes kind of—because yesterday I was in Madrid, and I helped open that Middle East peace conference in Madrid. But over there, I made a terrible mistake. I flipped on CNN, and I say that with respect to CNN guys down here. But I turned it on, and I saw one of the Democrat leaders, one of the elected Democrat leaders in the House of Representatives, attack me for being at that historic conference. I could not believe the small-bore nature of that partisan criticism. Here you have a historic peace conference. You're bringing together people that have been hostile and wouldn't even have been in the same room at any time in their history. And this guy gets on and says I shouldn't be in Madrid for 36 hours.

Come on. We have a responsibility here. I have a responsibility to lead, and I'm not going to let Democratic, liberal carping

keep me from leading.

Let me put it to you so you can understand it. Let me put it in Red Adair's terms: If I'd have had to let Ted Kennedy tell me whether I could move a quarter of a million troops to the Middle East or let Schwarzkopf move from St. Petersburg or Tampa to Saudi Arabia, Schwarzkopf would still be there. The troops would still be there, and Saddam Hussein would still be in Kuwait, maybe moving into Saudi Arabia. That's what was at stake. And thank God, I didn't have to listen to these carpers telling me how to run that war.

I'm getting warmed up for next year. [Laughter] I told them I was not going to do this until about March or April of next year. [Laughter] But they get under your skin for a while. I've reached out to this Congress. [Laughter] I really have tried. And I'm getting sick and tired, as the Congress winds up, of this partisan, liberal criticism. I can't wait now to roll up my sleeves and become a candidate. [Laughter]

My point is simply this: We live in an integrated world. And in that world, you can't neatly divide foreign policy from domestic policy. When I talk with foreign leaders about new markets for American products, is it foreign policy or domestic? When I meet with groups of Latin American leaders, as I did in Cartagena, to help try to keep drugs out of America's schools and neighborhoods, is that foreign policy or is that domestic policy? When Desert Storm reignited Americans' faith in themselves, was that just foreign policy?

No. It demonstrated our special role as the world's preeminent moral, political, economic, and military power. The pride that we felt in our fighting men and women and in ourselves shouldn't be trivialized as something "foreign."

Anyone who says we should retreat into an isolationistic cocoon is living in the last century, when we should be focusing on the next century and the life that our kids can have in that next century. They should

know that America's destiny has always been to lead. And if I have anything to do with it, lead we will.

I'll tell you, yes, there are plenty of real problems out there all across our country. They're human problems where real people, real lives are at stake. Dan talked about the family, where families are ripped asunder. Tons of problems out there. But we are going to prevail because I firmly believe that the American spirit is alive and well.

In Texas or in Washington, I know we'll keep up the fight. And we will hold as our banner the frontier resolve and the commonsense ideals of those early Texans who built our great State. I am absolutely convinced, no matter what the obstacles we face in a partisan nature, that we can do something for the kids, that we can build a better America.

So, I want to thank you for being here with us tonight. It means a great deal in many, many more ways than I can possibly tell you for Barbara and me to start this journey, this fundraising journey, right here where we feel what Bob talked about, a sense of love and warmth and friendship. That means an awful lot, whether you're President of the United States or still living around the corner.

Thank you, and God bless each and every one of you. Thank you very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 9:01 p.m. at the Sheraton Astrodome Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Robert Cruikshank, dinner chairman; Willie Alexander, former Houston Oilers football player; Reverend Claude Payne, rector of St. Martins Episcopal Church; Milo Hamilton, dinner emcee; Red Adair, oilwell firefighter; Senators George J. Mitchell, Robert Dole and Edward M. Kennedy; Secretary of Education Lamar Alexander; and David T. Kearns, Deputy Secretary of Education. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*



## Interview With Ron Stone of KPRC-TV in Houston, Texas November 1, 1991

### *The Economy*

*Q.* Mr. President, you made a stemwinder of a speech last night. Let me go over some of those points.

*The President.* Please.

*Q.* So you can say again what you said then or clarify some things for me. A majority of the people according to polls think the economy is just going the wrong way.

*The President.* I know it, and I'm concerned about it. The irony is it's doing somewhat better than most people think, but still a lot of people are hurting. I'm sure they saw and you saw the recovery figures or the third-quarter figures that showed slow but reasonable growth. And yet, when people are being laid off or worrying about their jobs, these numbers don't mean anything. And what we've got to do is to try to take the kinds of action that will create jobs.

So, I'm concerned about it. But as we move into a political year, maybe we can get more done. I feel frustrated, and what we've tried to do, it gets blocked.

### *Domestic and Foreign Policy Interaction*

*Q.* Some of the people questioned in the polls believe you're not paying enough attention to the economy.

*The President.* I hear that. I think if you ask them the question, "Well, did we properly engage Saddam Hussein?" they'd say, "Yes," or "Do you think it's worth working for peace in the Middle East?" they'd say, "Yes." But when a person is hurting and they worry about their families eating and whether they have a job the next day, I can understand that. I also made the point last night, though, that these things are interactive. For example, our relationship with Mexico and our working on a free trade agreement will mean jobs for the American people.

Now, I took on the labor unions on that. They have a different view. They think it will cost jobs. But it's job important. When we're talking now about getting a trade agreement, we're talking employment;

we're talking more prosperity for the workers in Texas; we're talking about better environmental conditions on our border. And these are domestic issues, but they interlock.

Similarly, I think the peace issues, wherever they are, whether it's an altered Soviet Union or a more peaceful Middle East, eventually, that will mean far less security requirements for the United States.

So, I see the world as interlocking. And in this communication age, the way capital travels around the world, in this instant-communications age, foreign affairs are domestic affairs.

But again, the opposition is jumping on me for political reasons and saying, "Well, I spend too much time on that." And then it gets harped on, and people pick it up. I don't agree with it, and I'm not going to change my schedule, incidentally. I'm going to do what I have to do to guarantee to the people peace and the national security interests of this country.

But again, I have to look and say, Ron, "Am I thinking about this right?" Some guy in Detroit being put out of a job, someone in Dallas, his firm having to lay off, I can't ask him to think of my being in Madrid is good. But I've got to keep it in focus because I have the responsibility for the national security and for world peace.

### *Relations with Congress*

*Q.* Well, in all fairness, Congress doesn't get very good grades either from the American public.

*The President.* They get worse than I do, which is—they merit that in my view, particularly the Democrat liberals that control it.

You know, what I had fun with last night—because I've been standing there like a placid punching bag, saying to myself, "What I want to do is get something done for the men and women of this country." And to do that when the other party controls Congress, you have to compromise; you have to give or take. But you have to

lead sometimes through vetoing. And I've been kind of a shock absorber for highly partisan criticism.

And I'm not going to do that anymore. I'm going to say when a guy takes me on in a demagogic way, I'm going to hit him right back. And I'm going to be doing it more and more. I still have to work with Congress. But we've had a good record on getting things through, but we need to do a lot more now. And I'm not going to sit here and let them alter the facts by these personal attacks.

I mentioned one little guy, that's the leader in the Democratic side in the House, criticizing me for being in Madrid, Spain, for I think it was 36 hours in a peace conference that is historic, something nobody in the world would dream we could bring these people. And this little guy jumps up and "He shouldn't be there. He ought to be here." They ought to go home. The Congress ought to adjourn, and then that would help the American people more. And let us do what I was elected to do.

#### *The Economy*

*Q.* I don't pretend to understand Washington, but the buzzword up there seems to be somehow, a "jump start" for the economy.

*The President.* Yes.

*Q.* What is that?

*The President.* What I think people are talking about, they share the concern I have about people that are out of work. And so, they're trying to see, is there something the Federal Government can do quickly, like a quick tax cut or a quick fix on a jobs bill that will "jump start" the economy? I don't believe that's possible if the price tag is higher taxes because of breaking the so-called caps on the budget agreement.

I think we've spent way too much Federal money. I think the Federal Government intervenes far too much in our lives. And so, I want to hold the line on that. But I think that's what people are talking about.

And the irony is, I have proposed growth programs, some popular, some not, in three State of the Union Messages. But the Democrats have a different philosophy. Not guys like Lloyd Bentsen or some of our Congressmen and stuff but the people that con-

trol the machinery up there. They're the old thinkers. So, we have a certain price you pay for divided Government.

#### *Tax Cuts*

*Q.* You mentioned tax cut, and we hear more and more talk about that. In all probability, that's going to be the big debate that's going on next year during the campaign, is it not?

*The President.* Well, it depends how the economy is. I think, if you can say, "Let's just cut taxes," and then let your voice trail off so you don't say, "Let's increase the deficit," that might be all right. I have proposed a package of growth measures including IRA's and capital gains that actually would bring in revenue by stimulative tax cuts. Now, the Democrats elect to call capital gains a tax for the rich. I think if you look at 1978 and the Steiger bill, you'd see that it increases jobs. And that's what I'm interested in: The working men and women having a job with dignity in the private sector.

#### *Domestic Policy*

*Q.* I don't suppose anybody ever asked you a simplistic kind of question. So, I'll ask you one right here.

*The President.* Go ahead.

*Q.* The question is, if the cold war is over, why can't we take all that money we were spending there to help the folks at home?

*The President.* I think you can take some of it to help the folks at home. First place, when the Government man comes along and says, "I want to help you," watch your wallet. Be careful. Because when the Congress says, "I want to help you," that means they want to mandate; they want to tell you, whether you're in school, whether you're in a factory, whether you're in your home, exactly how you want to live your lives and run your business if you want "Federal" money. It's the taxpayers' money.

So, I don't think that there's any quick fix on all of this. And frankly, I think there's some reason to believe that the Democrats, my view is—let me start this way: I think it's a sorry thing when the only way somebody thinks he can be elected is to say how bad everything is in the country or to hope

that it will get worse so he can win. And it's a sad kind of a negative approach. And I'm much more of a positive person than that, and we'll just keep on trying.

*Q.* As I was driving over here this morning, I thought back to a time longer ago than either of us would like to think about when you ran for Congress, and we talked after you had won the first time. And I said, "Why in the world would you want to do this? You know, you've got a good job. You've got a lot of money. Why do this?" You said, "I think people who can, ought to try to make a difference, ought to make the Government work." Now all these years later when you've got the best job there is, can you really make the Government work?

*The President.* I think we've made a difference. I think we've made a marvelous difference in the feeling in this country about our own national pride. And that's broad scale, broad-brushed, and I think what happened in the Gulf after the malaise days of Vietnam really inspired, way beyond party, the American people. And I can take some satisfaction from that.

On the domestic issues, like the environment and health care and medicine and education and crime, I think we can make a difference. But the problem I'm facing is, I'm up against the liberal Democrats that control Congress who have a very different philosophy. But, yes, I still feel that emotion

that I felt. You were nice to mention the Congress because you also talked with me after I lost my first race. [*Laughter*]

*Q.* No, we won't mention that.

#### *Redskins vs. Oilers*

*Q.* I only have time for one more question and it's the most important one. And everybody wants to know who you're going to pull for in the Washington-Oiler game this weekend?

*The President.* You want a good, a straight answer or a political answer?

*Q.* Well, we'll try both.

*The President.* All right, let me give you a combination. I love Joe Gibbs of the Redskins. I know him. He does wonderful things for youth. But I'm for the Oilers. And I talked to Jack Pardee a few minutes ago and told him I was rooting for him, told him I hope he'd come by the White House on this visit because Barbara and I will be back there Sunday, and sent my best to Warren Moon, also a friend and guy of whom I share the same pride in him everybody does. But no, put me down in the Oilers column. And I'll have to get up quickly and explain it to Gibbs. I may catch a little hell in Washington, but look this is my home, and that's who I'm for.

*Q.* Thank you, Mr. President.

*Note: The interview began at 9:35 a.m. in the Houstonian Hotel.*

## Interview With Sylvan Rodriguez of KHOU-TV in Houston, Texas November 1, 1991

### *Anticrime Legislation*

*Q.* Mr. President, congratulations on the progress being made in Madrid and the peace talks over there. But as you talk about a kinder, gentler Nation, it's difficult for Houstonians who are being robbed at Randall's to relate to that. What can you do as President to make the streets safer right here in Houston, your hometown?

*The President.* Sylvan, there's not too much a President can do, but there are some big things a President can do if he can

get cooperation.

You see, there's two schools of thought: One, we need to worry a little more about the criminals and their rights and soften the criminal anticrime legislation, hoping that you can rehabilitate; and there's another school of thought, which is mine, and that is that we need to be tougher on crime.

We have a crime bill before the Congress that does exactly that: Reviews the exclusionary rule, protects the police more, reviews the habeas corpus rule, cracks the death penalty on those who create the most

heinous of crimes. And we've got a philosophical difference, particularly in the House. The Senate Democrats and Republicans have come together for a good bill. So, my answer: Help us pass our anticrime legislation.

And then, of course, a lot of it has to be done through the police at the local level. And I think our police chief here is trying very hard. She's good, and she's working on it. But these policemen that are out on the beat need help, and that's what we're trying to give them through our anti-crime legislation.

But we're caught in a philosophical debate. The most liberal Members of Congress simply think I'm on the wrong track, and I think they've been proved wrong. We may get one this year, incidentally. I hope so.

### *The Economy*

*Q.* Let me ask you a little bit about the economy here.

*The President.* Fire away.

*Q.* Here in Houston we've been rocked by layoffs: Compaq let go some 1,400 folks; Transco yesterday announced 500 folks being laid off; Halliburton; Tenneco. The evidence here in Houston is pointing to a recession. What can you tell those folks who are out of work?

*The President.* I'd tell them that, "Look over your shoulder and recognize that in spite of the hurt today we've come a long way in Houston." I think about a few years ago when we were going through the same credit and financial institution problems that some of the rest of the country is now.

I'd also tell them that what we need to do in Washington to assist is to have a growing economy with less regulation, with a new banking reform bill, with a transportation bill that creates instant jobs. I happen to believe a capital gains cut would stimulate more Compags, companies being started; would stimulate jobs in small business that present 80 percent or 85 percent of the jobs in this country. So, we've got good programs, but again, I'm in a fight with the Congress.

I also think there is this one of unemployment benefits. And where unemployment benefits have given out, I want to see that

the checks start coming again. But I don't want to do it in a way that burdens everybody that is working or people that are out of work and are paying taxes.

So they ought to lay politics aside. And the Democratic leader in the Senate was reported in the paper today to be holding out against the other Democrats who want to do what I want done. He wants to, as I said last night, "Stick it up my ear." I was trying to think exactly how to phrase that, but—[laughter]—this isn't any time for politics. People are hurting, and I want to send them the checks. But I also want to protect the rest of this country by not busting the budget agreement and adding to the deficit.

*Q.* A lot of folks are hurting here in Houston because of these layoffs. Can you give them an idea as to how long that's going to last, how long the recession—

*The President.* No, but I—well, let me try to put—I don't want to be kind of a cheerleader. I don't want to be a rosy-scenario man. In the first place, and this is no help to somebody that's hurting, the recession that we have been in, had been in, is not near as deep as the one that I lived through as Vice President in '81 and '82. So I think we have less far to come to get out of it, in other words.

I think when you see growth in the third quarter, that was a good sign. Don't tell this to an unemployed guy, but when you see unemployment substantially lower than it was in the heights of the last recession, that's a good sign.

But yes, I'd say to them I do believe things are improving. I don't think everything is right. I do think we ought to help those who are out of work. But I don't want to be a part of trying to talk this country into a recession, a deepened recession. And I don't want to win by just talking negatively about everything. I know that very candidly, politically, some of the liberal Democrats that control this Congress think the only chance they have to defeat me is to talk this country into hard times. And I don't want to be a part of that.

So my message to the person that's hurting is: One, we want to help you. Two, I believe we're going to be out of this thing

and may be out of it right now. And three, work with the Congress to get the kind of incentives in the economy that I've been talking about for a long, long time.

*'92 Election*

*Q.* Mr. President, I hope to be with you on the campaign trail during this next year.

*The President.* Get ready. You're not a stranger to it, nor am I. I meant that, what I said last night. I've been trying to be kind and gentle and absorb these political shots from not all the Democrats; you don't hear some of our Texas Democrats be this personal. But I'm a little tired of having the liberal Democrats up there in the House and the Senate, these entrenched leaders and chairmen of these little subcommittees, dictate to the American people.

I know what the American people elected me to do, and I'd like to be able to do it. So, I'm going to shoot back a little more now. I felt good after that last night. I came home, and I said to Barbara, "You know, one, it's great to be back in Houston, and I feel good." I thought I'd be dead tired, having come in from Madrid. And I felt good because I slugged back at these guys that have been sniping at me for 6 months.

*Q.* Are you ready for the fight?

*The President.* Yes, I am. And we're going to be in a real fight. I'm not going to roll over and let them misrepresent my record. And I had fun pointing out that they say to me, "What's the difference between foreign and domestic policy?" Foreign policy, you don't have to go to the lowest common denominator on some subcommittee and ask permission to have a Middle East peace conference; you do it. And the people support you. Domestic policy, you've got to come up against this old thinking. So, there is a difference in that.

*Q.* Well, tell me what the focus of the campaign, then, will be. What's the most pressing issue that you feel—

*The President.* Economy. Jobs. Getting America back to work, helping those who are out of work. But then, of course, you mentioned crime. It's right up on the forefront. And I'm going to take the crime message to the American people and say: "Get me some Members of Congress that will support my crime bill. Republicans are sup-

porting it. Get me some on the other side so we can move it forward."

Education. We've got a fantastic Education 2000. It's not Republican or Democrat. Democratic Governors are supporting it overwhelmingly. But some of the old thinkers in Congress want to have Congress tell these schools how to do it. They're subject to the power of the labor union in education. But I'm not worried about that labor union, the NEA. They never voted for me in their life. The members do. The union fights me. So, I'm going to fight them.

*Q.* Let me ask you a little about the middle class. That recent Washington Post-ABC poll indicated that 47 percent are inclined to reelect you, and the others say it's because of the economy and especially the middle class are hurting so much right now.

*The President.* Any time you've got a bad economy, people are going to look at anybody that's in office. One of the reasons you see term limits so popular, and I support them, is people are saying, "Hey, they're not helping us."

I can't ask a guy that's thrown out of work at Compaq to think everything I'm doing is perfect. But what I will do in the campaign is draw the lines and say, "Here's what I've tried to do. Do you know this? And if you believe in it, send me some help up there." But yes, I think the economy is going to be the driving factor in these elections.

The lack of consumer confidence worries me because if they hear all this bad news all the time, people are going to get gloomy about it. It's a good time to buy a house. It's a good time to buy a car. Interest rates are substantially lower. But as long as people are worrying about their jobs, they hold back. So, I've got to border between cheerleading and saying, "Hey, good banks make good loans; let's move things forward," and not seem uncaring. There's a balance there. I'm walking a tightrope.

*Redskins vs. Oilers*

*Q.* I have time to ask you one more question.

*The President.* Shoot.

*Q.* I'm sorry to be filibustering here. Save the best for last. Houston Oilers, Washing-

ton Redskins, big game. You're from Houston—

*The President.* You want to put me on the spot, don't you? Look, this one isn't that tough for me. And I've said this before, and I'll say it again. I know Joe Gibbs, and I respect him. And yes, I take pride in the Skins' record. But there's no problem for me. I talked to Jack Pardee just before I came down here, told him how great I think he's doing. Got a little secondhand message from Warren Moon, sending his best, and I scribbled out a note back to him. And so, I'm for the Oilers, and I hope they win. And I hope they go on to the Super

Bowl, and I hope I get the honor to have them back in the White House.

*Q.* Great. Thank you very much, Mr. President. It's good to see you.

*The President.* All right. Good to see you.

*Note: The interview began at 9:47 a.m. in the Houstonian Hotel. During the interview, the President referred to Joe Gibbs, coach of the Washington Redskins; Jack Pardee, coach of the Houston Oilers; and Warren Moon, quarterback for the Houston Oilers. Randall's Food Market was a Houston food store chain.*

## Interview With Dave Ward of KTRK-TV in Houston, Texas November 1, 1991

### *The Economy*

*Q.* Mr. President, this is kind of a broad way to begin, but tell us what is America's biggest problem right now.

*The President.* Right now, world peace having been enhanced, progress having been made as we start a whole new approach to education—although we've got big problems there—I think it's the economy. I think it is that people don't have confidence.

*Q.* Unemployment figures just came out today for October: up another one-tenth of 1 percent, 6.8 percent. What can be done?

*The President.* Well, in the first place, these things need to be in perspective. It doesn't help to tell someone that's out of work, "Unemployment is 6.8 percent, and that's far lower than in recession times when I was Vice President back in the '81-'82 days." It happens to be true.

I would have a mixed message, and it would be this: One, for those that are hurting, we've got to help; those whose unemployment benefits have run out, send me a bill that I can sign that doesn't further burden everybody else by busting the budget agreement.

Secondly, using hindsight, I would have liked to have thought that Congress would move on the package that I put forward to

stimulate economic growth: IRA's, a transportation bill, a capital gains reduction, and things that actually create jobs. Lacking that, we've got to fight for a package that will stimulate.

And then thirdly, I'd say I believe the economy is recovering. It grew at 2.4 percent over the previous quarter, in the third quarter. And yet, you go tell some guy at Compaq that's getting laid off, and he's not interested in that. He wants to know, "How about my job, my family? I'm worried."

And so, I've got to be careful I don't over-cheerlead on this economy, but I don't want to talk people into a further lack of confidence because it's a good time to buy a house, frankly. It's a good time to buy a car in terms of historic interest rates. It's a good time for sound banks to make sound loans. And we've got a banking reform bill that would further enhance credit. I've been worried about that. We're working with the regulators to lighten up on some of the regulation that is causing banks to loan less money.

So, the message is mixed. But when someone is hurting, I must be concerned. And I am. And we're trying hard.

### *Interest Rates*

*Q.* Would you like to see the Federal Re-

serve cut interest rates at all?

*The President.* Yes. I'd like to see them down more. They've been worried, and I think at times properly worried, about inflation. Nobody likes that insidious stealth tax; it rips it out of everybody's pocketbook. But yes, I think we could go down more on rates. And again, a President has to be careful. What I say—it seems hard for you to believe, having known me all these years, but this affects the markets, and there's procedures for doing these things.

But you've asked a frank question, and I've given you a frank answer.

### *Capital Gains Tax*

*Q.* You may have a Democratic opponent who's calling for a capital gains tax.

*The President.* Great!

*Q.* I read one, Tsongas I think, says capital gains tax promotes reinvestment.

*The President.* A lot of them are talking about it now, but the old thinkers in Congress are unwilling to do it because they're thinking politically, "We don't want to give the President a victory."

I told them last night, I said: "Look, give me all the political grief. You call it a tax for the rich. Lay that on. Keep on with your rhetoric. But let's try it. It worked in '78. It created new jobs. It added revenues to the Federal Government, didn't cost the taxpayers a thing. Let's try it. Let's try to create jobs through the incentive that comes with entrepreneurship."

It's small business that's the backbone of this country. But we're in a political fight, and yet, I think some are coming this way. I've even heard some of the most unlikely sources talking about it now. So, we're going to keep on it. I'm not saying it's a magic that's going to solve everything, but our package will help a lot.

### *Family Values*

*Q.* A lot of people blame our social ills in our country on the breakdown of the family, giving us social problems. Don't those eventually evolve into economic problems?

*The President.* Certainly. And I—oh, Dave, I'll tell you—

*Q.* What can be done about it?

*The President.* Well, I'm not sure the Fed-

eral Government can do a heck of a lot about that, the dissolution of family, marriages breaking up wantonly and at random, children left with nobody knowing their names. I think one thing we can do is safeguard against legislation that is going to inflict mandates on families. I'm for parental choice, for example, in education. I fought hard and got a child care bill that lets the parents choose how this should work.

I don't want to sound holier-than-thou, but you're on to something. The dissolution of the family is a bad thing. And I might put in a plug for what Barbara Bush does here because I think the American people see in her somebody that epitomizes a family value. She goes into any neighborhood; it doesn't matter who votes for who. It's not going to matter next year. She'll be there holding somebody's hand, holding an AIDS baby in her arms, helping with education, getting parents to read to their children. You're talking about family strength. That's a wonderful thing. And it may seem small to some people, but I think the American people see, well, that she practices what she preaches in terms of family. And I'm very proud of her. And I want to try, myself, to assist without trying to mastermind the family problems of individuals.

But I worry about it all the time, the dissolution of the American family, the relaxing of traditional values. It troubles me. But you can't legislate it. You can't legislate moral behavior in this country.

### *Anticrime Legislation*

*Q.* Another trouble spot that we have in Houston and, well, nationwide, but really in Houston—we've got a horrible crime problem, and we're one of the five drug hot-spots in the country. You have said communities should solve their own problems, and I understand that. But we're struggling. We're having a hard time. Is there more that can be done?

*The President.* Dave, you're right. In the first place, the community action is a very important way. I hope I've not said it to the exclusion of Federal participation. We've got a crime bill that proposes tough anticrime legislation: habeas corpus reform and a whole bunch of things that I think would

strengthen the hand of the police, would be tougher on the criminals, including more rapid capital punishment for those that kill police officers and involved in this insidious narcotics business. So, we have a program here that can help.

But again, I think communities do have to move forward. And Houston is trying. Houston is trying hard. I think our police chief is trying hard in this. I think our officers, some of whom I know and respect, are out there on the front line. And what the Federal Government must do is support them. And that's what our crime bill will do.

But the liberal Democrats have a very different, softer kind of let's-help-rehabilitate-the-criminal approach. And I think we've tried that, and it's failed. And yes, I'm for some rehabilitation, but I want to support the policeman on the block. And I don't care whether it's a Democrat policeman, Republican policeman, liberal, conservative; they deserve our support. And I need some help from Congress.

#### *Upcoming Drug Summit*

*Q.* Some speculation that the next drug summit might be held in Houston. Do you have any word on that?

*The President.* Well, I'd like to see it held in the United States. The last one was in Cartagena.

You see, it's my view—and I'm not talking defensively here—I think that working with foreign countries on antinarcotics, I don't think that's foreign policy. They say, "Bush spends too much time on foreign policy." Yes, I went to Colombia and met with them, but I think that helps every neighborhood in Houston, Texas, if we can make more progress on interdicting drugs.

Now, I've invited leaders of many of these countries to a meeting next year, and I'd like to see it in the United States. And it might well turn out to be in Texas. Other States, of course, are interested, and some are accusing me of funneling a little too many events into Houston. But this is my home, and I'm not apologetic about it. And we're a crossroads; we're a community here that can handle these things well.

#### *Governor Ann Richards*

*Q.* Our Governor, Ann Richards, she made a name for herself by kind of trashing you at that last convention. Would you like to say anything about the way she's running the Governor's office?

*The President.* Well, I don't want to be too nice to her, I mean—but look, Ann had to do her thing, and she ran a good race. And I'm told that in many areas she's getting along just fine. But everybody forgives a little excess political rhetoric. I don't think she'll be running that same theme again in the future. If so, I'll unleash on her.

But right now I'm in a kind and gentle mood towards our Governor. She's helping in a lot of the education initiatives that I believe in. Most Governors—you know, our Education 2000 program isn't Republican or Democrat. We've got tons of Democratic Governors supporting it.

So, the jury is still out on her. The jury is still out on me. And let's see how she does. But I'm not going to be carping and criticizing any Governor of Texas. It's my State.

#### *Redskins vs. Oilers*

*Q.* One last thing. The Washington Redskins, Houston Oilers, RFK this Sunday. Who are you going to be rooting for?

*The President.* I thought that might be the first thing with you. [*Laughter*] No, I've said this publicly since I've been in Houston, and I always start out by saying I've got great affection and respect for Joe Gibbs. You better have great affection and respect for Joe Gibbs if you want to live in Washington, even inside the fence in the White House. Besides that, he merits that. Joe is a—God, what he does, the great work he does with kids.

But look, Jack Pardee is my friend. The Oilers are my hometown club. Warren Moon is a guy not only that I respect, but I believe he'd recognize that we have a friendship, too. And so, I want the Oilers to win it. And I want them to go on and do so well that Barbara and I receive them in the White House as Super Bowl champs.

So put that one out there, and I'll go back and take the flak in DC tomorrow.

*Q.* Thank you, Mr. President. It's good to see you again, sir.



*The President.* Thank you. Nice reunion.

*Note:* The interview began at 9:58 a.m. in the Houstonian Hotel. Former Massachu-

setts Senator Paul E. Tsongas was a candidate for the Democratic Party's 1992 Presidential nomination.

## Remarks to Marlow Industries Employees in Dallas, Texas November 1, 1991

Thank you for that wonderful welcome. But look, you've got it backwards, Barbara and I came down to applaud you all—[laughter]—and congratulate you on this national honor, and it is national. And it is international now. And we're very, very proud.

I've just had an opportunity to look through the plant, and I'm very proud of what everybody has accomplished. I might commend my fellow Texan and Cabinet member, Bob Mosbacher, because he puts the emphasis on quality. That takes a lot of his time, but he's also putting a lot of emphasis on expanding markets abroad. And one of the great opportunities for this country is to have ever-increasing exports. And I know that this company that has been described as small is already participating vigorously in international markets. Bob has gone out around the country, and he's organized seminars in some 25 cities in this country. And the common denominator in all of these is that quality is what sells American goods and services, here and abroad.

Ray said it best, and I salute him. I salute all of you and your families. I see a couple of junior Troy Aikmans over here in Dallas Cowboy shirts. [Laughter] And they're getting ready for a little quality themselves, I think. But I'm honored to be here today, and I really mean that. Because we are proud of your outstanding work in earning what is now a very coveted national award, the National Quality Award named in honor of our great friend, Barbara's and mine and Bob Mosbacher's, the late Mac Baldrige.

I was impressed, Ray, by the tour of the plant. I feel as though I've just gone through a crash course: dewpoint hydrometers, parametric amplifiers. I can't pro-

nounce them, and I just hope I can get out of here without a quiz on what the heck it is you guys do. [Laughter] But all I know is you do it well.

I want to compliment the makers of this map behind us and also the map over on the other side, a work of true imagination. At first glance you walk in here, I expect you might think that it's a conventional map of the world. But a more careful inspection shows that it is a symbolic picture of Marlow's ambitious business goals and expectations. And look at it this way: It's a whole world of your own making.

It reminds me of a remark by the great American revolutionary Thomas Paine. As Americans fought in the War of Independence, which was a struggle for free enterprise as well as political reform, Paine said, "We have it in our power to begin the world all over again."

Today we are celebrating a new revolution. It doesn't involve cannons and muskets and political tumult, but it is a revolution all the same. You ought to look at it, every time you do something across the way in the plant, as a revolution. And I'm talking, of course, about the movement in American business for quality improvement.

The best businesses in America, large and small, are renewing, even reinventing themselves to become and to remain world-class competitors. Our companies are overthrowing these outdated and antagonistic barriers between labor and management. They're replacing us-versus-them divisions with real teamwork.

The quality revolution is driving bureaucracy out of our business organizations. Companies are doing away with stratification, leaving as little distance as possible between

the most junior employee and the CEO. In this quest, employees at every level are enjoying more power, more incentive, more freedom to create, and more responsibility for their efforts. And with that goes more pride.

We're improving the quality of our products and services with the keenest tools of statistical process control. This revolution that you all are participants in, this quality revolution, topples barriers that used to isolate the backroom "number crunchers" from the people who work on the assembly lines and the service counters. So, we're learning how to prevent defects in the first place, instead of correcting them later.

Most important, the quality revolution helps American companies to put the satisfaction of customers at the forefront. Winning organizations know that customers don't want just the best that one company can offer; they want the best that anyone in the world can offer.

Ray Marlow has described quite succinctly what the commitment to corporate quality means. He tells me that the company's receivables and payables are timely, the profit-sharing and taxes are paid, and the revolving bank debt is paid routinely. [Laughter] And most important, you've got a little cash in the bank. But then he goes on to make this point, which is a credit to all of you, saying that while these are the results, "they cannot be the goals in and of themselves. The goal must be quality." I believe, Ray, that every CEO and every company in America would benefit by sharing your philosophy, the philosophy that these good people practice every day, about effort and results.

The new commitment that we have to world-class excellence will make our businesses stronger than ever as we come out of this recession. And the most important long-term indicators are favorable, I might add, for national recovery. Interest rates are near the lowest in a decade and a half. Industrial production increased in September and rose by an annual rate of more than 6 percent in the third quarter. Manufacturing productivity rose at 3.6 percent annual rate during the second quarter. And the first estimates, that I'm sure that some of you all have seen in the papers, have the

gross national product, the GNP, of the country rising 2.4 percent in the third quarter.

So, yes, there are a lot of problems out there. But these indications are good. And I'm one who prefers to see the glass half full rather than criticizing all the time and seeing the glass half empty.

In this climate, one thing I'm determined not to do is to bust the budget deal up there in Washington that caps Federal spending and then, if we busted it, would open up the floodgates for congressional tax-and-spend policies. You all are working for a living, and you need some protection from too much Federal spending.

That's why, in this recent, highly pronounced struggle about unemployment compensation, I want one that will comply with the budget agreement: get the checks out to those families who are off of benefits, who're entitled to them, but get those out, but not do it by burdening everybody that is working or everybody that's out of work that's paying taxes by increasing their taxes.

And so we're going to keep on working. And I believe that if I stay the course, and I plan to do that, I believe we can get a fair unemployment compensation bill that won't burden everybody else and that yet will help those families that are desperately in need of help. So, we've got a good proposal. And I find I'm going to stay with it, and I think it's going to help everyone.

I might say parenthetically that Bob and I are both doing our level best to pursue economic policies that let companies like this one lead the way to quality. That means we're going to try, as I said, to hold the line not on needed spending but on the wasteful side of the spending equation. I want to see us do things in the tax system to stimulate the creation of new businesses like this one, new businesses, new opportunity, new job.

Some say, "Well, he's for capital gains reduction." I'm for jobs. And they cut capital gains in '78, and it increased jobs and opportunities, and new businesses sprung up. And I'd like to see that happen again. Need a little help with the Congress.

One of the things that I don't want to do is burden the workers of this company with further regulation, or certainly needless

regulation. You don't need some Federal guy coming out of Washington looking over your shoulder to see you're doing the job all right. You know what to do. You did it so well you got this award. And so, yes, there's some regulation, but let's not have any more needless regulation out of Washington, DC.

I guess the bottom line is that the potential of this quality revolution that you all are involved in, no matter how big your job, no matter how confined your job, you're involved in a quality revolution. And the potential of that reaches far beyond anything that appears on a balance sheet.

Look at educating the kids of this country. David Kearns, who led Xerox—they were a big, great big company, as you know. They won the same award a couple of years ago that you've won this year. And now that man, David Kearns, is in public service as the Deputy Secretary of Education. He and Governor Alexander are working to literally reinvent schools. They're trying to do in education what you have done through injecting quality into your work in this plant. And we need to take a new look at education, give parents more choice, and give these kids the best education possible by "thinking anew," as Abraham Lincoln once said.

I wish you all could have known the guy for whom the award you have won was named, Mac Baldrige. He came out of the east, but he was really a westerner. He had a marvelous place out in New Mexico, and he loved riding. And he was a cowboy, honored by the National Cowboy Hall of Fame. He was a rough-riding renaissance figure, and he was the kind only found in our great country. He was a close friend. I can't repeat every joke he told me, but nevertheless, I can tell you—[laughter]—he had a marvelous sense of humor. And for Barbara and me, his untimely loss there in that rodeo arena leaves us still—trying to describe how I felt about him—leaves us still with a personal sense of loss.

When he was in Bob Mosbacher's job during the eighties, he worked hard to liberate American business from regulation and yet keep the focus on quality. As much as he cherished economic freedom, he believed that it wasn't worth much if compa-

nies failed to do their very, very best. So Mac spent much of his time urging American business to pursue excellence. The National Quality Awards competition, and I know it must have seemed a pain to those of you who had to fill out these endless forms, but nevertheless, it was worth it. And those competitions are one of the great legacies of Mac Baldrige.

Let me just recite for those not from the plant that these relatively small companies that won it, each an electronics manufacturer, merited the award. They were Solelectron Corporation out in San Jose, California; they were Zytec of Eden Prairie, Minnesota; and of course, this wonderful company, Marlow Industries right here in Dallas.

And I think, as participants in this victory, you can say that all three winners, and certainly yours, prove that American enterprise can succeed in world-class competition involving the most sophisticated technologies and having to satisfy the most discerning of customers. And this makes our country very, very proud. And I happen to believe that small business, smaller businesses, I know that they are the largest creator of jobs. I believe 80 percent or more of the jobs are in small business.

And what you've done here is to demonstrate that you can have the same quality, if not better, than those companies that have been in business for years and years and years.

So for me, seeing what you do, looking into your faces, shaking a few hands across the way, it's a good day. And I am very, very proud to be with the men and women of Marlow Industries right here today, proud to congratulate you for navigating this "Baldrige Award Strait" on the map of dreams.

Now it's your mission to help other companies across the Nation chart their journeys to world-class performance. I hope this little visit results in that because we believe in you. We believe in your work, and we know you're setting a tremendous example for the entire country, the United States, still the greatest, freest country on the face of the Earth.

Thank you all very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 3:30 p.m. at Northgate Business Park following a tour of Marlow Industries. In his remarks, referred to Raymond Marlow, president and CEO of Marlow Industries, and Lamar Alexander, Secretary of Education.*

## Remarks at the Dedication Ceremony for Thanks-Giving Square in Dallas, Texas

*November 1, 1991*

Thank you, Peter, and Secretary Mosbacher. We're pleased you're with us here today. I'm so delighted to see two old friends among many others: Ambassador Anne Armstrong, and of course, our mayor, Annette Strauss. Dr. Garcia, thank you. Your music was spectacular, and we appreciated it very, very much. And where is the Explorer Post 111, over here? They did a first-class job. Thank you guys for being with us.

Here at this unique shrine of gratitude, I want to offer thanks. I want to pay grateful tribute to all those who envisioned and built Thanks-Giving Square. I would, of course, single out Peter Stewart, who has been with this from its very inception. His conviction and his dedication are well-known to everybody here and all across this great city.

This year in particular, as Annette mentioned, we give thanks for a century and a half of a community known as Dallas. Looking at John Bryan's little log cabin, we can say honestly that Dallas arose from modest beginnings. But the truism, that truism misses a deeper truth. There was nothing modest at all about the dreams, the drive, the potential, and the achievement of Bryan and his community of pioneers.

With the scarcest of natural blessings, the builders of Dallas brought into being one of the world's great cities. The Dallas community has never wavered in its determination for hard work and its devotion to the Almighty. The spirit of Dallas reminds me of the saintly motto, "Work as though everything depended upon yourself, and pray as though everything depended upon God."

Dallas has a long tradition of clean, effi-

cient government, selfless public service. And Dallas needs to draw upon this more fervently than ever at this time of historic transition in the leadership and the structure of its municipal government. A leader clearly in the Dallas public service tradition is our friend and our mayor, Annette Strauss. As you prepare to retire from public service and from the mayor's office, let me say that every Texan and every American who knows and loves this city must be grateful for all that you have given to this city.

And again, let me express appreciation, Peter, to you and to the others who have been at your side creating Thanks-Giving Square. This island of tranquility, like any place of prayer, meditation, and rest, is as vital to Dallas as the gleaming towers of commerce that surround us. Thanks-Giving Square, it reminds us that Dallas is great only because its leaders and builders understand that they serve a providence greater and more beneficent than they can ever dream of being.

And so, Barbara and I are just delighted to be with you here on this very special occasion. We thank you for your dedication. We praise you for your faith. And I can tell you this: Every single day I'm in this job, I recognize the importance of giving thanks. Thank you very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 4:40 p.m. at Thanks-Giving Square. In his remarks, he referred to Peter Stewart, chairman of the National Thanksgiving Commission; Anne Armstrong, president of the National Thanksgiving Commission; and Yolanda Garcia, entertainer.*

## Nomination of Leo P. Duffy To Be an Assistant Secretary of Energy *November 1, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Leo P. Duffy, of Pennsylvania, to be an Assistant Secretary of Energy for Environmental Restoration and Waste Management for the Department of Energy. He would succeed Donna R. Fitzpatrick.

Mr. Duffy has served as Director of the Office of Environmental Restoration and Waste Management, 1989–present, and as Special Assistant to the Secretary for Co-

ordination of Defense Waste Management, 1989. From 1987 to 1989, Mr. Duffy served as general manager of the Westinghouse Waste Technology Service Division for Weston Services, Inc., in Waltz Mills, PA.

Mr. Duffy graduated from New York University (B.S.M.E., 1952). He was born February 19, 1929, in Jersey City, NJ. Mr. Duffy is married, has six children, and resides in West Chester, PA.

## Nomination of Gregg Ward To Be an Assistant Secretary of Energy *November 1, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Gregg Ward, of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of Energy for Congressional and Intergovernmental Affairs at the Department of Energy. He would succeed Jacqueline Knox Brown.

Since 1988 Mr. Ward has been group vice president for external affairs for the American Institute of Architects in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he was government relations director for Thompson & Bussart, Esquire, in Washington, DC, 1986–1988; executive vice president for Vote America,

1985–1986; Director of Congressional Affairs for the Environmental Protection Agency, 1983–1985; and director of governmental affairs and assistant director of labor relations for Sheet Metal and Air Conditioning Contractors' National Association, Inc., 1977–1983.

Mr. Ward graduated from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (B.S., 1972). He was born June 28, 1950, in Syracuse, NY. He is married and resides in McLean, VA.

## Nomination of James G. Randolph To Be an Assistant Secretary of Energy *November 1, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate James G. Randolph, of Oklahoma, to be an Assistant Secretary of Energy for Fossil Energy at the Department of Energy. He would succeed Robert H. Gentile.

Mr. Randolph has served as president of Kerr McGee Coal Corp. in Oklahoma City, OK, 1978–1988. Prior to this, he served as

senior vice president of Kerr McGee Corp., coal and uranium operations, 1984–1988. Mr. Randolph served in the U.S. Air Force, 1948–1976.

Mr. Randolph graduated from the George Washington University (M.S., 1968); the U.S. Army Command and Staff College (M.S., 1964); and the University of Michigan (B.S., 1962). He was born January 20, 1930, in

Cleveland, TN. Mr. Randolph is married, City, OK.  
has four children, and resides in Oklahoma

## Remarks at the Bush-Quayle Fundraising Dinner in Dallas, Texas November 1, 1991

Thank you, Ray Hunt, and thank all of you. Barbara and I are thrilled and delighted to be with you. And, Ray, thank you for your leadership on this dinner, you and Perry Bass, and Elvis, and my dear friends, Bill and Rita Clements, the great Governor of this State. Phil Gramm, and Tom Loefler, and all the chairmen and cochairmen, thank you for this fantastic welcome back home.

And I might say, if I don't get in trouble with the FEC, that's the Federal Election Commission, thank you for a wonderful send-off. I am grateful to each and every one of you. And Phil put it pretty well; I do feel a lot of love in this room, a lot of friendship. And I don't care if you're starting out in Midland or Odessa, as Bar and I did in 1948, or whether you come up through the precincts in Houston, Texas, or run with the support of friends statewide with a spectacular lack of success for the Senate in 1964 and '70, you couldn't make it without friends. You couldn't make it without people who care. And we have been blessed in our life by the friendships from the people of this State, and we will never, ever forget how we got this opportunity to serve our country.

And it's the greatest time in history to be President of the United States, and I'm grateful to each and every one of you.

And I'm very proud of our statewide political team. I mentioned Bill Clements. I must say I wish you were in Austin right now. I shouldn't wish that on anybody, but—[laughter]—we miss him badly. And I miss his counsel as Governor and his leadership.

But I salute our State chairman Fred Meyer, who is doing a superb job. And he's working hard to see that we get a fair shake in redistricting, I might add. And then, of course, our statewide office holders, my dear and old friend, Kay Bailey Hutchison

and Rick Perry, who did the Lord's work by getting selected to commissioner of agriculture.

Reverend Benton, thank you. And to this magnificent music, I don't know how to begin to say thank you to the Texas Boys Choir, to the Vocal Majority, University of North Texas Band. You are magnificent, and thank you all for this very special treat.

And I debated what to talk about. Really, we're here to talk about America's bright hopes for the future, a future that really is built on special values that we've always held dear. These values are special to Texas: A commitment to economic growth, a steadfast respect for the individual, a proud determination to carry faith in democracy to the rest of the world.

Phil Gramm knows what I'm talking about. So do thousands of other Texans, millions of Americans. We have an extraordinary opportunity before us. Together we can cement the gains that Phil talked about, that Ray talked about. We can build on those gains. And let me tell you why. I think we can build on them not only in foreign affairs, but I think we can build on them domestically. And the reason is I really believe that the values we all share are right for the United States. The program that I have is right for the United States. And we've got a slight problem: We've got too darn many liberal Democrats controlling every House of the United States Congress, every committee, every subcommittee, and they can't think of one new idea. All they can try to do is block my domestic agenda.

And that's what I want to talk to you tonight about. We need your help in making some of these changes.

Frankly, we believe that government should ease the burdens on the people. And we believe that for a fundamental reason. We believe that because we have an abid-

ing faith in the communities, in the neighborhoods, in the people themselves. And we understand that when we talk about issues, what we're really talking about are human values; we're talking about people. For example, too often we talk of the economy as if it were something dry and technical, rather than what it really is: The lifeblood of the American dream.

Years ago I learned that economics focuses mostly on people, not on numbers. And I do remember those early days in Odessa, 1948, and then Midland right after that. Then, your word was your bond. You shook hands with a guy on an oil deal, Perry, and it kept; it took. That's all you needed. You didn't need 25,000 lawyers drawing up escrow agreements. You had the values out there.

The neighborhood meant something. The strength of family was strong and meant something. And as Ray touched on it, and this music said, faith was terribly, terribly important. You chose your schools, taught people without being afraid of it, to say the Pledge of Allegiance or to express their patriotism.

Now, it doesn't take long for anyone to understand that the great strength of our country is in the neighborhoods and in the cities and in the towns and, yes, in the family and in our churches and synagogues. It is not shielded and isolated in subcommittees on Capitol Hill. Not by a long shot. It is in the neighborhoods and the families of West Texas and Dallas and Houston and South Texas and the Panhandle and Waco and wherever. It's a strength that comes from a simple source: freedom. Let the liberal Democrats then pursue these programs that enlarge Government, that dictate to every single community by mandated benefits how you're going to run your schools if you want that Federal money. That's your money. If you want that Federal money, you have to live by code A, B, C, or D. And you have to have 25 regulators coming in to be sure that you live by the mandate set by a subcommittee chairman that's been in office 30 years. That's not good enough for America, and I want to change this Congress.

The problem is in the Congress of the United States on the liberal Democrats that

control it. And I have been a javelin catcher too long up there. I have been kind, and I have been gentle. And I have tried to work with these guys that control the Congress, the liberals on one side, and I'm tired of it. And I can't wait to be a candidate, when I decide to be one—[laughter]—and take this to the American people. They are tired of it. They are sick and tired of it.

I'll tell you something. They say, "No domestic agenda." They've got a domestic agenda, and that's blocking my domestic agenda. Those old guys that control those subcommittees haven't had a new idea in the 30 years they've been there. [Laughter] And it's time to change it. And I mean it.

Why do you think the American people are so excited about term limitations? They've wised up. They understand it. And I'm going to fight for that too, all next year. It only seems fair. I've got to limit my term. Why shouldn't they limit their term? [Laughter] Fairplay.

Let's talk about a growth package. I've been pressing the Congress for a real growth package. It started in my first State of the Union, second State of the Union, third State of the Union. Let me just give you my views on what—if we had more decent-thinking people in the Congress like Phil Gramm—what we could do to help the economy.

There are some people hurting in this country, and they're hurting bad. And their families can't make ends meet. And some people are getting put out of work. And they need a growth package that's going to create jobs. And I've called for the things that I believe would help, and they've been opposed day in and day out by the liberals that control the United States Congress.

One of them, let them call it a tax break for the rich. I will bear, as I said last night in Houston, all the political burden that they can heap upon me for calling a capital gains cut a tax for the rich. It is a jobs creator. It is an entrepreneurship bill. We can get more jobs and more businesses going by a capital gains differential than any other single thing. So, call it what you want to, but give it a try. The American people want it. It shows up in the polls, and they ought to have it. And they don't have

it because the Democrats want to make political hay instead of putting this country back to work through new jobs created by small business.

We've got to increase our savings base in this country, and that's why I've pushed for incentives like IRA's. Particularly those that can stimulate the housing business. And that's all caught up in an old thinking of the leadership of the United States Congress. I've called for the creation of a permanent R&D tax credit, research and development, so we can retain the cutting edge that we have in technology. And it's absolutely essential. Not a short-run boost to the economy but something long-run that is going to guarantee our competitiveness around the world. And that means jobs.

I want to see more investment in science and technology to keep us ahead of the curve in world competition. I want to see us do more in cutting needless Government redtape that frustrates innovation and efficiency. And instead of that, the Congress comes out with more and more regulations. And thank God we've got a good Vice President up there that's trying to cut through them and lift the regulatory burden on the small businessmen of this country.

Jobs—we need jobs. I'll tell you a job-intensive improvement bill, and that's the transportation bill. My State of the Union message, I said to the Congress, I need two pieces of legislation. We've got plenty that we need. We need to do more on education. We need to do more on these economic incentives. But give me a crime bill and give me a transportation bill in 100 days. It is now 242 days, and I haven't had either one of them on my desk.

A transportation bill would put a lot of Americans to work and put them to work fast. And we need it. Our infrastructure needs it. And yet, we've got people that are haggling up there, moving the previous question, seconding the motion, going about all this parliamentary gobbledy-gook when the American people want action. And you give me a Senate controlled by people like Phil Gramm, and you'll get plenty of quick action. And it will be sensible, and it will keep the taxpayers' interest in mind.

I've told you why this economy hasn't

gotten the kind of shot in the arm we need. In short, one party has controlled both Houses of the Congress far too long. We did control the Senate when President Reagan came in, and you can take the offense. He took his case to the people. He said, here's what I want to do: A, B, and C. And at least in the Senate you could begin to move the process. You could get your ideas tried.

Today I pointed out these things, and they aren't even willing to try them. The only way I have gotten some good legislation passed is to veto bad legislation and make clear to this Congress I am not going to pass any more of your bad legislation. Now, if you want to compromise, fine. But I am not going to accept it the way you send it down because the people elected me to go forward with these ideas, and you ought to give our ideas a chance. And I'm not going to change. I don't care what title they have on it.

You've heard the question: Why does the President seem to have successes in foreign affairs, difficulty in domestic affairs? The answer is a cinch. *[Laughter]* It's very, very clear. If I had had to get Ted Kennedy's approval to move General Schwarzkopf to the Persian Gulf, Saddam Hussein would be in Saudi Arabia and Schwarzkopf would have been in Florida still. That's the difference. And that's a fact. And the American people know it's a fact.

It's not a political statement. That is a fact. *[Laughter]* You just look at the record on those things. *[Laughter]* Suppose I had to call up the subcommittee chairman of the Armed Forces Subcommittee on Latin America and say, "Hey, do you think we ought to take a drug dealer out and save the lives of Americans, and get Noriega out and give democracy a chance in Panama?" They'd still be moving the previous question, asking some parliamentary order, "Mr. President, can I speak now?"

We do it because you have the power, the national security responsibility in the Presidency. And that's clear, and the American people know it's clear.

The other night I was in Madrid. Maybe still on Madrid time; I feel a little groggy here. But the other night I was in Madrid. I think we've done something great. We've



got a great Texas Secretary of State in Jim Baker who is working his heart out for peace. And we've done something that the most cynical believed we could never do. Because of the new profound strength of the United States and prestige, frankly, of the United States around the world, as a result of Desert Storm, we were able to bring warring factions together, as Phil said, people who have been at war for thousands of years to at least talk, to come together under the same roof in Madrid and begin to at least talk about peace.

I don't know what's going to happen in that. I don't know how successful we're going to be. But it was success to just bring those parties together. And it was hard work. And you had to stand up against the skeptics, and you had to challenge old shibboleths, and you had to go forward and try the most complicated diplomacy. And whether it succeeds or not, it's worth the candle, it's worth the effort.

And I'm over there. I'm dead tired. I flip on CNN, which was in my bedroom there in the Embassy in Madrid. And I hear the assistant Democrat leader of the House demonstrating his interest in the domestic agenda, criticizing the President of the United States for being in Madrid and trying to bring about peace between these warring factions. I'm sorry, I don't care what this little man thinks. I'm going to keep on leading and try to do my best for the United States of America and peace for his kids and for my kids.

Let him carp. Let him criticize. It's not going to get to me one bit, because I'm going to take my case to the American people, I think, if I decide to become a candidate for President of the United States. [*Laughter*]

The Democratic leaders in the Senate, they won't permit a straight up and down vote on capital gains. More of them are beginning to talk about it. I have key economic appointments to the Federal Reserve Board, been sitting there, one of them, Bob Clarke, a Texan for comptroller. That nomination has been up there for 9 months. We have two directors of the Fed, Federal Reserve Board, the Fed. We've got some problems there. We need the best minds we can have there. And yet, they're blocking these

two nominations.

My suggestion to them is do the people's business. If you don't want the people I have up there, send them back. Say you won't approve it. But don't let everybody sit in limbo. And the Senate ought to reform itself and stop putting holds on nominees. Consider them. Advise, consent, but don't just sit there doing nothing when we need good people on the Fed.

I think the American people know that I've tried to reach out. I've tried the kinder and gentler approach, and I'm going to keep on because I want to see some good. Might not sound like it tonight—[*laughter*—]but I'm going to keep on because I really believe that you can get something done. And we have. We've gotten some good—a good legislation through in a compromised way. And sometimes when I beat back their bad legislation, we come together and get reasonable legislation done.

But let me give you an example of what's going on on that one. There are some Americans that have had their benefits run out for unemployment. They're hurting. Their families are hurting. I don't care whether you're Republican or liberal or conservative or Democrat, whatever you are. When somebody in America is hurting like that you've got to try to do something about it. You've got to care. You've got to feel a sense of compassion for those that are hurting in this country, and there are plenty, unfortunately.

So, I'd like to see an extended benefits check go out to these people. And I've told the Congress what I want. What I want is a bill that will extend these benefits; do it on a temporary basis. We're not going to mandate some whole new program there. Take care of those that are hurting now, and get the economy moving so they won't be hurting in the future. Take care of them, and get those benefit checks out. But do it without burdening everybody that's working in this country, all those that are not working that are paying taxes.

Do it within the budget agreement. The caps on spending is the only control that the taxpayers have over the reckless spending of the Democrats that control the Congress. Do it in a way to protect the taxpayer

and still demonstrate the compassion that we feel for these people. And they'd rather, as I said last night—I used an unfortunate analogy. I said they were trying to stick it up my ear. [Laughter] Let me try to rephrase that for you. [Laughter] No, what they're doing, what they're doing is trying to make political capital while these people are hurting out there.

I hate to tell you, but I read in the paper this morning that the majority leader of the United States Senate, who yesterday compared me to Herbert Hoover, wants to get his people to vote one more time so I'll have to veto one more time so he can then go in a demagogic fashion to the American people one more time to say that I'm against those people that are out of work. And, fortunately, it appears that the other Democratic leaders are much more interested in helping the people that need help and coming together with me to get a deal that will extend these unemployment benefits in the way I've told you I want it done.

And I don't care what the majority leader of the Senate thinks about my performance or what he thinks about that he can embarrass me into doing. If he sends me down a bill that's going to bust this budget agreement, I'm going to veto it and send it right back and get some legislation that is good for these people and good for the taxpayer.

I've been 3 years in this job now, and I've never criticized the majority leader before. But he is not going to dish it out and then be unable to take it. I refuse to catch his javelins anymore. I'm going to throw them right back because I've got the truth on my side.

And let me just say on other bills, I am going to veto—I'm not going to worry about it—any bill that busts this budget agreement, that increases the outrageous deficit that we are laying on your kids and my grandchildren. We've gone too far. And we have in place constraints on spending. Every day, you find some new dire emergency, they call it, to bail out some special program. And I'm going to hold the line because that is the only protection that all the American people have against reckless spending that is dry-mortgaging the future of our grandchildren and our children.

Let me say that I am pleased when we do

get cooperative work with the Congress. I don't want to say we never do. We can get a crime bill. We can get one that says to every guy that's patrolling the drug areas in Dallas, every policeman, "We're with you. We're going to help you. We're going to get you exclusionary rule reform, or habeas corpus reform. And we're going to have a death penalty for those that kill police officers, and it's going to be prompt and fair." The problem is, we've got a good bill out of the Senate, and now we've got these same subcommittee old thinkers in the House trying to block it.

I believe we can get a decent crime bill. I believe we can get a decent transportation bill. Unfortunately, today the extremes blocked a bipartisan energy bill. Bennett Johnston, a Democrat; Malcolm Wallop, a Republican, have a decent bill. And it was blocked by some parliamentary procedure up there because they're worrying about the caribou in Alaska when I'm worrying about jobs for the American people. I'll go with the people. Let them go with the caribou.

Bipartisanship—we've got something going in education. We've got a great Secretary of Education. He's got a great deputy in David Kearns. We're working with the Democrats. We're going around those subcommittee chairmen. We're working with Democratic Governors and Republican Governors on this program America 2000. It's good. It revolutionizes education, moves our people up, gives families a choice of where they want their kids to go to school.

And if we can somehow manage to keep that program out of those subcommittees I'm talking about, we can really offer our children a brighter future, and I want to be a part of that. I want to see that succeed. And I believe we can do it.

The liberal Democrats, they've got one formula: Spend a little more money. Do you know what the figures are in education? We spent \$190 billion on education, total, around '80 or '81, and it's now up to \$400 billion. And their answer is, "Hey, you cut out \$2 billion here, or you didn't add this or that." That's not the point. You've got to revolutionize these schools. You've got to think anew, as Lincoln said, "You've got to

start over." And that's exactly what we're trying to do.

I have one other thing about the Congress I'd like to bring up here to see if I can generate any support. I have an old-fashioned feeling that Congress ought not to exempt itself from the laws it makes others comply with. I don't know whether that makes any sense or not.

The Equal Pay Act of 1963, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. I don't know whether you were glued to your TV when the Clarence Thomas hearings were on. We heard a lot about sexual harassment. But did you know, did you know the liberals that control this Congress have seen to it that Congress exempted itself from the sexual harassment laws at the same time they were piously lecturing the rest of the country?

I think the American people want Congress to comply with the same laws that you and I have to live with.

And the last point, and this is the last one, I really do believe that there is an interaction between foreign policy and domestic policy. Somebody mentioned, either Phil or Ray mentioned the free trade agreement with Canada. Yes, I go down to Mexico, and yes, I deal with their marvelous new President, Carlos Salinas. And yes, we're working, spending a fair amount of time trying to get that done. But that's not foreign policy per se. That's a better border for Texas. That's a better environment along our border. That's more jobs for Americans. And I'm going to keep right on working with President Salinas until we can get this historic free trade agreement through. And the same with Canada.

When I meet with Mr. Gorbachev, as I did Monday night, "Okay," you say, "that's foreign policy." I think it is in the interest of every child and every school in Dallas that this marvelous, majestic move towards privatization and market economy succeed. And it is in the interest of every kid in this country that this revolution that's taken place in the Soviet Union be successful. And it is only the United States of America that's strong enough, knowledgeable enough, believes enough to see it happen.

Ask Bob Mosbacher. What a job he has done taking technology over there and business expertise to the Soviet Union. And so,

let them carp, criticize all they want. Let them make their political brownie points. I am glad that our chance for peace has been enhanced. And our chance for trade will be enhanced much more if we are successful in working with these new leaders in the Soviet Union and in the Republics.

I'm very proud of our country, and I am not negative about our country. Frustrated at times with the Congress? Yes. Willing to take my case to the American people? Absolutely. Willing to reach out my hand, as I have over and over again, to the Democrats that control Congress? Yes, I'm going to keep right on trying because I want some things done, and the only way I can get them done under the status quo is to reach out.

But let me tell you this: Next year, I am going to go to the American people as clearly as I can. I'm going to put my record on the line, the shortcomings, hopefully that people will think maybe the progress has outweighed the shortcomings and say, "Here's where I'm coming from. Here's the kind of help I need and that a man like Phil Gramm needs in the United States Congress."

We believe in these same values today in 1991 that I believed in, in Odessa that I mentioned in 1948: Neighborhood, family, freedom of individuals to make the choice on where their kids go and how we lead our lives, the importance of faith in our lives. I'm not embarrassed to stand up and salute the flag. I'm proud of it. And America is proud of it again because of the way our kids behaved in Desert Storm.

And I want to take this message: Foreign policy, domestic policy successes we've had, and then those initiatives that need to be performed on. And there's plenty of them. But we're going to need your help, and you've given us a wonderful sendoff by this dinner here tonight. But we're going to need your help at the polls. We're going to need your help to see that our great Texas officers have more support in the elections that lie ahead. And we're going to need your support in working to help me change, change the character of this Congress so that your values and the values of Congress will be hand-in-hand and will be compati-

ble.

I can tell you I never thought I'd look forward to another campaign. I thought I was getting a little too tired for that. And I'm ready. I'm ready because I believe there's so much at stake in this country, and I believe I'm blessed with a wonderful wife who absolutely has enraptured this country because they see in her something strong and decent. And you've given us your support. You've given us your support. And I'm

going to do what my mother told me to do, "Do your best. Try your hardest. Be a decent guy in the process, but work your heart out for what you believe in." You've helped me do that.

Thank you all, and may God bless the United States of America.

*Note: The President spoke at 8:46 p.m. at the Reunion Ballroom in the Hyatt Regency Hotel.*

## Remarks at the Dedication of the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library

November 4, 1991

President Reagan and Nancy, Barbara and I are just delighted to be here on this 11th anniversary of your election as President. My special greeting, of course, to your fellow Californians, President and Mrs. Nixon; also President and Mrs. Ford; President and Mrs. Carter. Mrs. Johnson, you're so sweet to be here. Members of the Reagan, Kennedy, Johnson, and Roosevelt families.

As I listen to these talks I got to thinking: Wouldn't Fred Travalena, Rich Little, Dana Carvey have a wonderful time here today? [Laughter] And I was so moved by Chuck Heston's opening comments; and Lod Cook, congratulations, sir. Once again, you've stepped up and done a superb job. Reverend Donn Moomaw, thank you, sir, for the invocation. And, of course, being with my trusted adviser and military leader, General Colin Powell, is a treat. And then, déjà vu, as Sergeant Alvie Powell sang "The Star-Spangled Banner." He did that at my inauguration, and I'll never forget it. Ambassador Annenberg and all who worked so hard on this library, our profound thanks to you.

This marks an historic occasion. For the first time, five Presidents and six First Ladies, past and present, have gathered together in the same locale. The four former Presidents, dedicated public servants, and these wonderful First Ladies, each has played a significant part in the American story.

We begin with the 37th President, Richard Nixon, and the woman we know and love as Pat. Mr. President, you were an innovator at home, a peacemaker and groundbreaker abroad. We'll never forget it. Here, too, are Betty Ford and America's 38th President, Gerald Ford. To this son of Michigan we say: We are very grateful for your quiet strength of character, your vigor, and your just plain innate decency.

Next, we thank the 39th President, Jimmy Carter, and his wife Rosalyn. America applauds your lifelong commitment, sir, to peace, to human rights, to helping others. And it was most gracious of you to make such an extra effort to be here today. And I feel very badly that you haven't met a Democratic President yet, but please don't do anything about that. [Laughter]

And Lady Bird, Mrs. Johnson, we salute you for your dedication to our natural beauty and also for your love of family that shines through every single day.

Today, we're here to honor "An American Life," which is the title of his autobiography. We also honor an American original. Ronald Reagan was born on February 6th, but his heart is the Fourth of July. And with his disarming sense of humor, President Reagan was something refreshingly different in Washington: A politician who was funny on purpose. [Laughter] And he also was, though, a visionary, a crusader, and a prophet in his time.

He was a political prophet, leading the tide toward conservatism. He was also a Main Street prophet. He understood that America is great because of what we are, not what we have. Politics can be cruel, can be mean and ugly and uncivil. And unfailingly, Ronald Reagan was strong and gentle. And he ennobled public service. He embodied the American character. He came from the heart of America geographically and culturally.

Not even a bullet from the gun of a would-be assassin could stay his spirit. I remember the terrible day in March of '81. He looked at the doctors in the emergency room and said, "I hope you're all Republicans." [Laughter] Well, Republicans or Democrats, his courage and humor made us all proud, proud to be Americans. And for 8 years, I was very proud to be his Vice President. And I saw a man who was thoughtful, sentimental, sending money to strangers who touched him, writing letters on yellow legal paper, and asking that they be re-typed because he wanted to make it easier for the recipients to read.

As President, Ronald Reagan was unmoved by the vagaries of intellectual fashion. He treasured values that last, values that endure. And I speak of patriotism and civility and generosity and kindness, values etched in the American character. Once asked who he admired most in history, he simply responded, "The man from Galilee."

Mr. President, your faith is what is true and good, and that helped reaffirm our faith in the United States of America. Ronald Reagan believed in returning power to the people, and so he helped the private sector create more than 16 million jobs. He sought to enlarge opportunity, not Government. So, he lowered taxes and spending and cut inflation and helped create the longest peacetime boom in American history.

How ironic that the oldest President of the United States would prove as young as the American spirit. Here, as in Washington—[applause]—here, as in Washington, he was aided by the true love of his life. As First Lady, Nancy championed the Foster Grandparents Program, heightened breast cancer awareness. She refurbished the White House with the dignity that is her

legacy. She sure left us a nice, cozy place to live, I might say. [Laughter] And to the scourge of drugs, she urged America's children to "Just Say No." And Nancy, for these things and many more, all Americans salute you.

And finally, the President was a global prophet. Today, we've heard this, but the world is safer because he believed that we who are free to live our dreams have a duty to support those who dream of living free.

He predicted that communism would land in the dustbin of history, and history proved him right. And he knew that when it comes to national defense, finishing second means finishing last. So he practiced what he preached, supporting a strong military and pioneering the Strategic Defense Initiative. And his vision paid off for every American in the sea and sands of the Gulf. And America thanks him for that, too.

Mr. President, history will record the 1980's were not only among America's finest hours, they became perhaps democracy's finest era. Our friend the Iron Lady, as usual, said it best. I speak of Margaret Thatcher, your fellow liegeman of liberty. Recently, she spoke of how great leaders are summed up in a sentence. Here's a quote: "Ronald Reagan won the cold war without firing a shot. He had a little help. At least that's what he tells me." [Laughter] And looking here at men and women from Presidencies of the last three decades, it occurs to me that help came largely from the American people and you.

Here's part of what the historians will say of Ronald Reagan: He was the Great Communicator and also the Great Liberator. From Normandy to Moscow, from Berlin to the Oval Office, no leader since Churchill used words so effectively to help freedom unchain our world.

You were prophet and President, and I want to thank you for your many, many kindnesses to Barbara and to me. You love this country. You know America. And you have blessed America as few men ever have. Now, it is my distinct privilege and honor to introduce the 40th President of the United States, Ronald Reagan.

*Note: The President spoke at 12:15 p.m. in*

*Simi Valley, CA. In his remarks, he referred to actor Charlton Heston, master of ceremonies; Lodwick M. Cook, chairman, board of trustees, Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation, and Walter H. Annenberg, foundation, member; Rev. Donn Moomaw, senior*

*pastor of Bel Air Presbyterian Church in Bel Air, CA; and former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. Presidents Richard M. Nixon, Gerald R. Ford, Jimmy Carter, and Ronald Reagan also spoke at the dedication ceremony.*

## Nomination of James Roderick Lilley To Be an Assistant Secretary of Defense

*November 4, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate James Roderick Lilley to be an Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs at the Department of Defense. He would succeed Henry S. Rowen.

Ambassador Lilley has served as Ambassador to the People's Republic of China, 1989–1991. Prior to this he was Ambassador to the Republic of Korea, 1986–1989. He was Deputy Assistant Secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs at the Department of State, 1985–1986, and a consultant on international security affairs at the Department of Defense, 1984–1985. Ambassador Lilley has also served as Political Coordinator and Senior East Asian Specialist for the National Security Council, 1981; and National Intelligence Officer for China, the

senior post in the intelligence community on Chinese affairs, 1975–1978. Ambassador Lilley has served in several capacities for various American Embassies in East Asia, including the Philippines, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, Hong Kong and the People's Republic of China. He has also served as an adjunct professor at Johns Hopkins School for Advanced International Studies for 3 years.

Ambassador Lilley graduated from Yale University (B.A., 1951) and George Washington University (M.A., 1972). He was born January 15, 1928. He served in the U.S. Army, 1946–1947, and the U.S. Air Force, 1951–1954. Ambassador Lilley is married, has three children, and resides in Chevy Chase, MD.

## Remarks on Presenting the Environmental Youth Awards

*November 5, 1991*

Welcome all. And thank you, Bill Reilly, for getting all this together. And I'm glad to see our in-house environmentalists, CEQ Chairman Mike Deland sitting over here. And I also want to thank the EPA regional officers and the teachers and the administrators who together make this program work.

And finally, let me especially welcome the award winners, America's young environmentalists, welcome all to the White House on this cool, clear, you-can-see-for-ever day. And think back to when you start-

ed your projects. You may have set out to make your community a bit cleaner or to come up with a way to re-use resources we use every day and simply toss in the trash, but the example you set shines far beyond your school and far beyond your neighborhood. What you've done tells other kids, "You can make a difference." What you've done inspires adults to follow your lead.

Let me give you a true example. Two years ago at the very same place, same awards setting, one winner came up to the stage to shake hands, which I hope you all

will do, and asked me, "Do you recycle at the White House?" [Laughter] And I told him, "Well, if we don't already, we do now." [Laughter] That kid's probably running for Congress out there somewhere; he was 10 at the time.

Well, today I am pleased to announce to this year's winners that last week I signed an Executive order, effective immediately, instructing that all Federal agencies here in Washington and out in our regional offices all across this country introduce recycling programs. Some of them have them, but not all. And I also ordered our agencies to use recycled materials wherever possible. So, we are serious about recycling.

Whether it's recycling waste or reclaiming a stream or a shoreline or raising the overall environmental awareness, each one of these winning projects is a marvel to your imagination, to your energy, and to your ingenuity. No matter how different, each one shows how an idea that originates in the classroom can have an impact in the community.

I can't single out all of you, but I hope you won't mind that I just make a special mention of our youngest environmentalists, who happen also to come from farthest away: the second grade classes from Mililani Town, Hawaii. I understand Karla—and I want to be sure I get this right, is it DeGuchi? Right pronunciation? Good. Karla—I didn't want to get that wrong—has made a long trip from Oahu to accept the award today for all her classmates. Karla and her fellow students started with a slogan, "Earth Day, Every Day," and set up a series of projects to show how they could do their part to take care of our Earth. And they put up bird feeders and turned trash to compost and planted trees.

But they didn't stop there. They set up a school-based recycling drive, and it may surprise you to hear what these second graders from Hawaii did with the money they raised. They used it to "adopt" four acres of endangered rain forest, Guatemalan rain forest, to preserve a small corner of

nature that they will probably never see.

Other projects start out as selfless acts and, along the way, prove that looking after our environment makes good, sound business sense. Take the students from Hawthorne Elementary School in Salt Lake City. They set out to clean up a creek running through the business district, a creek that had literally become a dumping ground. As the kids cleaned this creek, they found the garbage, all the cans, glass, and bottles dumped there, had some value, had some real value. And so, they sold it for scrap, call it "Trash for Cash," and used the money they made to keep the cleanup going.

Together, they transformed that unsightly trash heap into a nature park. And they gave it a new name, Hidden Hollow, and today it's a learning center for other students, a kind of outdoor classroom encouraging everyone to be environmentally aware.

You're here today because of the way you look at the world. You look at the sky above, the trees, rivers, and streams all around and see them for what they are: nature's gift, something precious we must preserve and pass on years from now to your children.

And once again, congratulations to all of you. And I hope that all Americans, young and old, in the Government and back in your communities, can join as partners in preserving our environment.

And now, with our able Administrator's help, Bill Reilly's help, we'll ask you to come up on stage to receive your awards. And thank you all for being here.

[At this point, the President presented the awards.]

Thank you all very, very much. It's a great day, and how inspiring it is to see this work. It's wonderful. Thank you.

*Note: The President spoke at 11:25 a.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building.*

## Exchange With Reporters Following Discussions With President Nicéphore Soglo of Benin November 5, 1991

*The President.* That's a very nice personal message, but I want to say with the journalists here that we are so respectful of everything you are trying to do there and the way you're going about it. I know you're here for a big honor, what we consider quite an honor, on your visit here. But I'm just so pleased you found time to come by here and have a little visit. And so, not only thank you for the hospitality to our delegation, but I congratulate you on what you're doing there and the way in which you're going about it. I know it's not easy, but I think you're setting a great example for other countries as well in Africa.

### *Economic Growth Legislation*

*Q.* Mr. President, I hope your guest will pardon the interruption, but have you decided what to do about a growth package yet?

*The President.* Well, we've got one out there, Brit [Brit Hume, ABC News], that I just wish the Congress had acted on long ago. And I'll keep reiterating it. But whether there will be additional steps, I don't know. If they had taken my five- or six-point growth package some time ago, why, I think it would have had a stimulatory effect. What I don't want to do is come up with a growth package that just further burdens the American taxpayer. And I'm not going to do that. And so, some of these suggestions that shoot the long-term interest rates right out through the roof are simply unacceptable.

*Q.* Are you talking about what was in the budget, sir, is that correct?

*The President.* No, I'm talking about the idea of getting broad—

*Q.* —your own package—

*The President.* —tax cuts without regard as to what it does to long-term interest rates and the budget agreement, yes.

*Q.* But your own package is what was called for in the budget?

*The President.* Oh yes, and what we're talking about, about a transportation bill,

about IRA's, about capital gains, about all kinds of stimulatory steps that can be taken without busting the budget agreement. But you're getting caught up in domestic politics now. [Laughter] But, if you'll excuse me—

### *Aid to the Soviet Union*

*Q.* It looks like you're going to have a meeting in there—

*The President.* You're a little premature there, Jessica [Jessica Lee, USA Today], because we're going to be discussing that. We don't want anybody to starve. The United States has always tried to be of assistance when people are really, truly hurting. But there's certainly some constraints on what the United States can do right now because of our own budget problems. And so, we'll just have to wait and see what develops there.

*Q.* Will they have sufficient credit, when they said today, they made the announcement today that they don't have enough money to last the month?

*The President.* Well, that's a matter that technical people have to look at. And it is highly technical because it relates not just to the current state of play in the Soviet Union but to the credit of all the central banks, the so-called "V banks."

*Q.* "V banks"?

*Q.* Will there be some announcements today, Mr. President?

*The President.* Will I, on this question?

*Q.* Yes.

*The President.* I don't know. I would not think there would be any announcements today. I'm getting my signals from General Scowcroft who's just said a very quiet nod of his head. [Laughter] So he knows what's going to come out of the meeting, and I'm not sure I do.

### *Pennsylvania Senatorial Election*

*Q.* Mr. President, why is the Thornburgh race so close? What's happened there?

*The President.* How do you know it is,



Rita [Rita Beamish, Associated Press]? I mean, I don't know how close one way or another. I just don't know.

*Q.* The polls show that Wofford steadily closed that gap to the point where it's neck-and-neck. And Thornburgh was so far ahead.

*The President.* We'll have to wait and see how the results go. Obviously, we're very strongly for Dick Thornburgh, and we'll

see. But the negative campaign that was run against him based on trying to blame him for problems that he had, over which he had no control, maybe that's a harbinger of things to come.

*Note: The exchange began at 1:40 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.*

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Meeting With President Nicephore Soglo of Benin

November 5, 1991

The President met for 20 minutes today in the Oval Office with President Nicephore Soglo of Benin. President Soglo is on a private visit to the United States. He will receive the African American Institute's annual Arthur Houghton Award at the United Nations in New York on November 7. The President expressed his admiration and respect for President Soglo as a champion of democracy in Africa and congratulated him on his award. He praised Benin's

transition to democracy as a model for other African countries. The two leaders discussed ways in which the United States could support Benin's policy of encouraging private sector growth and the privatization of state-owned companies. The President told President Soglo that the United States was looking forward to working with him and said he was pleased that we had announced a \$57 million grant for primary education in Benin.

## Message to the Congress Transmitting a Report on Federal Regulatory Policy

November 5, 1991

*To the Congress of the United States:*

This annual *Regulatory Program of the United States Government*, created pursuant to Executive Order No. 12498, sets forth my Administration's regulatory policies, goals, and objectives for the coming year. This *Regulatory Program*, containing submissions of the most significant regulatory activities planned for the year, increases agency accountability for regulatory actions, facilitates coordinated Federal regulatory policy, helps reduce unjustifiable regulatory burdens, and provides the public and the Congress with better access to the regulatory plans of the executive branch.

Federal regulations to implement the

laws that protect Americans' health and safety, environment, and economic system are crucial to the public welfare. But these regulations must be efficient and cost effective. We cannot afford for them to be otherwise.

Americans spend billions of hours and billions of dollars each year dealing with Federal regulations and paperwork. With over 100 agencies implementing thousands of regulations, the Federal Government affects nearly every facet of American life. Although intended to benefit and protect the American public, Government regulations may—through faulty design or clumsy im-

plementation—have an opposite, even harmful, effect. When Federal regulations impose costs that exceed benefits, taxpayers, consumers, and businesses alike are adversely affected—paying both higher prices and higher taxes.

That is why we are committed to regulatory reform and paperwork reduction. This Nation must devote its maximum energies and capital to growth and prosperity, consistent with protection of health and safety and the environment.

To reduce unnecessary regulatory burdens, I have asked the Council on Competitiveness, chaired by Vice President Quayle, in conjunction with the Office of Management and Budget's Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs, to ensure agency adherence to the cost-benefit principles and the regulatory review process outlined in

Executive Order No. 12291. At a recent meeting of the Council, the Vice President reaffirmed the Administration's commitment to remove excessive regulatory burdens, and regulatory agencies renewed their commitment, consistent with law, to reduce the amount of regulation and ensure that rules clearly maximize benefits and minimize costs.

By assuring implementation of the basic principles set forth in Executive Order No. 12291, I believe this country can achieve a more rational, more reasonable regulatory policy that both protects health and safety and the environment and benefits American consumers as well as our global competitiveness.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
November 5, 1991.

## Statement on the Confirmation of Robert M. Gates as Director of Central Intelligence

*November 5, 1991*

Today's vote is a confirmation that Bob Gates has the professional expertise and experience to lead our intelligence community during these changing times. I look forward to Bob undertaking his duties quickly as Director of Central Intelligence and

guiding our intelligence community during this historic era. He is a true professional of great integrity who will bring a wealth of experience and dedication to a most challenging task.

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Postponement of the President's Visit to Pacific Nations

*November 5, 1991*

The President has decided to postpone his planned visit to Japan, the Republic of Korea, Singapore, and Australia. The President regrets this decision, but believes that

uncertainty over the congressional calendar requires this change. The administration will seek to identify a new schedule for the visits through diplomatic channels.

## The President's News Conference November 6, 1991

### *Confirmation of Robert Gates*

*The President.* Good morning, everybody. I've got a little statement here, and then I'll be glad to take a few questions on this chilly morning.

First, I am just delighted about the Gates nomination. And I want to commend the Senate for approving him to be the Director of Central Intelligence. He is a good man, and he has outstanding credentials. And he served the country well. He's been at my right hand on all the big decisions we've had to make about war and peace. And I know he is going to be at CIA an outstanding Director, serving with distinction.

I think yesterday's vote brings a certain high degree of professionalism, dedicated leadership to an Agency that will be undergoing significant change in the world in the years ahead. And in my view, the Senate did the right thing. The Agency could not be in more capable hands.

### *'91 Elections*

There are four other votes that deserve comment. Yesterday, the voters of Pennsylvania selected Senator Wofford to be the Senator. And Dick Thornburgh, who served the country as Attorney General, ran a strong campaign, a dignified campaign. He and Ginny have worked long and hard for the State of Pennsylvania and for our country. They're wonderful people. And I know it must hurt to lose, having been there myself, but I know that Dick has a brilliant career ahead of him.

We're very pleased. There was a lot of good news for the Republicans. We elected a Governor in Mississippi, the first Republican Governor in this century, a good man, Kirk Fordice. He has pointed the way to change in the South. We believe more and more Republicans will be elected in Southern elections. So, that is very good. Similarly, in the State of New Jersey, it was a blowout. We had a huge swing to Republicans in both the House and the Senate. And in Virginia, right here across the river, the

Republicans picked up eight seats in the Senate and now constitute a very, very strong voice in that State's political authority. Both of these elections bode well for Republican ideas and values.

### *Upcoming European Trip*

Let me comment on the trip. NATO and the American presence in Europe have helped keep the peace for over 40 years. And now I am going to be meeting with the NATO leaders in Rome to talk about the challenges of security in the post-cold-war world and the opportunity for partnership with former adversaries. I view this as a very important part of the responsibilities of the President, working for peace around the world.

At The Hague, that is more economic because we'll be talking about our growing cooperation in helping the democratic transformations in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union and the ways of expanding free and fair trade all around the world, something that is going to generate a lot of new business opportunities for American farmers particularly, but manufacturers and service industries as well. For example, just to put this in perspective, we will do more than \$200 billion worth of trade this year with the EC nations, and every billion dollars worth of manufactured exports means 20,000 jobs here in the United States.

The best thing for American agriculture, incidentally, is to have a successful conclusion to the GATT talks, to the Uruguay round. The American farmer can compete with anybody, but he's got to have free and fair access to the markets of Europe. And that is a lot of what we'll be talking about when we meet with the EC leaders in The Hague.

### *Domestic Policy*

On the domestic scene, I hate going away with Congress still in session. Heaven knows what will happen, but there is a chance now to pass a growth package which I've been advocating for about 2 years now,

while the American people are demanding action. Haven't seen anything coming out of Congress yet that I can accept, but I am not going to give up on that. Fortunately, we're very serious about getting this economy growing, and we do have strong support, I think, on both sides now for some sensible ideas on growth.

I might say that listening to some, I will just respond this way: We've learned the awful price of isolationism—back on what I'm trying to do abroad here—and we've learned that protectionism and trade isolation hastened the worst economic depression in modern history. So, we're going to be proving that we learned those lessons well, and we are going to be, at the same time—we've got 2 days more of legislative action this week here, and I want to see them move forward on this unemployment compensation, doing it in a way where the tiny percent that we desperately want to help get helped, but we don't burden the 95 percent or whatever it is that are paying taxes. I don't want to do this by breaking the budget agreement in terms of getting the checks to the people whose benefits have run out. So we've got to get going on that one as well.

That is about it. There are some other subjects, but I'm glad to take a few questions.

#### *Postponement of Asia-Pacific Trip*

*Q.* Mr. President, there is a feeling that it's panic time at the White House, it's panic time, that you have canceled your Asian tour because you are afraid of the voters, the people getting more and more resentful of your foreign travels and having no real solution to the problems of joblessness and so forth. What is your response?

*The President.* My response is, that's crazy. I'll be honest with you, I had thought when this trip was scheduled for the end of November that definitely the Congress would be out of session. The Congress had announced a target date; I think it was for November 4th or November 2d. We've passed that date. It's not surprising. But, nevertheless, that was the date that was announced at the time this trip was set. But I think it is prudent, to use an overworked word, to be around here when the Congress

is still in session and especially when you get down to that year-end crunch where a lot of crazy things can happen.

So, I didn't want to take a chance. This trip has been postponed, not canceled. It does have some very important aspects, particularly the Japanese leg, as affects jobs for America. But that is the reason, Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International].

But I can understand the political charges. It was a political day yesterday, and we did very, very well. So, tomorrow they'll have another political charge.

#### *'91 Elections*

*Q.* Well, Mr. President, why shouldn't people think that you are running scared when the number of people who say they'll vote for you for reelection has dropped precipitously, when you've canceled the trip now and your man in Pennsylvania lost badly? Why shouldn't people think that you're running scared?

*The President.* Because our man in Mississippi won big. New Jersey won tremendous. Blew them away in Virginia. And so please just don't look at part of the glass, the part that is only less than half-full. I am depressed over the Thornburgh race because he's such a good man, but you look at the overall record and what I stand for and what our party stands for: Had a very good day, thank you. But, look, we're in the political season. These guys are going to be making all these charges. I've told you I don't live and die by the polls. Thus, I will refrain from pointing out that we're not doing too bad in those polls. What matters is the people that are hurting. And let's try to solve the problems for the American people.

But we'll get these charges. I mean, anything you do in this job, I've learned, you take on a little water, get a few hits. If things are going well, why you know, people are smiling and cheering, and when they're not, you've got to redouble your efforts to help people. So, I don't worry about the criticism, and I've told you before, I do not live and die by these polls that go up and down. Having said that, I've seen these head-on-heads, and I feel pretty good about it. But that is—I don't want to start crowing

about something when the election is a year away. I'll be facing a tough fight. All these people that are candidates are tough, and nobody is going to be taking anything for granted.

Yeah, Rita [Rita Beamish, Associated Press]?

#### *Postponement of Asia-Pacific Trip*

Q. You campaigned very vigorously, though, for your man in Pennsylvania, Thornburgh, and it wasn't even close. I mean, he lost. For a guy who went in with more than a 40-point lead, he lost by something like 10 percentage points. Did you know, did your advisers see that coming yesterday before you canceled your trip? When did you cancel your trip, and also what are the voters—

*The President.* The trip had nothing to do with the election in Pennsylvania. Please, Rita.

Q. Okay. Did you decide to cancel your trip before yesterday?

*The President.* I talked about it because I've been worried. I talked to Bob Michel on the trip to California, and I said, "Are you definitely going to adjourn on the 22d?" And he told me, I hope I'm not talking out of school, "Well, I talked to the Speaker, and he hopes to be out on the 22d. But for the first time he indicated we might not be out on the 22d." This from the Congress that said they were going to be adjourned on November 2d or November 4th. And I simply think at the end of a congressional session, it is important to be there. All kinds of crazy things can happen with this crowd that controls the Senate and House, and I'd like to be there to protect the American taxpayer and to help the American worker. So, it was in that time-frame that I got to thinking, "Hey, we'd better . . ."—but it had nothing to do with the Pennsylvania election, nor the great victories in New Jersey, in Mississippi, and in Virginia.

#### *'91 Elections*

Q. Mr. President, when you saw what the issues were in Pennsylvania, what do you think the voters there were saying about Washington, about the status quo?

*The President.* I just take Senator Wofford

at his word, that there is a message here for the administration and a message here for the United States Congress. And I think when the economy is slow, people are concerned. They're hurting out there; they're concerned about their livelihood. He got a big hand for saying he wants to help on those whose benefits have run out. So do I. We've got proposals up there. We could have had those checks in the mail literally weeks ago. But I must protect, try to protect the taxpayers in this country who don't need another tax increase. A lot of the message in all these elections, I think, had to do with taxes.

But I accept Senator Wofford—he ran a good campaign—accept his explanation that there is a message for the White House, and then I notice he said for the Congress, a Congress that is controlled in both Houses by the Democratic Party. So listen, as far as I'm concerned, we'll go the extra mile, and we'll try even harder. But I will try to do it the way I was elected to do it.

Yeah?

Q. Mr. President, one of the potent issues for Senator Wofford was health care. What message do you take from that development in Pennsylvania?

*The President.* Well, I listen to the message from all these people, Governors, Senators, legislatures. And one of the loud messages was: Don't raise taxes. One of the messages in Pennsylvania: Try to help people with health care. So you've got to balance these two. And we are working, as you know, on the health care issue. And stay tuned because when we get prepared, why, we will be coming forth with something I think is constructive. But you cannot listen to just part of the message. You've got to listen to the whole message. And most of the American people at the State level and the gubernatorial level are saying, "Hey, please don't hit us again on taxes. Please don't raise our taxes for whatever cause." The best evidence of that one, check it out, is New Jersey, where they just blew the Democrats away.

Q. Are you going to urge voters in Louisiana to vote against David Duke?

*The President.* Yes, strongly. We had a great victory in Mississippi yesterday. And

Kirk Fordice won a good clean race on fundamental issues. And it is truly unfortunate that the State next door in Louisiana—and they vote next week for Governor—do not have the choice between two good men. We differ with Senator Wofford, but I think the Pennsylvanians had a choice between two decent, good men.

And I've got to be careful because I do not want to tell the voters of Louisiana how to cast their ballots next week. That is a right that we all cherish. It's a personal right. And so they've got to make their own decisions.

But when someone asserts that the Holocaust never took place, then I don't believe that person ever deserves one iota of public trust. And when someone has so recently endorsed nazism, it is inconceivable that such a person can legitimately aspire to leadership, in a leadership role in a free society. And when someone has a long record, an ugly record of racism and of bigotry, that record simply cannot be erased by the glib rhetoric of a political campaign.

So, I believe that David Duke is an insincere charlatan. I believe he is attempting to hoodwink the voters of Louisiana, and I believe that he should be rejected for what he is and what he stands for.

### *The Economy*

*Q.* Mr. President, the economy, sir, has been reported as rather weak in retail sales and consumer confidence. Are you concerned that consumers are not responding to the interest rate cuts that the Federal Reserve has put through and that the economy isn't coming back, that maybe it's sliding into recession?

*The President.* No, I'm not worried about it sliding into recession. I am worried about consumer confidence because I think when you look at historically low interest rates, a lot of people will suddenly wake up and say, "This is a good time to buy a home, a good time to buy a car." But I worry about it. Of course I do. I worry about it when people are hurting, or think that they're hurting, or worried about the future; you know, this right-track, wrong-track argument. Yes, I worry about that. But I think we've got good programs. If the Congress would move, that would help, not solve it

all but would help. And I've put forward initiatives for growth that I keep talking about, have been in the State of the Union Messages, will continue to talk about until we get action that doesn't hurt the economy.

There is kind of a panic, kind of a frenzy amongst some legislators who don't want to get home because they heard the message yesterday loud and clear from the voters. And the frenzy has to do with, "Well, we'd better do something. We'd better look busy. We'd better accomplish something." But the "something," they'd better be careful what it is because the American people do not want to have a higher tax burden. And many of these proposals would do just that. And they also don't want to pay higher interest rates. You notice when some of the proposals were floated last week, long-term rates shot right through the roof because the market was saying, "Wait a minute. We don't want to bust this budget agreement." That is the only safety the taxpayer has, and we don't want to see ourselves get into some spiral of inflation again.

So, it's not an easy problem, but do I worry about it when people lack confidence? Of course I do. And I want to try to find ways to help because people are hurting. But some of it is—I think you put your finger on it—there ought to be, in my view, given the economic place where we stand now, more confidence. I'm not trying to say everything is rosy, but I am saying interest rates are down. There is a good chance to do something now in the way of housing or on cars or on whatever that we haven't had before. And so I think it will come around, but of course I worry about it.

*Q.* Are you going to offer any kind of—

### *Defense Spending*

*Q.* What about a peace dividend? Why not use the peace dividend, the reduction in the military budget?

*The President.* Well, we're reducing the military budget, and all I want to do is be sure that it is reduced in a way where I can go to the American people, my foremost responsibility in my mind, and say, "I can guarantee you that the national security is where it should be." Reckless cuts, no; cuts,

yes. And Dick Cheney is working with the Congress on this, and I think we'll have a good program. And I think it will be at lower levels of spending. We've already made some substantial cuts in it. So, yes, I don't think anything should be exempt, Helen.

#### *Economic Growth Legislation*

*Q.* Are you going to come up with your own package for growth, tying things together, something new?

*The President.* Well, I think I already have a good growth package, but I am prepared to work with Congress to come up with something new. The trouble is, when both Houses of Congress are controlled by people who look at these issues differently, it is difficult to get the people's business done. The people do not want to bust the budget agreement; in other words, have more Government spending. They do not want higher taxes, and yet they are interested in health care and in a growth package and all of that. So, it is a delicate situa-

tion, but we will continue to work with it. I talked to the leaders before leaving here, and let's hope something can get done.

#### *Foreign Travel T-shirt*

*Q.* What did you think of the Democrats' T-shirt about all your foreign travel?

*The President.* I haven't got one yet. Haven't got one yet. I don't worry about that.

#### *Congressional Term Limitations*

*Q.* How about the term limit vote, sir?

*The President.* Mixed reviews on that. Yes, they lost in Washington and won, I gather, in Texas and some other places. So I haven't really analyzed it yet. I'm for it.

Okay, thank you all.

*Q.* You're for term limits?

*The President.* You got it, Helen.

*Note: The President's 109th news conference began at 6:49 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House, prior to his departure for the NATO summit in Rome.*

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Extinguishing of Kuwait's Burning Oil Wells

*November 6, 1991*

Today we celebrate with the people and the Government of Kuwait as they complete a major step along the road to recovery. The extinguishing of the last of Kuwait's burning oil wells represents a remarkable achievement. In less than 9 months, a unique international coalition capped nearly 700 wells, reversing Saddam's cruel efforts to achieve with sabotage what he could not do with his military: The destruction of Iraq's peaceful neighbor and the fouling of an entire region in an act of mass ecological terrorism.

Upon the liberation of Kuwait last March, the President directed U.S. agencies to come to Kuwait's assistance in tackling the disaster perpetrated by Saddam's retreating army. Seven hundred and fifty-two of the country's 1,037 oil wells had been damaged,

and 610 were burning. Working closely with the Government of Kuwait, the United States lent vital support in engineering, transport, and other areas, support which was critical to the success in extinguishing the blazing wells. We are delighted to have been partners in every phase of the fire-fighting effort. We are particularly proud that three of the first four teams on the ground in March were American. It was these teams that laid the groundwork for the success that followed. American teams capped over half of the damaged wells in the effort that grew eventually to include firefighters from 28 countries.

We share Kuwait's joy and salute the brave men and women who met this historic challenge. We support Kuwait's demand for just compensation by Iraq for these and

other war-related damages, and we remain determined to stand with Kuwait and others against Saddam and his policies.

## Exchange With Reporters Following Discussions With Prime Minister Major of the United Kingdom in Rome, Italy November 7, 1991

*The President.* This was erroneously billed as a press availability when it is but a photo op. So, fire away on the photos.

*Q.* —meeting?

*Q.* What did you discuss?

NATO

*Q.* Do you expect any conflict between the European defense identity and the American role in NATO at this meeting?

*The President.* I think that will all be smooth. Don't you, Prime Minister?

*The Prime Minister.* Absolutely.

*The President.* Really.

*The Prime Minister.* We're all here to reinforce NATO.

*Q.* But, I mean, can you really square the Americans keeping a dominant role when they're cutting back their forces in Europe for understandable reasons?

*The President.* We have a sufficient force to take care of our obligation and our own national security interests, and one of those fundamental national security interests is a vigorous participation in NATO. It is in the interest of the United States to do this, as well as in the interest of the alliance. So, that's the way I would handle that one. And I think our—I'm just going to not leave

here until every single member of NATO understands that. But I think they all do; don't you, Prime Minister?

*The Prime Minister.* I don't think there's any doubt about it. Nowhere in Europe is there any wish to see any damage done to NATO, and everywhere in Europe is there a total understanding that NATO's been the guarantor of our security for 40-odd years. That's how it's been, and that's how it will stay.

*Q.* I thought that the Germans wanted to make the decisions more themselves.

*The Prime Minister.* The position in Europe is that the Europeans feel they have to take the greater share of the overall burden. They all agree to that. It's the overall burden within the NATO structure.

[At this point, the President's helicopter approached.]

*The President.* Here's our man circling, making it difficult for everybody. But thank you all very much.

*The Prime Minister.* Thanks very much.

*Note: The exchange began at 8:04 a.m. at the Villa Taverna, the U.S. Ambassador's residence. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.*

## Declaration on Developments in the Soviet Union by the Heads of State and Government Participating in the Meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Rome November 8, 1991

1. We, the Heads of State and Government of the member countries of the North Atlantic Alliance, warmly welcome the historic events that are fundamentally transforming the Soviet Union as we have

known it and the relationships among the republics. By their resolute and courageous stand against the illegal coup of 19th August, the men and women of the Soviet Union have affirmed their determination to



build a new future based upon democracy, human rights, the rule of law, and economic liberty. The nations of the Atlantic Alliance pledge themselves to assist in this great endeavour. We are prepared to build our relationships with the Soviet Union and the republics on the basis of the following fundamental principles that have guided our own policies and practices for decades.

2. It is for the peoples of the Soviet Union to decide their future relationship through peaceful and democratic means. At the same time, we encourage them to progress towards a common ground of cooperation, both among themselves and with us. In this process, there is no place for threats, intimidation, coercion or violence. Authorities at all levels should respect international norms and international obligations, especially those embodied in the Helsinki Final Act, the Charter of Paris, and other CSCE documents. Consistent with these commitments, government must be based on democracy through free and fair elections, and on the rule of law. Inalienable human rights must be guaranteed, including full respect for the individual and protection of the rights of persons belonging to minorities.

3. In a period of dramatic political change, it is important also to the development of our relations that leaders of the Soviet Union and the republics implement policies that contribute to international peace and security. In this respect, it is critical that the Soviet Union and the republics take all necessary actions to ensure that international agreements signed by the USSR, especially the START Treaty, the CFE Treaty, the Non-Proliferation Treaty, and the Biological Weapons Convention are respected, ratified, and implemented. We call upon all authorities to refrain from any steps that could lead to proliferation of nuclear weapons or other means of mass destruction. We therefore welcome the intention of the Soviet leadership to ensure the safe, responsible and reliable control of these weapons under a single authority. This matter affects the security interests of the entire Atlantic Alliance, as well as those of the international community as a whole. The Soviet and republic governments should adopt firm measures to prevent the

export of nuclear or other potentially destabilising military technologies. We urge restraint in the development of conventional military forces that by their size and character could exacerbate political tensions, retard market economic reform, and contradict efforts toward lower and more stable levels of forces as embodied in the CFE Treaty. Because it reduces the dangers of instability and enhances openness, the CFE Treaty is in everyone's interest, including those of the Soviet Union and the republics.

4. The Allies are firmly convinced that political change should be accompanied by economic liberty and the building of market economies. We support the development of economic policies that promote trade and economic cooperation among republics in the interest of growth and stability. In this context, it is essential that all the republics assume their appropriate responsibilities vis-à-vis Soviet international obligations, which would facilitate integration of the Union and the republics into the world economy. Newly established links with the international financial institutions should facilitate rapid reform towards the development of a market economy as the basis for economic recovery and prosperity for the Union and the republics. The Allies stand ready to assist in this historic undertaking, including through technical assistance in key sectors. In addition, we are providing humanitarian support to the Soviet peoples as they cope with the political and economic crises that confront them. We consider such assistance a vital contribution to the future security of Europe and of the world as a whole.

5. We hope that leaders and authorities at all levels throughout the Union and the republics will demonstrate their commitment to the values and principles we have reaffirmed in this statement.

6. The North Atlantic Council will continue to consult actively on developments in the Soviet Union, with a view to harmonising our approach towards unfolding events.

*Note: The declaration was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary but was not issued as a White House press release.*

## Declaration on Peace and Cooperation by the Heads of State and Government Participating in the Meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Rome

*November 8, 1991*

1. We, the Heads of State and Government of the member countries of the North Atlantic Alliance, have gathered in Rome to open a new chapter in the history of our Alliance. The far-reaching decisions we have taken here mark an important stage in the transformation of NATO that we launched in London last year.

2. The world has changed dramatically. The Alliance has made an essential contribution. The peoples of North America and the whole of Europe can now join in a community of shared values based on freedom, democracy, human rights and the rule of law. As an agent of change, a source of stability and the indispensable guarantor of its members' security, our Alliance will continue to play a key role in building a new, lasting order of peace in Europe: a Europe of cooperation and prosperity.

### A New Security Architecture

3. The challenges we will face in this new Europe cannot be comprehensively addressed by one institution alone, but only in a framework of interlocking institutions tying together the countries of Europe and North America. Consequently, we are working toward a new European security architecture in which NATO, the CSCE, the European Community, the WEU and the Council of Europe complement each other. Regional frameworks of cooperation will also be important. This interaction will be of the greatest significance in preventing instability and divisions that could result from various causes, such as economic disparities and violent nationalism.

### The Future Role of the Alliance: Our New Strategic Concept

4. Yesterday, we published our new Strategic Concept. Our security has substantially improved: we no longer face the old threat of a massive attack. However, prudence requires us to maintain an overall strategic balance and to remain ready to

meet any potential risks to our security which may arise from instability or tension. In an environment of uncertainty and unpredictable challenges, our Alliance, which provides the essential transatlantic link as demonstrated by the significant presence of North American forces in Europe, retains its enduring value. Our new strategic concept reaffirms NATO's core functions and allows us, within the radically changed situation in Europe, to realise in full our broad approach to stability and security encompassing, political, economic, social, and environmental aspects, along with the indispensable defence dimension. Never has the opportunity to achieve our Alliance's objectives by political means, in keeping with Articles 2 and 4 of the Washington Treaty, been greater. Consequently, our security policy can now be based on three mutually reinforcing elements: dialogue; cooperation; and the maintenance of a collective defence capability. The use, as appropriate, of these elements will be particularly important to prevent or manage crises affecting our security.

5. The military dimension of our Alliance remains an essential factor; but what is new is that, more than ever, it will serve a broad concept of security. The Alliance will maintain its purely defensive purpose, its collective arrangements based on an integrated military structure as well as cooperation and coordination agreements, and for the foreseeable future an appropriate mix of conventional and nuclear forces. Our military forces will adjust to their new tasks, becoming smaller and more flexible. Thus, our conventional forces will be substantially reduced as will, in many cases, their readiness. They will also be given increased mobility to enable them to react to a wide range of contingencies, and will be organised for flexible build-up, when necessary, for crisis management as well as defence. Multinational formations will play a greater

role within the integrated military structure. Nuclear forces committed to NATO will be greatly reduced: the current NATO stockpile of sub-strategic weapons in Europe will be cut by roughly 80% in accordance with the decisions taken by the Nuclear Planning Group in Taormina. The fundamental purpose of the nuclear forces of the Allies remains political: to preserve peace, and prevent war or any kind of coercion.

#### European Security Identity and Defence Role

6. We reaffirm the consensus expressed by our Ministers of Foreign Affairs in Copenhagen. The development of a European security identity and defence role, reflected in the further strengthening of the European pillar within the Alliance, will reinforce the integrity and effectiveness of the Atlantic Alliance. The enhancement of the role and responsibility of the European members is an important basis for the transformation of the Alliance. These two positive processes are mutually reinforcing. We are agreed, in parallel with the emergence and development of a European security identity and defence role, to enhance the essential transatlantic link that the Alliance guarantees and fully to maintain the strategic unity and indivisibility of security of all our members. The Alliance is the essential forum for consultation among its members and the venue for agreement on policies bearing on the security and defence commitments of allies under the Washington Treaty. Recognizing that it is for the European allies concerned to decide what arrangements are needed for the expression of a common European foreign and security policy and defence role, we further agree that, as the two processes advance, we will develop practical arrangements to ensure the necessary transparency and complementarity between the European security and defence identity as it emerges in the Twelve and the WEU, and the Alliance.

7. We welcome the spirit in which those Allies who are also members of the Twelve and the WEU have kept the other members of the Alliance informed about the progress of their ongoing discussions on the development of the European identity and about

other issues, such as their peace efforts in Yugoslavia. Appropriate links and consultation procedures between the Twelve and the WEU, and the Alliance will be developed in order to ensure that the Allies that are not currently participating in the development of a European identity in foreign and security policy and defence should be adequately involved in decisions that may affect their security. The Alliance's new strategic concept, being an agreed conceptual basis for the forces of all Allies, should facilitate the necessary complementarity between the Alliance and the emerging defence component of the European integration process. As the transformation of the Alliance proceeds, we intend to preserve the operational coherence we now have and on which our defence depends. We welcome the perspective of a reinforcement of the role of the WEU, both as the defence component of the process of European unification and as a means of strengthening the European pillar of the Alliance, bearing in mind the different nature of its relations with the Alliance and with the European Political Union.

8. We note the gradual convergence of views in the discussions concerning the developing European security identity and defence role compatible with the common defence policy we already have in our Alliance. We feel confident that in line with the consensus in Copenhagen, the result will contribute to a strong new transatlantic partnership by strengthening the European component in a transformed Alliance. We will help move this development forward.

#### Relations with the Soviet Union and the Other Countries of Central and Eastern Europe: A Qualitative Step Forward

9. We have consistently encouraged the development of democracy in the Soviet Union and the other countries of Central and Eastern Europe. We therefore applaud the commitment of these countries to political and economic reform following the rejection of totalitarian communist rule by their peoples. We salute the newly recovered independence of the Baltic States. We will support all steps in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe towards

reform and will give practical assistance to help them succeed in this difficult transition. This is based on our conviction that our own security is inseparably linked to that of all other States in Europe.

10. The Alliance can aid in fostering a sense of security and confidence in these countries, thereby strengthening their ability to fulfil their CSCE commitments and make democratic change irrevocable. Wishing to enhance its contribution to the emergence of a Europe whole and free, our Alliance at its London Summit extended to the Central and Eastern European countries the hand of friendship and established regular diplomatic liaison. Together we signed the Paris Joint Declaration. In Copenhagen last June, the Alliance took further initiatives to develop partnership with these countries. Our extensive programme of high level visits, exchanges of views on security and other related issues, intensified military contacts, and exchanges of expertise in various fields has demonstrated its value and contributed greatly to building a new relationship between NATO and these countries. This is a dynamic process: the growth of democratic institutions throughout Central and Eastern Europe and encouraging cooperative experiences, as well as the desire of these countries for closer ties, now call for our relations to be broadened, intensified and raised to a qualitatively new level.

11. Therefore, as the next step, we intend to develop a more institutional relationship of consultation and cooperation on political and security issues. We invite, at this stage of the process, the Foreign Ministers of the Republic of Bulgaria, the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, the Republic of Estonia, the Republic of Hungary, the Republic of Latvia, the Republic of Lithuania, the Republic of Poland, the Republic of Romania, and the Soviet Union to join our Foreign Ministers in December 1991 in Brussels to issue a joint political declaration to launch this new era of partnership and to define further the modalities and content of this process. In particular, we propose the following activities:

—annual meetings with the North Atlantic Council at Ministerial level in what might be called a North Atlantic Coop-

eration Council;

- periodic meetings with the North Atlantic Council at Ambassadorial level;
- additional meetings with the North Atlantic Council at Ministerial or Ambassadorial level as circumstances warrant;
- regular meetings, at intervals to be mutually agreed, with:
- NATO subordinate committees, including the Political and Economic Committees;
- the Military Committee and under its direction other NATO Military Authorities.

This process will contribute to the achievement of the objectives of the CSCE without prejudice to its competence and mechanisms. It will be carried out in accordance with the core functions of the Alliance.

12. Our consultations and cooperation will focus on security and related issues where Allies can offer their experience and expertise, such as defence planning, democratic concepts of civilian-military relations, civil/military coordination of air traffic management, and the conversion of defence production to civilian purposes. Our new initiative will enhance participation of our partners in the "Third Dimension" of scientific and environmental programmes of our Alliance. It will also allow the widest possible dissemination of information about NATO in the Central and Eastern European countries, inter alia through diplomatic liaison channels and our embassies. We will provide the appropriate resources to support our liaison activities.

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe

13. We remain deeply committed to strengthening the CSCE process, which has a vital role to play in promoting stability and democracy in Europe in a period of historic change. We will intensify our efforts to enhance the CSCE's role, in the first instance by working with the other participating CSCE states to ensure that the Helsinki Follow-Up Meeting in 1992 will be another major step towards building a new Europe. The CSCE has the outstanding advantage of being the only forum that brings together

all countries of Europe and Canada and the United States under a common code of human rights, fundamental freedoms, democracy, rule of law, security, and economic liberty. The new CSCE institutions and structures, which we proposed at our London Summit and which were created at the Paris Summit, must be consolidated and further developed so as to provide CSCE with the means to help ensure full implementation of the Helsinki Final Act, the Charter of Paris, and other relevant CSCE documents and thus permit the CSCE to meet the new challenges which Europe will have to face. Our consultations within the Alliance continue to be a source of initiatives for strengthening the CSCE.

14. Consequently, we will actively support the development of the CSCE to enhance its capacity as the organ for consultation and cooperation among all participating States, capable of effective action in line with its new and increased responsibilities, in particular on the questions of human rights and security including arms control and disarmament, and for effective crisis management and peaceful settlement of disputes, consistent with international law and CSCE principles. To this end, we suggest:

- that the CSCE Council, the central forum for political consultations, continue to take decisions on questions relating to the CSCE and the functions and structures of the CSCE institutions;
- that the Committee of Senior Officials serve as the coordination and management body between Council sessions and that it acquire a greater operational capacity and meet more frequently, with a view to ensuring the implementation of decisions;
- that the CSCE's conflict prevention and crisis management capabilities be improved: as one contribution, in addition to the functions entrusted to it by the Paris Charter, the means available to the Conflict Prevention Centre should be strengthened and made more flexible to enable it to fulfil the specific tasks assigned to it by the CSCE Council and the Committee of Senior Officials;
- that specific tasks based on a precise

mandate by the CSCE Council or the Committee of Senior Officials might be entrusted to ad hoc groups;

- that the decisions taken at the Helsinki Follow-up Meeting ensure complementarity among CSCE activities in the security field including, inter alia, conflict prevention, arms control and consultations on security;
- that consideration should be given within the CSCE to develop further the CSCE's capability to safeguard, through peaceful means, human rights, democracy and the rule of law in cases of clear, gross and uncorrected violations of relevant CSCE commitments, if necessary in the absence of the consent of the state concerned;
- that the Office for Free Elections be transformed into a broadly focused Office of Democratic Institutions to promote cooperation in the fields of human rights, democracy and the rule of law;
- that the monitoring and promotion of progress on human dimension issues be continued in the form of periodic meetings of short duration on clearly defined issues;
- that further political impetus be given to economic, scientific and environmental cooperation so as to promote the basis of prosperity for stable, democratic development.

#### Arms Control

15. We strongly support President Bush's initiative of 27th September 1991 which has opened new prospects for nuclear arms reduction. We also welcome President Gorbachev's response. We particularly applaud the decision of both sides to eliminate their nuclear warheads for ground-launched short-range weapons systems. The Allies concerned, through their consultations, have played a central role in President Bush's decision which fulfilled the SNF arms control objectives of the London Declaration. They will continue close consultations on the process of the elimination of ground-based SNF warheads until its completion. We will continue to work for security at minimum levels of nuclear arms suf-

ficient to preserve peace and stability. We look forward to the early ratification of the recently signed START agreement.

16. We note with satisfaction the recent achievements in the fields of conventional arms control and disarmament. We reiterate the paramount importance we attach to the CFE Treaty and call upon all CFE signatories to move forward promptly with its ratification and implementation. We urge our negotiating partners to work with us to reach substantial agreements in the CFE IA and CSBM negotiations, and remain dedicated to achieving concrete results by the time of the CSCE Helsinki Follow-Up Meeting. We welcome the resumption of the Open Skies negotiations; we look forward to agreement on an Open Skies regime by the time of the Helsinki Meeting as an important new element in greater openness and confidence-building in the military field.

17. The Helsinki Meeting will mark a turning point in the arms control and disarmament process in Europe, now with the participation of all CSCE states. This will offer a unique opportunity to move this process energetically forward. Our goal will be to shape a new cooperative order, in which no country needs to harbour fears for its security, by:

- strengthening security and stability at lower levels of armed forces to the extent possible and commensurate with individual legitimate security needs both inside and outside of Europe;
- conducting an intensified security dialogue within a permanent framework and fostering a new quality of transparency and cooperation about armed forces and defence policies; and
- promoting effective mechanisms and instruments for conflict prevention.

18. The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and of their means of delivery undermines international security. Transfers of conventional armaments beyond legitimate defensive needs to regions of tension make the peaceful settlement of disputes less likely. We support the establishment by the United Nations of a universal nondiscriminatory register of conventional arms

transfers. We support steps undertaken to address other aspects of proliferation and other initiatives designed to build confidence and underpin international security. We also deem it essential to complete a global, comprehensive and effectively verifiable ban on chemical weapons next year. We welcome the positive results of the Third Review Conference of the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention, in particular the decision to explore the feasibility of verification.

#### Broader Challenges

19. Our Strategic Concept underlines that Alliance security must take account of the global context. It points out risks of a wider nature, including proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, disruption of the flow of vital resources and actions of terrorism and sabotage, which can affect Alliance security interests. We reaffirm the importance of arrangements existing in the Alliance for consultation among the Allies under Article 4 of the Washington Treaty and, where appropriate, coordination of our efforts including our responses to such risks. We will continue to address broader challenges in our consultations and in the appropriate multilateral forums in the widest possible cooperation with other states.

20. The North Atlantic Alliance was founded with two purposes: the defence of the territory of its members, and the safeguarding and promotion of the values they share. In a still uncertain world, the need for defence remains. But in a world where the values which we uphold are shared ever more widely, we gladly seize the opportunity to adapt our defences accordingly; to cooperate and consult with our new partners; to help consolidate a now undivided continent of Europe; and to make our Alliance's contribution to a new age of confidence, stability and peace.

21. We express our deep appreciation for the gracious hospitality extended to us by the Government of the Italian Republic.

*Note: The declaration was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary but was not issued as a White House press release.*

## Remarks to the American Seminary Community in Vatican City November 8, 1991

Thank you very much. I must say you guys know how to make somebody feel at home. May I say what an honor it has been for me to have all this time with His Holiness. I shouldn't talk about what we talk about, but we had a major tour d'horizon, touching on all the trouble spots, and I had an opportunity to express my profound gratitude to the Holy Father for the spiritual and moral leadership, his commitment to peace, and the message that he sends across the world to all of these countries. It's a message of hope, and it is indeed a message of peace.

So, it was a privilege for me as President of the United States to have this time with the Holy Father. And may I express, Your

Holiness, our gratitude, from Barbara and me, from Jim and Susan Baker, and from this enormous traveling squad that we had inside. *[Laughter]* I believe the Holy Father was wondering if anybody was left back in the United States. *[Laughter]* But now we see that there are plenty here representing the spirit of this country. And bless you in your work, and God bless the United States.

Thank you very, very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 2:00 p.m. in the Sala Clementina at the Vatican. Pope John Paul II accompanied the President. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

## The President's News Conference in Rome, Italy November 8, 1991

### *NATO Summit*

*The President.* Let me get my brainpower up here. Well, let me just make a brief statement, and then I'll be glad to respond to a handful of questions.

This alliance has been an extraordinary success. The cold war, the division of Europe, the East-West military struggle are no longer subject for leaders but for historians. But I won't dwell on NATO's successful past. I want to talk about NATO's future.

The Rome summit is a landmark event, for here we took decisive steps in transforming the Atlantic alliance. In so doing, we demonstrated that NATO does not require a Soviet enemy to hold it together. And yesterday we approved a new strategic doctrine reflecting the revolutionary changes that have taken place. NATO forces will be smaller, more mobile, more flexible, able to protect any ally against any threat.

The doctrine provides for the elimination of U.S. land-based short-range nuclear forces, based on the recent United States

initiative. And today we approved a declaration on peace and partnership establishing an extensive liaison program with the emerging democracies in the East. This program will address specific needs of these countries: Defense conversion, civil-military relations, environmental problems, et cetera.

We institutionalized our relations with these countries by establishing a North Atlantic Cooperation Council. And this Council will hold its first meeting in Brussels next month.

We also issued a special NATO statement on the dramatic transformation of the Soviet Union. The statement welcomes the new opportunity for democracy throughout the U.S.S.R. and lays out agreed principles to guide our policies during these momentous changes. It stresses that the revolution taking place should be carried out peacefully, democratically, and with full respect for individual and minority rights.

We're also calling upon Soviet and Republic leaders to implement the CFE,

START, and all other international obligations, as well as to maintain safe and responsible control of nuclear weapons.

We're going to intensify our consultations in NATO to maintain a common Atlantic approach to the volatile situation in the Soviet Union.

This summit gave me the chance to share with our partners our view on the future of the alliance and the United States in the security of Europe. European and American security is indivisible, and the U.S. will maintain its commitment to Europe in this new era. Because of its Atlantic character, the alliance cannot be replaced, even in the long run. The alliance is the guarantor of the security and stability of Europe.

We're developing a more balanced partnership with our European allies. European unity will strengthen the alliance. It will neither diminish the need for NATO nor substitute for it in the defense of its members.

And our allies share these views. Chancellor Kohl's remarks in the Bundestag in Bonn on Wednesday could not have made this more clear. We and our allies have succeeded in adapting and renewing this alliance for the new world.

So all and all, it was a dramatic meeting, a shift taking consideration of the marvelous changes around the world, and I think every member there feels that it was highly successful.

I'll be glad to take a few questions.

#### *NATO Unity*

*Q.* Mr. President, is there not a lot of dissension within the alliance, France in particular? First, the force question in Europe and now—

*The President.* You say, did I detect a lot of dissension?

*Q.* Is there not a lot of dissension within the alliance, with France in particular?

*The President.* No, I don't think there's a lot of dissension in the alliance. The question was: Is there a lot of dissension in the alliance, particularly considering France's position? No, I don't think so. I think if you'll look at the text of what was said or what was put out, I think you'll see that France is still strongly supportive of an American presence here. And so I wouldn't

say that at all.

Now, when you have frank discussions in a group as big as NATO, are there going to be some nuances of difference? Of course, there are differences. But I think on this instance, France was most constructive. I had a good, long talk bilaterally with François Mitterrand this morning, and I'm more sure than ever that the answer I'm giving you is correct.

*Q.* What about the disassociation from the statement regarding the Soviet Union?

*The President.* Well, that's an area where there are some differences. Now, here's a question, it's a good question, but I don't think that suggests that there are great divisions inside the alliance. There have been exceptions taken, footnotes taken in the past on announced positions. And the fact that they view treating the internals in the Soviet Union slightly different than we do or some of the other members do, I don't think should be interpreted as dissension in the alliance.

It points out, however, that strong countries, strong-willed leaders from large countries or small, can disagree and still have the alliance going forward in the way I think the documents proclaim.

#### *NATO Relations with the Eastern European Republics*

*Q.* Mr. President, you spoke about clasping the outreached hand of the fledgling democracies of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Apart from this Council on Cooperation, do you envision full NATO membership for these countries?

*The President.* I think it's a little premature on that. And let's get going now on this Council. Let's consult with them. Let's make them know that we have keen interest in their security and in their economic well-being. But I think it's premature to go beyond that.

*Q.* Down the road, though? Is that—

*The President.* Well, I just think it's premature now. Let's go forward with this new mechanism and see how successful it is.

#### *Tax Cuts*

*Q.* Sir, I'd like to turn to the domestic front. Rostenkowski—sorry about the



throat—Rostenkowski—

*The President.* It's better that way. [Laughter]

*Q.* Oh, good one. Your friend Rostenkowski now has openly come out for taxes. Are you ready to join him in this, on the tax cuts, rather? And also, higher taxes, tax cuts for the middle class and higher taxes—

*Q. The President.* I'm not interested in higher tax cuts [increases] on the American people. I think that there was a pretty good message sent to the voters in New Jersey the other day about that one. And so I don't think that's too swift an idea. However, I have not seen Rosty's total proposal. And I want to look at it carefully. I'd love to be in a position to pledge every American, whatever, a tax cut. But I don't want to do that when I can't see how I can do that and keep it inside the budget agreement.

Interest rates are in good shape now in the United States. Soon they're going to kick in and stimulate this economy and renew confidence in this economy. But you notice when tax cuts were proposed 2 weeks ago, long-term interest rates shot right through the roof. I have a responsibility, I think, to see that I don't make proposals that will set back the economy, not just in the longer run but in the short run. So, I'll take a look at what Danny's got, but I cannot endorse the part of it that you're talking about here and that you asked me about.

*Q.* But, sir, he would pay for it with higher taxes in the upper brackets: a 35-percent rate plus a 10-percent surcharge for millionaires.

*The President.* Well, my worry about taxing somebody else is it always ends up in everybody's pocket. And I worry a little bit that, well, we're just going to tax somebody else. We've heard the Government do this, talk about that. So, I'd have to give it a lot of thought before I could support—if that's what he's doing. I would have to wait.

*Q.* You're not enthusiastic about the idea?

*The President.* I'm not enthusiastic about increasing taxes. I learned that one the hard way.

## AIDS

*Q.* Mr. President, this is another sharp right turn, but I'm sure you're aware the

entire country is talking about Magic Johnson.

*The President.* Oh, yes.

*Q.* I'd like to, first of all, get your feelings on that, and secondly, let you respond to criticism that's been leveled by AIDS activists and even by a Presidential commission that this is an area where you really haven't sufficiently led the Nation on; not a question of how much money you spend but a question of attitudes.

*The President.* Yes. Well, let me first say about Magic Johnson, he's a hero to me, to everybody that loves sports, I think to everybody across this country. I believe he's on our fitness commission. And I just can't tell you the high regard that I have for this athlete. And I can empathize with him. I did catch a little bit of it on television, his statement here, saw the heartbreak of some of the kids that idolize him. And so it's a tragedy, but handled well. And I don't want to sound like this is some—carrying it further than it is because he might do very, very well, indeed, but I think he's a gentleman who has handled his problem in a wonderful way.

Now, in terms of allegations that I am not interested in AIDS people or not providing proper leadership, I hope that's not true. You say don't discuss funding, but we have increased funding dramatically for AIDS. We've got fantastic research going on at NIH and elsewhere to do something about AIDS. But Susan [Susan Spencer, CBS News], look at it this way: If there's more I can do to empathize, to make clear what AIDS is and what it isn't, I want to go the extra mile, because my heart goes out to them. I've been to hospitals and seen them. I've talked to some of the victims of AIDS. And I can't say I've done enough; of course, I haven't. But I don't like the allegation, if it is, that I don't care because I do very, very much.

*Q.* One of the main areas of criticism from the Presidential Commission and others has been the immigration policy that restricts people with the AIDS virus from even coming into this country.

*The President.* It doesn't do that, though, you see.

*Q.* The allegation being that this conveys

a wrong message to people about discrimination.

*The President.* Well, this is a health problem, and that part of it should be treated in a health manner. And I have great confidence in Secretary Sullivan. And I think some have, some of the most active groups, who, incidentally, I think, hurt the cause. I think some of the machinations of ACT-UP, which is an extreme organization, hurt the cause of understanding, denying people the right to speak. This doesn't help the cause. So, I'm not defensive on that part of it at all. And I think the conference that people were permitted to come in, some just didn't want to because of what they felt the message conveyed.

But I think we're doing well as an administration. But if I need to do more, and Barbara does, to express the concern we feel, we'll do it. I say Barbara because I think she is trying very hard also. When you hold those little AIDS babies in your arms I think that sends a powerful message, not just of love but of what AIDS is and is not.

#### *U.S. Role in NATO*

*Q.* Mr. President, Secretary Baker said yesterday afternoon that the United States would be the leader of the NATO alliance for a long time to come. Could you explain, sir, for the benefit of an average American, why that role is necessary and beneficial for such average people?

*The President.* NATO has kept the peace for 40 years, over 40 years. In the last 2 or 3 years, we've seen dramatic changes in the entire world. A monolithic, powerful Soviet Union is no longer the enemy. The enemy is uncertainty. The enemy is unpredictability. The friend is stability. And so what an ongoing NATO, with its pared-down but quick response and highly effective force, will do is to guarantee against insecurity, against instability, and guarantee security.

I think it's important when you see the development in the Soviet Union—which is to some degree unpredictable, where we're going to be in terms of those Republics and how they sort out their relationship with the center—when you see the turmoil in Yugoslavia today, all is not serene. One can't predict with totality where these events will lead us.

And we've got a stake in it. History shows that we have a stake in a peaceful Europe. And so, it's that that I would say to the American people. And I would also say because of the way this has been handled and because of the changes in the world, we are going to be able to participate fully, but at reduced levels of U.S. troop commitment. And that goes along with it.

So, I'd say to the isolationists in the United States: Look at your history. Don't pull back into some fortress America. You just have to look back over your shoulder at the Persian Gulf and look at the recent changes in Europe and understand that it is in our interest to have a strong participation in this Atlantic alliance.

*Q.* Given the impulse, sir, in Europe to the amount of defense forces that are European, why is it now necessary for the United States to have this leadership role with all the expense and risk that goes with it?

*The President.* Because it is in our interest to be a participant in the Atlantic alliance. We're not just doing this just for somebody else; we're doing it for ourselves. And all you have to do is go back a little further into history to understand why I'm saying this. And I'm talking about the grand war, World War II. And I think that it's very, very important that we be full participants.

#### *Aid to the Soviet Union*

*Q.* You've had for some time, I believe, now, Secretary Madigan's recommendation to grant additional agricultural credits to the Soviet Union, or credit guarantees. Why is this still being delayed, sir?

*The President.* I had an opportunity to discuss a proposal with Mr. Gorbachev. We came back and had consultations with our Agricultural Department officials, Madigan, Crowder, and others. One of them will be back over there very soon. I'll be meeting with Ed Madigan as soon as this finishes up. And a deal just has not been finalized. Are we willing to help the Soviet Union get through a difficult winter by giving agricultural credits? The answer is yes. Do we want to have the credits secured as best we can? The answer to that question is yes, too. And therein lies a complication that has not

been resolved.

*Q.* Are you in any way deterred, sir, by the suggestion that you should be using whatever that might cost in the Soviet Union to help people back home?

*The President.* No, I'm not deterred by that. I can understand the sentiment that some say, but I don't think that the U.S. can withdraw from its commitment. And I think the U.S., whoever it is in the U.S., takes pride that when people are hurting and people are desperately hungry the Government tries to help, abroad and at home.

#### *Sanctions Against Yugoslavia*

*Q.* Mr. President, what's your reaction to the decision by the European Community to impose sanctions against Yugoslavia?

*The President.* We're going to take a look at that now. The question, if you didn't hear in the back, sorry. Well, he just said, what was my reaction to the EC move this morning to place sanctions on Yugoslavia, EC sanctions against Yugoslavia. We're taking a hard look at that. The Secretary and I will be discussing it, and we will have more to say on that in the not-too-distant future.

So, I can't fault what they're doing at all. In fact, I congratulate the EC for the leadership role they have taken in trying to resolve the difficulties between these various entities in Yugoslavia. I can't tell you what the final U.S. position is going to be yet because I've not made a final decision.

*Q.* But do you have any reaction to their call for the United Nations to impose an oil embargo?

*The President.* Do I have any what?

*Q.* They've asked that the U.N. impose an oil embargo.

*The President.* No, but we will have a U.S. position on that fairly soon. This just happened this morning.

#### *Health Care Reform*

*Q.* Senate Republicans have now unveiled a plan to reform health care and provide access to Americans who now do not have access to affordable health care. Do you have a view of their particular plan? And in general, given the political potency of this issue, do you plan for your administration to come forward with its own plan before the

election next year?

*The President.* I would think that before the election next year, we will. I will say there are 30 health plans, I think it's 30, that have been put forward by Members of Congress. Some of them have very strong merit to them, and some of them have enormous drawbacks because of the costs to all Americans, the prohibitive costs. But I'd like to have a comprehensive health care plan that I can vigorously take to the American people. We're moving forward with certain portions of health care now, as you've heard from Secretary Sullivan. It's a matter of concern. And I think the answer to your question will be yes, Susan.

#### *'91 Elections*

*Q.* Were you surprised by how that issue resonated in the Pennsylvania Senate race? And do you think there's a message there? Do you see a particular message in that?

*The President.* Listen, any time a good man loses, and that's what happened in Thornburgh's race, I'm interested in what the message is. But I don't know what one ingredient it was in that race. But I know there were an awful lot of other races in the country—whether it was people interested in health care—that went the other way, in governorships and the sweeping victories in the State of New Jersey, where people sorted out the priorities that we've been talking about here, "Hey, do you want me to go out and raise taxes on the American people?" And over and over again, wham, the answer was no.

So, it's what kind of perspective you put it in. But I have great regrets over the Thornburgh race because I know he'd have been an outstanding Senator, and he was an outstanding Attorney General. But the details of it, I can't assert that you're correct in your hypothesis there.

#### *Economic Growth Programs*

*Q.* Mr. President, has the election this week changed your view about how fast you should propose an economic stimulus program or the substance of what such a program might contain?

*The President.* No, the election has not changed my view. We've had ingredients of

a stimulation package before the American people for a long, long time. The Congress now has set a date, I think, of the 22d of November, but as I said when I postponed my trip to the Orient, I'm not sure I believe it. The first date was November 2d or 4th, and it's now been set back to the 22d, and let's see. I know what my hopes are in that regard, but let's see.

So, I don't feel under any election pressure. I would like to see the Congress go forward and get this transportation bill. That's got growth potential. I would like to see a capital gains cut. They are labeling this as a tax cut for the rich in spite of the success that it had under bipartisan partisanship and under Bill Steiger back in '78. So, we've put forward IRA's that will help with homebuying, for example.

So, I've got my ideas out there, and the Congress, for various political reasons, want to do it their way. When you don't control either House of the Congress, you have to deal with their ideas. They aren't willing to bring forward mine. And so, I'd like to see them do what we've got forward because I think there are things that can be done to stimulate the economy.

I might say one that isn't a Government move was the cutting of the interest rates the other day. I cannot help but feel that the interest rates at these rather historic lows will have a stimulative effect on the economy at some point. But when they get these gloomy reports out of politicians who can only profit if things are going badly, you have to let that be sorted out by the American people. And that's what's happening out there.

I would hate to be a fellow that thought the only way I could get a job is to have everything going badly for our country. And that seems to be the mentality there. But I'm going to have to resist nice-sounding things that are counterproductive. But I'd like to encourage the Congress to go forward with some of the ideas we've put forward.

### *Italy and NATO*

*Q.* Mr. President, I have two questions, if I may, sir.

*The President.* You get one, but they call it a follow-on. You can use that technique.

[*Laughter*]

*Q.* Well, they're on two different subjects—[*laughter*].

*The President.* They're shaking you off here. [*Laughter*]

*Q.* You just talked now, in the Rome declaration, talked about smaller, more flexible NATO forces. Does that involve the closing of some of your United States bases in Italy? And, second question—

*The President.* Related to the first is what?

*Q.* It's on a small bilateral issue. Is your administration going to accede to the Italian Government request for the transfer under the Strasbourg convention to an Italian jailing of Signore Baraldini, an Italian citizen convicted of terrorism 9 years ago in the United States?

*The President.* Fortunately, the last party is unrelated to the first, and therefore, I'll only take the first part of the question, meaning I don't know the answer to the second part of your question. But maybe somebody can help me on that.

And what was the first part of your question?

*Q.* Yes, smaller, more flexible force—

*The President.* I don't think there are any plans of that nature regarding our announced cuts with NATO. Italy has been a strong, wonderful supporter of NATO. And I know of no plans in our structuring that would result in that at this moment.

Let me say I don't want to avoid your question on the Baraldini matter, but I just don't know the answer to it. Maybe we can get up with you later. [*Laughter*] It seems that nobody else knows the answer to it, and it's a very good question. I'm very sorry.

### *Postponement of Asia-Pacific Trip*

*Q.* Mr. President, in Texas last week you gave a rousing defense of your attention to foreign policy and your travels, and then a few days later you canceled the Asia trip, citing the congressional schedule. The reality, though, next year are we not going to see you stay put?

*The President.* No, you're not going to see me stay put. I am not going to forsake my responsibilities. You may not see me put as

much—I mean, un-put as much. [Laughter]  
Q. Will the Japan trip not have to be postponed until after the elections?

*The President.* The Japan trip will be rescheduled, before the elections. I want to do it before the elections. I'd like to do it fairly soon. It is very important. You know, it's interesting—this is for the foreign journalists—I was accused of canceling a foreign trip for political reasons. When the trip was scheduled, the Congress had said they were going to adjourn on November 2d or November 4th. I felt, therefore, I could safely sally forth from the United States and go out to Asia.

So, we canceled the trip, and then some very knowledgeable foreign policy reporters say, "Hey, you're neglecting Asia. This is a terrible thing. You're not going to Japan, which is a very important trading partner."

I guess both have some credibility, except those who say it was canceled for politics. I canceled it because I don't want to be out of town when Congress is still in session. But I want to reschedule it, and I will reschedule it because these relationships are very important. And it is the President that is responsible for these relationships.

And in the case of Japan, for example, it is terribly important domestically. It has an enormous domestic implication. And to neglect that relationship and be driven away from it by people holding up silly T-shirts is ridiculous. Of course, I'm going to go. And this relationship with Japan is important. It's important to jobs in the State of Michigan, for openers, and many other States all across the agricultural belt. And it's important in high-tech. And it's important in terms of a lot of other things.

And so, I am not going to neglect that part of my responsibilities as President because of some carping by people that simply don't understand that it is the President that has these responsibilities.

And I will simply add for the foreign journalists: If I had had to listen to advice from the United States Senate leadership, the Democrats, or from the House, the leadership over there, to do something about the Persian Gulf, we'd have still been sitting there in the United States, fat, dumb, and happy, with Saddam Hussein maybe in Saudi Arabia. So, I had to get out and say,

"Hey, this is what we're going to do," and didn't have to depend on the good will of Congress to get it done. Most of the leaders in the Congress opposed what I did or were in opposition one way or another.

And so, I am not going to neglect my responsibilities. I am going to do as better job as I possibly can on showing the concerns I feel and hopefully, in spite of the opposition of Congress, try to find answers to some of the problems that are plaguing the American people. People are hurting there, and they need help. But they don't need the President to forswear his obligations for national security and foreign affairs.

That's a brief summation of how strongly I feel, and I can elaborate on that if anybody would like.

### *Abortion*

Q. Mr. President, those House and Senate leaders you just referred to got a bill passed in both Houses this week which overturns your ban on abortion counseling in family planning clinics. Will you veto that, and why?

*The President.* You know, the argument—this is a domestic issue here—the argument was the gag rule, the keeping patients from talking to their doctors about any array of options. That was the argument. That was the debate. You go back and look at the clips and look at some of the stories that were written. It is a patient-doctor relationship that people were arguing about. They were saying you were gagging doctors from giving patients any solution they wanted. That has been resolved by a directive from me to the Secretary of HHS. So, it is no longer the question.

Now, somebody has some other ideas on that. But I will veto the legislation and get the veto sustained, and I already have taken care of "the gag rule" about which this was about. Now, there are some other aspects of it on abortion where I just have a difference with the Congress, a standing difference with them. But on the gag rule, it is important to note that matter has been resolved. And clearly, under my directive, they can go ahead, patients and doctors can talk about absolutely anything they want,

and they should be able to do that.

But let's not lose sight of what the argument was a few months ago when this first came out, was the alleged prohibition of a person to talk to a doctor about abortion or about having a doctor recommend abortion. That matter has been resolved. So therefore, with that underway, I will then go ahead and veto the bill and hope that it is sustained.

### *The Economy*

*Q.* Mr. President, you said that your ideas for an economic growth package are on the Hill, and they won't do anything about them, the democratically controlled Congress. If that's the case, are you saying you can't do anything to help with the recession right now; you're helpless in this area?

*The President.* You see these interest rates down; I think that will help tremendously. I think avoiding breaking the budget agreement will help. I don't know that I personally, individually, can do anything without the cooperation of the leadership. Sometimes, to get something good done, you've got to beat back something bad. And that is what happens when you have a divided government with the Senate and House leaders off on a liberal tack that is very different than what I was elected to do.

*Q.* A lot of economists think that, in fact, the President should not try to fine-tune this way, and that recessions are cyclical and you come out when you come out. Do you essentially agree with that?

*The President.* Well, as I've said the other day, there's a lot of gloom and doom out of the politicians. I think there's some reason to think that, as in past recessions, the '81-'82 recession is a good example, we will come out of it. I'm not prepared to say we're in recession when you have a growth, a third-quarter growth of 2.4 percent. It's not vigorous growth. It is not the kind of growth that I'd like to see the United States have, but it is not recession. It does not fit the definition of recession. And yet, you have plenty of people around saying we are in recession.

What's happened, I think, is after that 2.4 percent growth, there's a feeling that it's been rather flat. And I don't know what the numbers are exactly, but I do remember that in the end of the '81-'82 recession I was sitting there in the Cabinet Room when some Members of Congress, both Republican and Democrat, came to President Reagan and said, you must spend this \$3 billion to create, I forget how many jobs, 100,000 jobs. You have to do it. Well, when will these jobs be created? Well, we can get them the next 6 months.

And within the next month or two, the economy itself was creating 500,000 jobs per month without the kind of band-aid legislation that these people were talking about. I remember talking to President Reagan about his wanting to do something but not do something that would be counterproductive.

So, there is this view amongst some economists that economies are cyclical and that you have ups and downs in it. And I think if you go back and look, that's been the case in history.

This recession—and this is of no comfort to somebody that's lost a job—is far less deep than the previous recession. And it is my hope that we will come on out of it, and there are some good signs. And yet, there are some troubling signs. So, we'll have to wait and see. But that is an argument for not doing anything dumb, not doing anything stupid that's going to make it worse. One thing that would make it worse is to shoot these interest rates sky-high. I would think that would guarantee the likelihood we wouldn't have a recovery.

*Note: The President's 110th news conference began at 2:50 p.m. in the living room at the U.S. Ambassador's residence. The following persons were referred to: Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany; President François Mitterrand of France; Representative Dan Rostenkowski; and former Representative Bill Steiger. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this news conference.*

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Bulgarian-American Enterprise Fund *November 8, 1991*

The Bulgarian-American Enterprise Fund was formally established on November 7, 1991. This \$50 million U.S. initiative, to be capitalized over 3 years, will promote the development of the Bulgarian private sector through equity investments, loans, grants, training, and technical assistance.

Like the enterprise funds already established for Poland, Hungary, and the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, the Bulgarian fund is a private, nonprofit organization. It will invest in Bulgaria's private sector, using its own funds and drawing on other sources of venture capital as well. It will foster the growth of private business in all sectors of the Bulgarian economy, with particular emphasis on agriculture and agribusiness: Agricultural inputs, food processing and packaging, distribution, and related areas. Drawing on its capital stock, the fund will also provide technical assistance to complement its investment activities.

The President is pleased to announce that the following distinguished American private sector leaders, representing a wide range of professional experience, have

agreed to serve as U.S. members of the Board of Directors:

### Chairman

Gary MacDougal, former chairman and CEO of Mark Controls Corp., and Public Delegate and Alternative Representative of the United States to the United Nations General Assembly.

### Members

Theodore Cooper, chairman of the board and CEO of the Upjohn Co.

William W. Erwin, farmer, board member of the Farm Credit System Assistance Board, former Assistant Secretary of Agriculture.

Edgar D. Jannotta, partner, William Blair & Co.

Marshall Lee Miller, partner, Baker & Hostetler.

These U.S. board members will be joined by Bulgarian directors at a later date. In addition, Frank Bauer, formerly vice president with Booz Allen & Hamilton, joins the fund as president.

## Address to the Nation Commemorating Veterans Day *November 9, 1991*

At the 11th hour of the 11th day of the 11th month of 1918, the guns fell silent and the First World War came to an end. Ever since, Americans have set aside November 11th to honor our veterans, our heroes, whose footsteps set the pace of freedom's march.

From the fiery birth of our Nation to freedom's latest triumph in the Persian Gulf, America's veterans have always answered the call and given their all whenever freedom was threatened or democracy imperiled.

They called World War I the war to end all wars, but that was not to be. In 1939

democracy was once again threatened, and by the end of 1941, the world was again at war. Americans fought not only for their rights and freedoms, but for those of millions of people throughout the world.

Today, however, with communism defeated and democracy sweeping the globe, our hope grows stronger that war will vanish and a more civilized world based on friendship, cooperation, and a commitment to peace will emerge.

This Veterans Day, we owe particular gratitude to the men and women veterans of Desert Storm. It is important to honor all veterans, particularly those who fought so

bravely during World War II as we prepare to commemorate the 50th anniversary of what we hope to be the last World War.

Like the veterans of World War II, Desert Storm veterans went proudly, willingly on a mission of high principle and noble purpose: to defeat aggression and defend freedom. In a faraway land they battled the enemy in the field and the inner enemy of fear. Through their sacrifice, they put an end to brutal aggression. They freed a captive nation and set America free by renewing our faith in ourselves.

From the time Operation Desert Shield began, a sacred bond grew between Americans here at home and those serving in the Gulf, much the same as it had during World War II. Think of all those yellow ribbons and those blue stars in the windows during World War II. Think of how the American family has never been more united. That

bond, that unity, and that love must be preserved.

President Coolidge said long ago, "The nation which forgets its defenders will itself be forgotten." No Commander in Chief forgets the sacrifices of America's veterans. Nor will America forget those who do the hard work of freedom.

To the men and women of our Armed Forces and to all our veterans, you know that you have your country's gratitude on Veterans Day and every day of the year.

May God bless America and the veterans who keep her free.

*Note: The President recorded this address on October 28 in Room 459 of the Old Executive Office Building for broadcast at 9 a.m. on November 9. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this address.*

## Remarks at a Luncheon Hosted by Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers of The Netherlands in The Hague November 9, 1991

Mr. Prime Minister and President Delors, Foreign Minister van den Broek, distinguished guests, thank you all. And may I especially thank Her Majesty the Queen for the extraordinary, warm, genuine hospitality that we have felt today and that Barbara and I have felt in the past as her guests, and to say what a pleasure it is to be back here once again.

It is my pleasure to meet with you at the conclusion of this, the first meeting of U.S. and EC leaders on European soil. That this is Dutch soil makes the moment all the more special, for nowhere is the moral fiber of our Atlantic community stronger.

I made my first visit to The Hague as President more than 2 years ago—Ruud Lubbers referred to this—on the eve, though, of the Revolution of 1989. And at that moment, East and West stood locked in conflict, the armed and uneasy peace we called the cold war. And yet, even then in the captive nations of Eastern Europe, the world felt those first stirrings of change.

In the stone church at Leiden, I spoke of the new spirit alive on this continent, of the new world within our reach. Today as we meet in this historic Hall of Knights, Europe stands transformed. A new world stretches out before us, a world alive with the promise of freedom.

Just 2 years ago today, the revolution swept away that stark and searing symbol of Europe's division, and that wall came crashing down. But history allows little time for celebration. With change comes new challenges: New challenges for old allies who must chart a common course in the peace that follows the cold war; new challenges for old adversaries here in Europe, making certain the nations of the East can look to their Western neighbors for help in securing their hard-won freedoms.

As we confront the future, we must not repeat the errors of the past. On my side of the Atlantic, some greeted the end of the cold war with a chorus of "Come Home, America." For them, the collapse of com-



munism meant America's engagement in Europe was finished. Nothing could be more shortsighted for Europe, for my country, and for the world.

We must heed the hard-won lessons of this century if we're to seize new opportunities in the next. We should give future historians no reason to see in 1991 a repeat of 1919: An age of naive isolationism with the world's great democracies divided and distracted, a Europe divided between victors and vanquished, oblivious to unexpected dangers. This first age of naiveté made possible the horrors of Hitler, followed by the protracted terror of the cold war. For that earlier dalliance with delusion, I think we would all agree the world paid dearly. War cost the lives of millions. Innocent generations lost the dream of freedom.

The question we face today is not so different than the one our ancestors faced in 1919. For our part, we knew how to wage cold war. But do we know how to wage the peace? We must start from the understanding that NATO is not simply a military pact joined only to face a common threat. We must recognize that our Atlantic alliance is as vital in today's volatile world as it was years ago when Europe was menaced by Stalin's army.

Our alliance was from the very first and remains today an alliance of free nations, of fellow democracies, of countries bound by the long sweep of history and shared heritage. Today, as we have been for half a century, Europe and America are partners in peace. And today, we're also partners in prosperity with strong trade ties that enrich our peoples, create new opportunities, and fuel growth.

There is no question that NATO will change. In Rome, we approved changes in the way the alliance will provide for the common defense, the way we will deal with our former adversaries, and even the way we will deal with each other. Our new defense doctrine will ensure that every ally is secure from any threat, security made credible by highly mobile, multinational forces, greatly reduced in size but unmatched in human and technological quality.

Our new NATO liaison program for Europe's youngest democracies, Poland and Hungary, Czechoslovakia and others, will

help them transform their military apparatus from a weapon of the state to the guardian of free people.

And finally, the alliance's endorsement of a European defense identity, the long-sought European Pillar, will give our European allies more responsibility in the protection of shared vital interests, cherished ideals, and the rule of law.

My country and the nations of this continent are forging a new Atlantic partnership. Think back, look over our shoulders four decades ago to the days of the Berlin blockade and the Marshall plan. Nearly all of Europe stood in ruins, half its people locked in chains. And today, Western Europe stands as a model for what democracy, the free market, and cooperation can deliver. More than 300 million people, generating fully one-fifth of the world's economic output, nations that rank among the world's most advanced and best educated.

This era of postwar prosperity has prepared Europe for larger responsibilities. We're now witnessing the new Europe in action: Working with us to help the citizens of Central and Eastern Europe transform their systems, their societies, their lives; in the Middle East, where the European Community stands with us as a partner in the quest for peace. We see the new Europe at work closer to home, striving against difficult odds to end the war in Yugoslavia.

We welcome the emergence of the new Europe, in the European Community's march toward a single market and political union, in the revival of the Western European Union, the WEU, in the EC's new accord with the European Free Trade Association. Revitalizing the Atlantic alliance and building a European Union go hand-in-hand. Both can contribute to a safe, prosperous Europe and a humane world order. A continuing American role in Europe can facilitate integration, doing that by fostering stability. And a more confident and cohesive Europe will, we believe, want the United States to remain fully engaged.

We therefore hope for continued progress at the upcoming EC summit in Maastricht because America recognizes the accelerating unity of Europe as a natural evolution toward our common aim: A commonwealth

of free nations, working in concert; a new world where more and more nations enter a widening circle of freedom. In the months and years ahead, this commonwealth will be called upon to be patient and steady, at once, resolute and ready to act.

First, we've got to write the final chapter of the cold war conflict. We must help the nations of the East secure the freedoms that they have won. In Central and Eastern Europe, the euphoria of 1989 has worn away. Each country struggles now to build a functioning free market on the ruins of the socialist systems, to rekindle a saving sense of trust essential to democratic society. These nations need our help. They need access to Western markets, financial and technical assistance to ease their transition. For 40 long years, the captive nations of the East looked West for a sign of hope. And it's time now to say to these new democracies: We will help you. More than that, after such a cold and protracted isolation, it is time for us to extend to them a warm welcome into this commonwealth of freedom.

And yet, while the urgent work of democracy-building and market reform moves forward, some see in freedom's triumph a bitter harvest. In this view, the collapse of communism has thrown open a Pandora's box of ancient ethnic hatreds, resentment, and even revenge. Some fear democracy's new freedoms will be used not to build new trust but to settle old scores.

All of Europe has awakened to the danger of an old enemy, a nationalism animated by hatred and unmoved by nobler ends. No one need fear healthy national pride, the distinctive and defining traditions, the living history that gives peoples and nations a sense of identity and principle and purpose. But we must guard against nationalism of a more sinister sort: One that feeds on old, stale prejudices, teaches people intolerance and suspicion, and even racism and anti-Semitism; one that pits nation against nation, citizen against citizen. There can be no place for these old animosities in the new Europe.

The answer lies not in suppressing the dark impulses that destroy nations but in surmounting them, cultivating a spirit of democratic tolerance and peaceful change, a concept of majority rule that respects mi-

nority rights. Democracy is not the cause of strife in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union but rather the solution. Western Europe stands as proof that in the space of little more than one generation, the spirit of democracy can transcend centuries of rivalry, war, nationalistic strife.

We see in Yugoslavia how the proud name of nationalism can splinter a country into bloody civil war. America supports, strongly supports, the efforts of the European Community to bring that conflict to an end. We salute Lord Carrington for his indefatigable efforts. And we urge all parties to stop the violence, to seek through peaceful means an immediate end to the suffering. We are ready to join the EC in holding accountable those in Yugoslavia whose parochial ambitions are perpetrating this agony.

Second, we must seize the opportunities farther east to support the democratic transformation of the Soviet Union and its Republics. Prime Minister Lubbers referred to this: That failed August coup stiffened the resolve of reformers to institute democratic change and introduce true free market reforms. We in the West must answer by offering humanitarian aid, opening our markets to goods from every Republic, encouraging investment, offering economic advice and expertise.

I believe the peoples everywhere in that vast land want change. But no shortcut can spare them suffering and hardship as they dig out from under 70 years of misrule. A harsh winter, hard times, lie ahead. And desperate times breed demagogues. America and Europe share an interest in the success of Soviet reform. Together, we must act to support the forces of liberty and democracy and free enterprise in that troubled region.

Finally, we must guard against the danger that old cold war allies will become new economic adversaries, cold warriors turned to trade warriors. There are signs on both sides of the Atlantic, frankly, that this could happen. Shrill voices on both sides peddle protectionism as the path to prosperity.

That way, in my view, lies to economic ruin, a prescription for plunging us into the kind of impoverishing rivalry that ravaged our economies during the Great Depres-

sion. As President, part of my responsibility to the American people is ensuring economic growth and opportunity. In a global economy, that means insisting on free and fair trade.

In North America, as in Europe, great progress has been made driving down trade barriers. But that progress will mean little if the world aligns itself into warring trade blocs. The principle of free trade faces a critical test in the Uruguay round. A positive outcome, one that reaffirms and extends the GATT system, will prove that the United States and the European Community, as world economic leaders, have the confidence to move decisively into a new era of free and open trade, generating jobs and opportunity on both sides of the Atlantic. And that's why I am pleased today to report that the United States and the EC have made progress in just the past few days and have pledged to spare no effort to resolve the equally significant issues that are still outstanding.

Helping the emerging democracies of Eastern Europe, supporting democratic reform in the Soviet Union and in its Republics as well, pushing forward for freer world trade: Each challenge we face constitutes a test. Each holds open an opportunity to give real meaning to strengthen the bonds that link us across the Atlantic, to open our commonwealth of free nations to all who love liberty and all who seek peace.

Thank you very much. And may God bless The Netherlands and the free peoples of Europe. Thank you.

*Note: The President spoke at 12:46 p.m. in the Ridderzaal at the Binnenhof parliamentary building complex. In his remarks, he referred to Jacques Delors, President of the European Community's Executive Commission; Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek and Queen Beatrix of The Netherlands; and Lord Peter Carrington, Chairman of the European Community's Conference on Yugoslavia. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

## The President's News Conference With Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers of The Netherlands and President Jacques Delors of the Commission of the European Community in The Hague November 9, 1991

*President Bush.* Well, let me just say that our meetings here and in Rome underline the Atlantic partnership is as important as ever. Our agenda today reflected the growing role of the European Community in Europe and beyond, and much of our international cooperation with the EC is based on the concept of responsibility-sharing. We're working together effectively in aiding Central and Eastern Europe, assisting the Soviet Union, trying to bring peace to the Middle East and Yugoslavia.

Trade was a central issue on our discussions today. The U.S.-EC economic relationship continues to grow. The United States and the EC must demonstrate the ability to lead in the economic area by successfully concluding the Uruguay round. There's total agreement on that point. I think our

talks did mark the narrowing of differences and a commitment to work to get that round concluded this year.

And we share the concern of the EC regarding the conflict in Yugoslavia. We, the United States, have concluded that further measures must be taken to hold accountable those who placed their narrow ambitions above the well-being of the peoples. And so, therefore, we will apply sanctions on Yugoslavia comparable to those of the EC. And the EC can also depend on the United States to cosponsor a new U.N. Security Council resolution on Yugoslavia, looking toward a possible oil embargo, and to cooperate fully in efforts to strengthen the embargo on arms exports to Yugoslavia.

We're very grateful to President Delors,

Prime Minister Lubbers for the conduct of the meeting today, and also to Her Majesty for the hospitality shown us here in The Netherlands.

*Prime Minister Lubbers.* As you know, we discussed a number of items this morning, spent some time on explaining the institutional arrangements we are preparing from a strict monetary union and a political union. We exchanged limited views and prepared ourselves for a conference to be held next year in Brazil about the climatological problems.

We, of course, also here spent some time on Yugoslavia, and we are very happy, as you heard from President Bush, that also the United States will contribute to the policies there in putting some pressure on the parties, as was agreed upon already within the European Community.

Most of the time, of course, this morning we have spent to invest in coming to a more common position in the Uruguay round. As the President said, we agreed that it is essential that we come to results in the last months of this year, November and December.

So, a little bit running out of time, and therefore, I'm happy that we had a good opportunity here to discuss this matter. As you have seen in the declaration which was distributed and which I am not going to read for you, we are aiming at an approach, and this is not only one aspect or another, but it is as well about agriculture as about services and intellectual property and what have you.

From the paper you can see that there is progress. We have made an important step forward. On the other hand, we want to be realistic in saying there are still a number of problems that we have to solve together. There is a remaining gap, especially in agriculture. And as we see this as a package deal, so to say, we have to negotiate further a number of elements. Naturally, negotiations have to be done in a way that they can be successful, but it will be difficult for me to be too specific on that.

Let me assure you that we will continue from here, and hopefully in a period not all too long, it will be possible for Mr. Dunkel of the GATT to come out with a proposal that can be endorsed as well by the United

States and the Community.

Thank you.

*President Delors.* Mr. Lubbers has made a full statement on the Community's side on the meeting of this morning. Let me add simply as a personal feeling that for the first time I am reasonably optimistic upon the possibility to reach an agreement in the three common—on the Uruguay round. And this is very important to deliver a very important signal to the world economy.

Thank you.

#### *Sanctions Against Yugoslavia*

*Q.* Mr. President, how extensive are the sanctions against Yugoslavia, and why is there any reason to believe that the sanctions against Yugoslavia will be any more effective than those already in place against Iraq?

*President Bush.* Well, I'm not sure how effective sanctions by themselves will be. The decision to take the sanctions was to strongly back the efforts of the EC. As I mentioned, they are not complete yet. We are going to go to the United Nations to try to strengthen the concept of oil embargo. But I don't think anybody can predict with any accuracy that sanctions alone will solve the problems in Yugoslavia, in Haiti, or in Iraq, or in other places. But it is the way that the European Community felt, backed now by the United States, that we can make our position better, clearer to the people in the various entities inside Yugoslavia.

So, they're fairly broad. I don't have a list of the specific sanctions here, but I cannot say that I think sanctions alone are going to get this job done. I hope they will.

#### *Multilateral Trade Negotiations*

*Q.* Mr. President, you spoke about the importance of accelerating the process towards European unity. The Netherlands tried in the Presidency to do so. Do you think we go fast enough, and is the lack of speed in this process a problem also in the GATT negotiations?

*President Bush.* The answer is, the manner of how fast one goes, that seems to me is a matter for Europe. And I don't believe that the failure to have all those

matters resolved should inhibit a solution to the GATT round.

*Q.* President Bush, do you think it's time to take up John Major's suggestion of a G-7 special summit on the GATT which would at least allow you to bring Japan on board, given that time is really running out fast?

*President Bush.* Well, I didn't have a chance to talk to the Prime Minister about that. I'm always interested in his suggestions; he's got very good judgment on these trade matters. But I think the first thing we must do is to follow through in the way that we've talked today, through the existing mechanism. We are trying to get this matter wrapped up soon. The next step will be, I believe, in Geneva. So, I think that's most important.

When John Major talks about getting Japan involved in various ways, I think he's on to something very important, because it's the G-7 that gives Japan a window to these broad international questions. But before I comment on his proposal, I would just simply stay with the process that we talked about here today.

*Q.* President Bush, American farmers are looking at you to deliver on freeing international trade in agriculture. Reading your joint declaration, it looks as if they haven't got much to cheer about at the moment. And I just wondered if I could ask Mr. Lubbers a question: Do you think that the U.S. Omnibus Trade Act, section 301, can still be in existence if there is to be a Uruguay round agreement?

*President Bush.* Well, on cheering about, American farmers have a lot at stake on this. Agriculture has been one of the stumbling blocks. Today we say we have made some progress. It is highly complex. As a layman, not one who has been in on all these negotiations, I can tell you I have a greater appreciation for the complexity. But to the American farmer I would say, please read the communiqué here, and say, where we've made some progress, I can enthusiastically endorse that. But if the question is, do we have all the problems of agriculture behind us so that the American farmer can rejoice, the answer is, not yet. We've got to keep on trying, though.

But I think there's a positive message here. I notice what President Delors said.

He's been engaged in this right up to his elbows since it started. And if he can say that he feels there's progress, why, I think that's a good message not just for the American farmer but for everybody.

*Prime Minister Lubbers.* Let me add to that question. As I see it, the GATT negotiations are not about serving one group in one country but have to serve all countries in order to get more economic growth. That's the main point. It's important. That's what we have to do together. That's the first thing.

The second thing is that we need a result. We came a little bit nearer to that today, as President Delors said, in order to avoid in the future all sorts of trade wars. I'm not going to brief you in formal legal formalities now, but I want to say that, of course, it would be very important to have more trade to have futures for farmers in all countries and other industries as well in a growing economy, and that we'd have to do it in such a way that we have a better chance to avoid trade wars in the future.

*Q.* And on the trade question?

*Q.* President Delors, could you explain, President Delors, why you are more optimistic and in what areas the differences have been narrowed?

*President Delors.* This is not the moment to enter into details, but it seems to me that the negotiation, the conversation last week and the meeting tomorrow morning, this morning, excuse me, this meeting provides room of maneuver in the two most important sectors, services and agriculture. But we must go on. This is not the end of the negotiation. But I have always thought that result in an increase of the demand between U.S. and the Community on the two fields, agriculture and services. It was impossible to give an impetus to the negotiation for all the countries.

*Q.* We were hearing earlier on that figures were discussed for a new agricultural compromise. Do you now have the ingredients for something you can suggest to Dunkel on creeping together between the GATT, the U.S. and the EC, on agricultural offers?

*President Delors.* We are on the tracks of a reform of the common agriculture poli-

cies. And the contribution of this reform to the negotiation of GATT is very simple to say. We intend to produce less, to import less, to import more, excuse me, and to export less. This is our contribution with the modification of our old system, and this system of agriculture in the communiqué is different from the system in the U.S. for many reasons. But the main reason is there are—[inaudible]—differences between the American agriculture and the European agriculture.

But if we produce less, we are less pressure on the world market, and this is a contribution to the GATT round to let room to maneuver for the other exporters, and notably the exporters from less developing countries.

*Q.* The American President, the question was also put to you.

*President Bush.* I agree with what Mr. Delors said. [Laughter]

#### *Yugoslavia*

*Q.* With respect to the United Nations, do you support the idea of possibly forming a peacekeeping force to intervene in Yugoslavia, assuming that your European partners agree?

*President Bush.* You're too far ahead of the power curve. We're not talking about force. We're talking about economic sanctions. And thus, I cannot answer a hypothetical question of that nature. We're just not there yet.

#### *Multilateral Trade Negotiations*

*Q.* President Bush, have you lowered your expectations in the agriculture negotiations—

*President Bush.* No.

*Q.* —because you were seeking huge cuts in subsidies?

*President Bush.* No, we haven't lowered our expectations. And I think our position publicly is well-known, but I agree with what President Delors said. I was not just brushing off the question. I really believe he said how we all feel the talks went today.

But, no, we're trying to reach an agreement, and I think our expectations, which certainly include a satisfactory solution to the agricultural problem, are about the

same as they've been.

*Q.* Mr. President, protectionist pressures are already growing in Congress, and given the coming political year, will probably grow more intense. If you're unsuccessful in these negotiations, how do you expect to hold back that pressure? And shouldn't Americans expect you to protect their interests, perhaps retaliate for what may be considered unfair trade practices?

*President Bush.* Well, I think the GATT mechanism protects American interests there, protects the interests of others. And from time to time, we have used the GATT mechanism to protect American interest. But when I use the word "protection" there, I say to guarantee fair play. Just as when people bring trade cases against us, they would say they're doing it for fair play.

On your question of broad protectionist swings in the United States, I will continue to oppose that kind of protection, isolation if you will, pulling back into fortress America and thinking that that will benefit the American people. It won't do it. It will shrink our existing markets, rather than expanding markets.

So, you're right; some in an election year will demagog that issue and try to move into a protectionist vein. But that happens every 4 years. Indeed, it happens every 2 years.

But I would say to the American working man and woman, the best interest is to expand our markets and to resist the short-run appeal of basic protection philosophy because that does nothing but shrink markets. And it really is a very bad approach in terms of our own interests, as well as in terms of the interests of the world. So, I will have no problem staying with adherence, an advocacy of a freer trading system, free and fair, level playing field.

I took my case to the American people on that in 1988. I think it was endorsed then. And I recognize that some, given some economic hardships at home, are moving the way you say, but I just think they're wrong. The thing where we have been the strongest economically in recent times has been through expanding exports, through our export market. And one way to guarantee the lack of prosperity for the American

men and women is to shrink those export markets. And one way to shrink the export markets is to think you can get there by what is called "protection." It simply will not work.

And history is replete with examples of where it failed, and I cited in the speech I just gave the experience that we had after the World War and in the time of the Great Depression. So, we are not going to go back to a policy of protection. I want to stay with a policy of expanding markets for U.S. products.

Q. But given the stalled economy and the political atmosphere, isn't that going to be a tougher sell?

President Bush. Well, it could be, if anybody believes something that's not true. And what's not true is that protection is the

way to prosperity. It is not the way to prosperity, and freer trade is. So, I see your point, Jim [Jim Miklaszewski, NBC News], but I just don't, I can't subscribe to it. And I'm not going to change my position based on political expediency. And I think the American people can see through political expediency. And I agree with you that some are sounding the siren's call of protection in the States.

*Note: The President's 111th news conference began at 2:15 p.m. in the Noenzaal Room in Binnenhof. Arthur Dunkel was Director General of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). A tape was not available for verification of the content of this news conference.*

## Remarks to the American Community in The Hague November 9, 1991

Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Secretary. Thank all of you. This is too beautiful a day to give my 45-minute speech, don't you think, or not? Yes, and I see the Prime Minister over here, and let me just say to he and the Foreign Minister, Mr. van den Broek, two things: One, here they are at this school, this American School, international school really, giving up some precious time. Both of them have dual responsibilities: Running the Government here in this marvelous country that's so friendly to the United States, and also their responsibilities as they have assumed the Presidency of the EC. This would give them a precious few minutes off if they didn't have to be here with us today.

And I am very grateful to them not only for their leadership and for the constructive nature of our meetings and for the hospitality that they've given us but for taking this little extra bit of time to be with us today. Because we owe them an enormous vote of thanks for the interest that they have taken in this school from the day it was conceived. So, let's show them our appreciation. To both of you, Ruud and Hans, thank

you very, very, very much. We are so grateful to you.

And Dr. Schoopert, thank you, sir, for arranging this. When I was a kid I never liked to do anything on Saturday, other than go outside and play soccer or do something like that. And I know that this has been a strain on some of you guys in the front here, having to stay indoors, just as it's a strain on Prime Minister Lubbers who could be out playing hockey. One of the great athletes of The Netherlands is tethered here in the sixth row. So, I will be very brief.

And I will simply say what a pleasure it is to be here. Barbara, who was privileged to be here, and you've enshrined her visit with that cornerstone out there in the front, polished it up for today, I think. [Laughter] But in any event, she has been telling me ever since that first visit how much she appreciated what you all are doing and were beginning to do in putting together this marvelous institution that serves so many in the field of education. I believe that you're all very fortunate to attend a school of this excellence, and I hope that you're learning

here not only the wonders of the United States but also the wonders of the Dutch culture, history. Then if you do learn that, you'll understand why Jim Baker and I feel as enthusiastic as we do about Dutch-U.S. relations. They could never be better, and we are grateful every single day not only for their friendship but for their vision of postwar Europe and of the way they see the future from here on. So, we're very fortunate.

And a point I want to make is, I think all of you are very fortunate. I know that some of the people who are also responsible for building this school are here, Mr. Superintendent, and there's no way I could possibly thank you enough for helping provide a world-class education to many children, many generations of American children and other kids as well.

I think that Americans living abroad are the everyday example to people around the world of what is embodied in the greatness of our country. I don't expect any of you look at yourselves as ambassadors. We've got one. We've got an able one in Ambassador Wilkins. He's the official Ambassador. But each of you in every way as you interact with your Dutch friends are ambassadors. You're taking the message of what our country is about. So, look at it that way when you make new friends over in this wonderful country.

But thanks in large part to the enthusiasm of everyone here, I have the feeling that we are putting forward America's best face here in this country. And so, I wanted to thank you kids, as well as the parents, as well as those who have made the school possible.

And let me just say, as I told the Embassy people in here, I don't know how many of you are studying history and how far along you are; maybe not these little guys, but some out there, I'm sure, well-versed in history, including American history, world history. And I would simply say to you, I can't think of a more challenging time to be President of the United States than in the last few years.

The changes that have taken place in this world are mind-boggling. And if any of you who are now seniors had been told in your freshman year in school, wherever that

might have been, that the Soviet Union would have been falling apart, that you'd have democracy raging through South America, and that freedom would be on the march as it is, I don't believe that you could have believed that. I don't think your parents could have told you that that was a realistic assumption. And yet, that's exactly what's happened. And now we're faced with a new challenge: How do you try to assist Prime Minister Lubbers and others in managing this fantastic change?

But all I want to say about it is, it's dynamic. It's for real. And the values that your forefathers and mine took for granted or adhered to, freedom, democracy, human rights, these things are now on fire and moving all around the world.

So, it is a wonderful time in spite of the problems we face at home, in spite of the problems that face young people in all countries, not only to be alive but to be looking to the future.

And so, I expect out here that someplace there may be a next President of the United States, and whatever her name is—[laughter]—I will tell you that Jim Baker and I want to do our jobs to make your job just a little bit easier. I seldom speak confidently on behalf of Barbara, but in this instance I do. We are both thrilled to be here, and we will do our best for education at home. And you do your best to present America's best side to the people of this wonderful country. We'll make a deal on that.

And thank you, and once again, Mr. Prime Minister, Mr. Foreign Minister, I can't tell you how much we appreciate your participation in this celebratory occasion. It's a pleasure to be with you. God bless you, and may God bless the United States of America. Thank you very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 3:25 p.m. at the American School of The Hague. In his remarks, the President referred to Gail Schoopert, superintendent of the school, and Howard C. Wilkins, Jr., U.S. Ambassador to The Netherlands. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*



## Nomination of Richard B. Stone To Be United States Ambassador to Denmark

*November 9, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Richard B. Stone, of the District of Columbia, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States to Denmark. He would succeed Keith Lapham Brown.

Senator Stone most recently served as chief operating officer for Capital Bank, N.A., in Washington, DC, 1989 to present and served as vice chairman and a member of the board of directors, 1984 to present. From 1983 to 1984, he served as Presidential Envoy for Central American Affairs and Ambassador at Large for the Department of State in Washington, DC. He was vice chairman and a member of the board of

directors for Capital Bank, N.A., 1982–1983; and senior resident partner and attorney with Proskauer, Rose, Goets and Mendelsohn, 1981–1982. From 1975 to 1980, Senator Stone was a U.S. Senator from Florida. He has served as Secretary of State for Florida, 1970–1974; and a State senator from Dade County, FL, 1967–1970. In addition, he was Miami City Attorney for the City Attorney's Office in Miami, FL, 1966–1967.

Senator Stone graduated from Harvard College (A.B., 1949) and Columbia University (LL.B., 1954). He was born September 22, 1928, in New York, NY. He is married, has three children, and currently resides in Washington, DC.

## Remarks at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier

*November 11, 1991*

Thank you all. Thank you, Mr. Secretary, and thank all of you. To Secretary Garrett and General Powell, members of the Joint Chiefs, ranking enlisted persons with us here today, Members of Congress, to General Streeter, and of course, Mr. McCoy, fellow veterans and citizens.

On this cold autumn day, in this hallowed place of honor, we gather to convey our Nation's gratitude for those who risked their lives for the land, the people, and the ideals they loved. At the 11th hour of the 11th day of the 11th month of 1918, the guns fell silent and the First World War drew to an end. Ever since, Americans have set aside November 11th to honor our veterans, whose footsteps set the pace of freedom's march.

From our fiery birth in 1776 to freedom's latest triumphs in the Persian Gulf, America's veterans have always answered the call and given their all whenever tyrants and despots imperiled freedom and democracy. They called World War I the war to end all wars, but that was not to be. The Earth was

engulfed a second time and Americans of my generation rose up again to defend their homeland and liberate two continents. Fifty years later the memorial to World War II veterans is all around us, an America strong and proud, her proud example lighting the way to liberty.

And yet even with that war's end, freedom's work was not complete. First in Korea and then in Vietnam, two more generations of Americans responded with determination and vigor. And today, on this Veterans Day, we owe a special debt to the men and women of Desert Storm. They went proudly, willingly on a mission of high principle and noble purpose: to defeat aggression and defend freedom. They freed a captive nation and set America free by renewing our faith in ourselves.

And in this victory, America rallied behind those who served in Desert Storm. And in a wonderful way, they rallied behind those who so proudly served in Vietnam. It was long overdue, and it was good for the Nation's soul.

America holds a special place in history. As we preserved and strengthened our own democracy, we've sought to extend the blessings of liberty throughout the world. The ideals on which this great Nation was founded have taken root in new and fertile lands.

In the Western Hemisphere, 98 percent of the people now live in democracies. In Africa, people line up to vote as one-man states collapse. Europeans, East and West, unite in ways never thought possible. Age-old enemies of the Middle East finally sit face to face to seek an end to their bitter strife. The Soviet Union strives to throw off the dead hand of communism. And the time is coming when those last few totalitarian states will fade into historical oblivion.

The United States will always be a force for peace in the world. But the peace we seek is a real peace, the triumph of freedom, and prosperity, not merely the absence of war. We can never know which war will be the last. But we take as our hope the prophecy of Isaiah that "nation shall not lift sword against nation, neither shall they learn war anymore." And yes, we hope, we pray that as the years progress, the face of war will recede into our distant memory. But the memory of our veterans and their sacrifice will never fade.

President Coolidge said long ago, "The nation which forgets its defenders will itself be forgotten." We will not forget. America will not forget. We will not forget those who died. We will not forget those who do the hard work of freedom every day. And we will never forget the POW's and the MIA's yet to be accounted for.

A year from now, 100 years from now, citizens will come here on November 11th

to remember. And yet we cannot confine our obligation to a single day. We must always remember the importance of preparedness and the high cost of liberty.

For more than 50 years, 24 hours a day, a lone sentinel has kept a silent vigil aside the Tomb of the Unknowns. And recently, one of the outstanding men who guard the tomb was asked what is it like here at night, alone, in the quiet of this place. And he said he felt a kinship to the men resting here; that this was where he wanted to be, here to honor his comrades and all they represent. "Sometimes," this young PFC said, "The rain streaks in your eyes or your fingers go numb from cold, but then I think about what they suffered through. And after that my duty doesn't seem hard at all."

There's a poem the honor guards learn that says it all: "You are guarding the world's most precious gifts. You, you alone, are the symbol of 250 million people who wish to show their gratitude. And you will march through the rain, the snow, and the heat to prove it."

To the men and women of our Armed Forces and to all our veterans, know that you have your country's gratitude on Veterans Day and every day of the year. And may God bless America and the veterans who keep her free. Thank you very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 11:36 a.m. at a wreath-laying ceremony in Arlington National Cemetery. In his remarks, he referred to Secretary of Veterans Affairs Edward J. Derwinski; Maj. Gen. William F. Streeter, Commanding General, U.S. Army Military District of Washington; and Victor S. McCoy, Sr., national president of the Paralyzed Veterans of America.*

## Remarks at the Swearing-In Ceremony for Robert Gates as Director of Central Intelligence

*November 12, 1991*

Thank you, Dick Kerr, not only for presenting me here today but for the job you've been doing as the Acting Director here. You've been exemplary of the finest in public service, and we're grateful to you.

As I look around this room wondering who's minding the store at the White House or up on Capitol Hill or at the Pentagon, it's indeed a tribute to Bob Gates that so many of his colleagues are here to witness this event, colleagues from inside the intelligence community and outside the intelligence community. And of course, I would single out the Vice President, members of the President's Cabinet, General Powell, General Scowcroft, and so many of us that have worked hand-in-hand with Bob over the last few years.

I see some of my predecessors here, DCI, and successors. And indeed, this is a special occasion. And to Justice O'Connor, we are very grateful to you for being here to do the honors today. And once again, I want to single out the Members of Congress that are here from the oversight committees, from the leadership, and from the other relevant committees that this fantastic Agency deals with.

Every time I come out here I still have a sense of homecoming. Today I think of that January day in '76 when President Ford stood here as I took the oath of office as DCI, admittedly for a very short period of time. But I treasure having had that one year here, getting to know the people and the institution.

This was without question, if not "the," certainly one of the most rewarding years of my entire long life. Let me just say to the professionals here, the CIA properly still has a mystique about it. And I still get asked, "What was so special for you about your privilege of being the DCI there?" I still say it's the people here, the dedicated, selfless men and women who serve their country, not seeking recognition or honors. They are true patriots. And we're grateful to each and every one of you.

Today does mark an historic transition. We express the Nation's thanks for the devoted service of former Director Bill Webster, who is with us today, and of course, too, as I mentioned, Dick Kerr. We welcome then Bob Gates, a new Director from a new generation, a generation moving into leadership without the familiar strategic backdrop of the cold war.

He's no stranger here. He spent his entire career, a quarter of a century, as an intelligence professional. He's a keen analyst, and he's an independent thinker. He stood by my side and gave me wise counsel during the Panama crisis and Desert Storm and then the drama of August in Moscow. And he has my deepest trust.

Under your new leader, you men and women of the CIA face as challenging a mission as you've ever had. You must change the American intelligence community as rapidly and as profoundly as the world itself has changed. Up until now, a very large proportion of our intelligence resources has been devoted to monitoring the threat posed by a secretive adversary, obviously, the Soviet empire. The collapse of the Warsaw Pact and of Soviet communism allows us to make different use of some of the assets that we once needed to penetrate Soviet and East European security.

Make no mistake: We will not let our guard down. We're not about to dismantle the capabilities that we've worked so hard to rebuild, but we must adapt them to new realities. The intelligence community's new challenge under Bob Gates's leadership is to move beyond the cold war to the complex problems of the 21st century. Our world without the cold war confrontation is a safer world, but it is no Garden of Eden. This is not the end of history. Men and nations still have their propensities for violence and for greed and for deceit. Therefore, we must work as vigilantly as possible for better world conditions and structures for peace.

We need a strong intelligence community to consolidate and extend freedom's gains

against totalitarianism. We need intelligence to verify historic arms reduction accords. We need it to suppress terrorism and drug trafficking. And we must have intelligence to thwart anyone who tries to steal our technology or otherwise refuses to play by fair economic rules. We must have vigorous intelligence capabilities if we're to stop the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. And so, this is truly a life-or-death mission.

In sum, intelligence remains our basic national instrument for anticipating danger, military, political, and economic. Intelligence is and always will be our first line of defense, enabling us to ward off emerging threats whenever possible before any damage is done. It can also be a means of anticipating opportunities.

As you work to transform the intelligence community to face our new era, I pledge to do all that I possibly can to keep American intelligence strong. Under Bob Gates's direction, we will dramatically expand our human intelligence collection efforts. We will give our officers and analysts the very finest in support technology. We will show no tolerance for those who leak secrets that

protect our intelligence professionals' lives.

As the CIA's Deputy Director during the eighties, Bob Gates was an innovative leader who deserves much of the credit for putting strength and pride back into American intelligence. He's a man of skill. He is a man of integrity. He'll be a very strong and effective manager here. Now, I am looking to him and to each and every one of you who have given your lives to American intelligence to commit yourselves anew to the excellence that always has been the hallmark of our intelligence community.

I can certify to the American people with total confidence that we have the finest intelligence capability in the world. And we're going to strengthen it, and we're going to see that we continue to have this as a guardian of the peace.

I'm grateful to each and every one of you that serve here; gives me a chance to say thank you. And I'm especially proud to be at the side of Bob Gates as he takes the oath of office as DCI. May God bless you all, and thank you very, very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 9:11 a.m. at the headquarters of the Central Intelligence Agency in Langley, VA.*

## Notice of the Continuation of the National Emergency With Respect to Iran

November 12, 1991

On November 14, 1979, by Executive Order No. 12170, the President declared a national emergency to deal with the threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States constituted by the situation in Iran. Notices of the continuation of this national emergency have been transmitted annually by the President to the Congress and the *Federal Register*, most recently on November 9, 1990. Because our relations with Iran have not yet returned to normal, and the process of implementing the January 19, 1981, agreements with Iran is still underway, the national emergency declared on November 14, 1979, must continue in effect beyond

November 14, 1991. Therefore, in accordance with section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)), I am continuing the national emergency with respect to Iran. This notice shall be published in the *Federal Register* and transmitted to the Congress.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
November 12, 1991.

*[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:51 a.m., November 12, 1991]*

*Note: This notice was published in the Federal Register on November 13.*

## Message to the Congress on the Continuation of the National Emergency With Respect to Iran November 12, 1991

*To the Congress of the United States:*

Section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)) provides for the automatic termination of a national emergency unless, prior to the anniversary date of its declaration, the President publishes in the *Federal Register* and transmits to the Congress a notice stating that the emergency is to continue in effect beyond the anniversary date. In accordance with this provision, I have sent the enclosed notice, stating that the Iran emergency is to continue in effect beyond November 14, 1991, to the *Federal Register* for publication. Similar notices have been sent annually to the Congress and the *Federal Register* since November 12, 1980, most recently on November 9, 1990.

The crisis between the United States and

Iran that began in 1979 has not been fully resolved. The international tribunal established to adjudicate claims of U.S. nationals against Iran and of Iranian nationals against the United States continues to function, and normalization of commercial and diplomatic relations between the United States and Iran has not been achieved. In these circumstances, I have determined that it is necessary to maintain in force the broad authorities that may be needed in the process of implementing the January 1981 agreements with Iran and in the eventual normalization of relations with that country.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
November 12, 1991.

## Statement on Signing the Veterans' Compensation Rate Amendments of 1991 November 12, 1991

It gives me great pleasure to sign into law H.R. 1046, the "Veterans' Compensation Rate Amendments of 1991."

Our Nation provides compensation and other monetary benefits to service-disabled veterans and Dependency and Indemnity Compensation (DIC) benefits to the survivors of those who died as a result of military service to our country.

H.R. 1046 provides a 3.7 percent increase in compensation and DIC benefits effective December 1, 1991. Nearly 2.2 million Armed Forces veterans and their dependents will benefit from the 3.7 percent increase in compensation benefits. In addition, the same increase will be provided to the 277,000 surviving spouses and 37,000 children who receive DIC benefits.

As a Nation, we are ever mindful of the

special debt that we owe those veterans who unselfishly gave of themselves to assure the continued safety and greatness of this country. The freedoms and liberty that we enjoy as citizens of this country depend on the men and women in our Armed Forces. The measure that I sign today bears witness to our gratitude and continued commitment to those who served our country. It demonstrates that the American people will not forget the valuable contribution that our veterans made to this Nation.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
November 12, 1991.

*Note: H.R. 1046, approved November 12, was assigned Public Law No. 102-152.*

## Remarks at a Bush-Quayle Fundraising Luncheon in New York City November 12, 1991

Lou, thank you very much. My heavens, what a wonderful job you've done and these chairmen have done on this dinner. To paraphrase John F. Kennedy, I'm touched at this warm reception but not half as touched as all of you have been. [*Laughter*]

I'll tell you, this is a wonderful, wonderful sendoff for us, and I am very grateful to you. I want to salute Rabbi Balkany and the Harlem Boys Choir, favorites of Barbara's and mine. They've been to the White House at least a couple of times since we've been honored to live there.

Let me just say about our Senator, Al D'Amato, we got some priorities coming up in 1992, but I think it is absolutely essential and, as far as I am concerned, priority to see this good man for New York elected back to the Senate. And I really believe in him.

I want to thank our Secretary of Commerce, Bob Mosbacher, and today, especially, Georgette. You heard Lou singing her praises for the job she did. I want to thank a couple of other veterans at the table here—Wayne Calloway and, of course, Joy Silverman; Bill Powers, the driving force behind the New York GOP, our new State chairman in here. And again, I'll be in trouble if I go further. But I really think—I want to thank all of you for this strong support.

Let me also say about the elections that took place on the 5th: it was a great day for the New York GOP and a great day across the river as the New Jersey Legislature went clean sweep for the Republican Party. We picked up seats in both areas, both States that nobody dreamed we would win.

I want to especially welcome the leaders, now, of the New Jersey Legislature, Hays-taian and DiFrancesco, who are both here, I think. Anyway, if they are, please stand up. Right over here. These two guys are going to be running the State legislature now, one in the senate and one in the house.

Some may have forgotten in the wishful thinking of the political coverage on the part of the Democrats, but Jim Florio, the

Governor of New Jersey, said, "The New Jersey election is a referendum on the Bush administration." So be it. We'll stand by that one. We're all for it, and thank you for what you guys did.

And finally, let me mention the other name here, Dan Quayle, back in Washington, doing a superb job trying to cut back these regulations and on the Competitiveness Council. He's served our country well as an advocate for economic growth, for sound foreign policy, as an ambassador for our interests abroad, traveling to these various countries and doing a first-class job. And he's even squared off with the American Bar Association. Quayle 21, lawyers 0. [*Laughter*]

I feel blessed, and I really mean this, and I think Lou and Wayne and others who have been to the White House know how I feel. I really am privileged to be the President, to serve this country at this terribly exciting moment in history, a moment when America and the ideals that we stand for has celebrated a string of successes around the world. And in the world beyond our shores we have grown accustomed to the dizzying pace of change.

And yet, here at home, and Al touched on it, we do have a Congress that, in my view—and I think it's confirmed overwhelmingly by the surveys of the American people—we have a Congress that is out of step with the times and out of touch with the heartbeat of the American people. They're pushing the same old, tired liberal agenda to a country that is hungry now to build on what we've done abroad and bring that to success here at home.

And this fall, the American people have seen Congress up close, and they've seen their inability to move when Americans demand action. They've seen this endless appetite for sideshows that have really kind of embarrassed our country here and abroad. They've seen the overindulgence in perks and privileges. And they've seen, quote, their tax dollars at work. And I've got the feeling that when it comes to the

Congress, the American people aren't feeling very kind and gentle.

And it shouldn't surprise anyone that the liberals that control the Congress—and thank God we have people like Al fighting for our values every day in that body—tell an entirely different story. They claim they can't act because we don't have an agenda. And you don't hear much about their agenda. The agenda of that liberal leadership is simply this: Take whatever legislation the President sends up to the Hill and knock it down, bury it in some obscure subcommittee, and swear they never even saw it.

This country needs an energy bill. We are too dependent on foreign oil for our own interests. We've got a good energy bill, and they won't even let it be debated in both Houses of the United States Congress. This is what we're up against.

And I know it's a two-way street, and I hope the American people understand that I have tried to hold out my hand and work with the Congress, sometimes to the consternation of some of the Republicans in the House and the Senate. But I've tried to work with the Congress. I've extended the hand and said, "Let's try to do something for this country. Reach out. Deal in good faith."

And now the political season is upon us. The politics of '92 are just across the horizon here, and the rhetoric is heating up. But people are hurting in this country and Government, where it can and where it can do it correctly, should try to help these people. And so I am going to keep on trying to work with the United States Congress and put the politics aside wherever possible because the country's business has to come first. But I am not going to be the javelin catcher for the liberals that run the Congress anymore. We're going to fight them when we have fundamental issues at stake.

It's not as if we haven't had some successes, and thanks to Al and his colleagues on our side of the aisle working cooperatively with the Democrats, we've had some. We can be proud of the Clean Air Amendments which for the first time enlist market mechanisms in service to our precious environment.

We should champion our child care bill. The other side wanted to warehouse our kids in a brave new child care mandated Federal bureaucracy. Their answer: let some subcommittee chairman that's been there 30 years tell the mothers and fathers of this country what kind of child care they should have, what kind of child care they shouldn't have. And we put, instead, through hard negotiation passed a bill that puts choice in the hands of the parents and keeps those kids as close to the family as possible. And it's good legislation.

And yes, we should celebrate landmark civil rights legislation like the Americans with Disabilities Act, a covenant to bring this country's 43 million disabled citizens into the American mainstream. And I'm proud of our administration's role, and our Republican Senators' role in passing this important legislation.

And now, on the other civil rights bill, I said, "Look, I want a civil rights bill. I do not want a quota bill." And we stayed with it. They thought they were going to ram the political decision down against me with the American people. I vetoed a bad bill. And now we have a civil rights bill that is good, that works against discrimination in the workplace, but is not a quota bill. And that's what you have to do. You've got to beat down bad legislation before you can get good legislation. And I'm going to sign that bill, incidentally. I will be signing that civil rights bill enthusiastically and very, very soon.

These successes, and I think they are successes, cannot obscure the fact that the rest of our agenda is still stuck in the maze, mugged by party leadership locked into the tired, old liberal mind-set and determined to try to go one-up politically.

Let me just mention our transportation bill. We've got a good Secretary of Transportation, as Bob Mosbacher knows, Sam Skinner. It's a job-intensive bill that puts Americans to work improving our infrastructure, our roads. And I challenged Congress to pass that bill along with our comprehensive crime package in 100 days. That was back in March. The 100 days came and went in June, and now it looks like we won't see either one until January.

The American people deserve better than that. They're crying out for tough anti-crime legislation that protects the policemen out there and has a little less sympathy for the criminals themselves.

But the liberal leadership that control Congress don't want to act unless it's to expand the powers of the Government so that some subcommittee chairman or some staffer in that vast bureaucracy lays down another mandate on the American people and thus renders our businesses far less competitive all around the world.

Capitol Hill lives in a loophole of its own making. Time after time Congress exempts itself from the laws that others have to abide by. With all those righteous statements by the Senators beating up on Clarence Thomas, you wouldn't know, this is the fact, that Congress had exempted itself from the sexual harassment remedies that apply to private employers. And that's just one of more than a dozen laws that Congress does not apply to itself.

The American people aren't dumb. They may not know those facts, but they sense there's something wrong. And I think the time has come for those who make the laws to live by those same laws.

If the Democrats who control the Congress don't heed the will of the people, the people may just do a little legislating of their own. That's what these term limits are about all across the country. That's why you see enthusiasm for term limits all across the country. People sense there's something wrong in the United States Congress. And they're tired of double standards, double talk. They want action. They want action to get this economy growing again. But they don't want phony action. They don't want a fix put on there by pledging some euphoric tax cut that may or may not have an effect on the economy and definitely could have an adverse effect on a deficit that is far too large.

And right now the signals are mixed. Yes, we had growth in the third quarter, not near as vigorous as anybody in this room or certainly standing at this podium would like. Inflation numbers, thank heavens, are good because high inflation is that stealth tax that hits every American right in the pocketbook. We're getting those fundamen-

tals moving in the right direction. The interest rates are at a good low now compared to recent history. And I'm convinced we'll soon see these low rates kick in and boost this sagging consumer confidence.

I was talking to some businessmen earlier, and I'd frankly like to see the credit card rates down. I believe that would help stimulate the consumer and get consumer confidence moving again. But people are hurting. And they're hurting here in New York, and they're hurting across this country, and families trying to make ends meet, proud Americans trying to keep their dignity when they lost their jobs. And I don't know any American who sees this happening who is so callous that he cannot feel or she cannot feel a tug in her heart, who doesn't want to reach out actually and hold out a hand and try to help these people.

But the opposition sees this as a question of lost jobs. And the solution then comes in the form of a check. And we see it another way: As a matter of lost opportunity, as a chance to recapture dignity in the form of a paycheck. In short, we see the answer to unemployment as economic growth. As Lou would say, making the pie bigger so more and more people can participate.

Three times in three years I've called on the United States Congress to enact economic measures that I believe are sound, that would not exacerbate a deficit that is already too high, and that would help economic growth.

Three times in three years the leadership up on the Hill sent those initiatives into a liberal limbo up there. Tort reform is a good example, placing reasonable limits on some of these outrageous awards. These outrageous awards are rendering us non-competitive in many ways.

New initiatives to increase savings and investment; IRA's that are tailored to boost home ownership and give the housing industry a needed boost; enterprise zones to spawn a new generation of urban entrepreneurs. Over and over again, I've sent those requests to the United States Congress. And yes, a capital gains tax cut which I believe, if it could be done without getting a lot of baggage on it coming out of the Congress, would unleash investment and get our



economy moving again.

Two years ago, in November of 1989, we came close on capital gains. A majority in both the Senate and the House passed a package containing a capital gains tax cut. And it took a last-minute political maneuver by Senator Mitchell, the Democratic leader of the Senate, to block the passage. And he got that political victory, and 8 months later our economy slipped into a recession that we all have been worried about.

I'll make a deal with the Democrats: You give me the political rhetoric, you give me the political heat that you think comes from labeling the capital gains cut as a tax that benefits only the rich, and I'll bear that political burden. But give the economy a chance to see what would happen if we passed the capital gains reduction, because I believe it would help put us back to work. It's not an instant fix. It would help. It would stimulate growth. I think it would generate more jobs, short run at least, and the Treasury thinks long run it would generate income and ultimately bring in more tax revenue than it costs. But the leadership up in the Congress is making it extraordinarily difficult not just to do this one but any of these initiatives that I've told you about.

Lou and I were talking about another thing here at lunch—and Wayne Calloway—we were talking about the link between domestic and foreign policy. Look at the way the liberals talk about foreign policy. Since I took the oath of office, the Nation has been called on to meet one challenge after another. It's been an exciting time of change in the world from Eastern Europe to Panama and to, yes, what Al was talking about, to the Persian Gulf.

And each time, America answered the call. Each time, America advanced the cause of freedom. Because we did, America stands today as the world's preeminent power: Economic, political, military, and this last one is important, yes, moral power, the moral beacon for other countries around the world.

And yet, we hear the political voices going up as we move into an election year, "Well, why does the President spend so much time on foreign policy?" I don't care what the second-guessers in the Capitol

have to say. I am not going to apologize for one single minute that I devote to advancing our economic principles abroad or working for world peace. I'm not going to change because this is in the interest of everybody in this country.

When you hear some of this carping up on the Capitol Hill, you'd think we were back in the 19th century, isolated from the rest of the world by two oceans. Today the neat little boxes—we label them "foreign" and "domestic"—they're outdated, relics from an earlier era that don't describe the new world around us.

Think about the great questions of war and peace. If we succeed in making this a more peaceful world for your grandkids and ours, is that foreign policy or is it domestic? Will it eventually have a benefit for the taxpayer because we can do better in terms of defense spending, reorienting our priorities? Or are they two separate things?

Look at the crisis in the Middle East. Last month in Madrid we asked ancient enemies to come and sit down at the same table, to put aside generations of hatred for the sake of peace. And yet, one of the leaders on the Democratic side of the House of Representatives got up—when I was in Madrid for 36 hours to convene this historic conference—and got up and criticized me for being there. I'm very sorry, I am not going to change my ways because I believe we have an historic opportunity, and it's only the United States that can help bring peace to that troubled corner of the world.

Think about a problem plaguing this country, this city, this State, and many other cities: illegal drugs. When I convene a drug summit in Cartagena, Colombia, that helps work with them to stop the tidal wave of crack before it hits the streets of New York, is that foreign policy or is that domestic?

Think about the global economy. Liberals act as if the global marketplace is way over there somewhere in Asia or in Europe when it's really all around us. Consider this: Every additional billion dollars in new trade in manufactured goods, for example, means 20,000 new American jobs. And so when I go to The Hague, as I was there just this past Saturday, to make our case with the

leaders of the EC to open up the European markets to American goods, particularly American agricultural goods, is that foreign policy or is that domestic policy?

We were talking about it up here again. And as you know, I've postponed a trip to East Asia, as important as it is to push for freer trade and open markets in Japan and Korea and Australia, Singapore, we were going to. When I learned that Congress might stay in session past Thanksgiving recess, I thought I'd better change my plans.

You see, I saw that movie, "Home Alone"—[laughter]—and I owe it to the American taxpayer to make sure Congress never stays home alone. [Laughter] But that trip is going to be put back on because it's too important. You're not going to make me cancel a trip of that nature for pure politics. It's in the interest of the worker in this country. It's in our own selfish economic interest and our national security interest as well that we have good relations and improving relations with these countries.

Let me focus for just a second on one reason why an especially urgent piece of legislation should be passed. I'm talking about the extending the unemployment benefits. The Democratic leaders know that I've been ready since August to sign an extension, but to sign one as proposed by most of the Republicans in the Senate and House that lives within the budget agreement. We don't have to add to the ever-increasing deficit and still do what is compassionate and correct. They passed a bill. They wanted to embarrass me politically. I vetoed that bill. I said, "I'll sign one tomorrow if you'll live within the budget agreement like our proposal," but I think they want a political victory rather than trying to help the working men and women that are out of work and need extended unemployment benefits.

But I'm not going to change. We cannot knuckle under every time they come along with a new spending program that is going to mortgage every generation that comes and every person that is working. Ninety-four percent of the people are working and paying taxes, and some of those laid off are paying taxes. And I don't want to be the President that says to them, "Hey, we're

going to help these people," then raise the taxes to pay for it or add to this already obnoxious deficit. Unemployed workers deserve this kind of support, but we need a change in the Congress if we're going to do it in a way that lives within the budget agreement.

I honestly believe that the American people are ready to move in a new direction. We've got real problems. I think they're tired of a lot of political talk, maybe from the White House, certainly from the Congress. But they're tired of hearing a liberal litany, tired of people that get up and just keep saying what's wrong with our country. There are some good fundamentals out there. And sometimes I get this sinking feeling that the Democrats believe that they can win only if times are bad. They have a vested interest in seeing us fail. And what a tawdry, negative way to view this, the greatest country on the face of the Earth.

You see, that's not our America. And if I become a candidate for President of the United States—giving serious thought to that right now, and I must say this fantastic turnout and this sendoff you might say is kind of moving me over there. [Laughter] But I look forward to taking this case to the American people. This isn't a country that needs a quick fix. We need some confidence. We don't have to think that we can just spend our way into getting votes. We've got some grounding fundamentals out there that are moving in the right direction.

It's not our America, this pessimistic one. We're the America that's envied the world over. I wish you could go with me as we travel to some of these places. The America we know is right and decent and good. And Americans want leadership. I think the families out there want somebody that believes in family values and shares their faith and someone who will summon up the best in the American spirit to shape a new American century. I'd call it a new American destiny. This is a great time to be an American. It's a great time, as you look ahead, for the young people of this country, when you think of the big questions like world peace, questions of prosperity here at home.

And so, that's our vision: Emphasize what's good. Put forward ideas that can change things for the better. Hold out your hand when people are hurting. But do not depart from the fundamentals to achieve short-term political gain. It starts right here, now, with all of you. And please stay involved in the political process. Because I am absolutely convinced that with your support we will succeed and make things better for the American people.

Thank you, and may God bless the United States of America.

*Note: The President spoke at 2:07 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom of the New York Hilton and Towers. In his remarks, he referred to Louis Gerstner, principal chairman of the luncheon; Rabbi Milton Balkany, dean of the Bais Yaakev of Brooklyn, NY; Georgette Mosbacher, Wayne Calloway, and Joy Silverman, luncheon cochairmen; William Powers, chairman of the New York State Republican Party; Garabed "Chuck" Haytaian, speaker of the New Jersey Assembly; and Donald T. DiFrancesco, president of the New Jersey State Senate.*

## Remarks to the Asia Society in New York City November 12, 1991

Thank you all very much. And John Whitehead, thank you, sir. John has served this country with great distinction over the years, and it's great to join him and Nancy here this evening, the other distinguished leaders here with me, and all of you, so many ambassadors from countries in Asia, chargés, United Nations contingents, Washington, DC, contingents. And I'm just delighted to be here with all of you.

It's also a pleasure to see Asia Society President Robert Oxnam, and then Vice Chairman Peter Aaron. To you and to the distinguished men and women in this audience, greetings and my thanks for this opportunity to speak with you on topics of great concern to us all. And I heard you were having broccoli so I asked to speak before the dinner. [Laughter] I hope this doesn't really foul things up, but I feel strongly about that. [Laughter] No, but seriously, we do have to go back. And I'm very pleased for this accommodation, and I hope you'll all understand.

But as you know, I have just returned from Rome, that NATO meeting, and The Hague, for an EC meeting. There, I worked with other Western leaders to help build a post-cold-war world that's characterized by mutual security, democracy, individual liberty, free enterprise, and unfettered international trade. I want to talk tonight about those topics, but with the accent on Asia.

But first, for audiences here and in Asia, I think it's important to discuss once again why I will not travel to the region this month, later this month. As President, I must serve the entire Nation in the domestic and foreign arenas. Sometimes those obligations clash. When we planned our trip a couple of months ago, worked out the schedule, Congress had planned to adjourn early in this month. I believe it was November 2d, possibly November 4th. Now the Members say that they will wrap up by November 22, but who knows? We will reschedule the trip, but I will not leave while Congress is wrapping up a session. It can commit too much mischief in times like that. [Laughter]

I saw "Home Alone," that movie—[laughter]—and I just don't feel comfortable—[laughter]—leaving Congress home alone. But make no mistake, however, I will not turn my back on my responsibility to do the Nation's business here and abroad. And in times of economic pain, I certainly will not give up an opportunity to work with our allies to create new markets, new jobs, and new opportunities for American workers in agriculture, in manufacturing, and in service industries.

And I certainly will not permit us to retreat into a kind of fortress America, which will doom us to irrelevance and poverty.

The notion that we can separate domestic and foreign policy rests upon a stubborn fantasy that we can live as an isolated island surrounded by a changing and developing world. We tried isolationism, and we ended up fighting two bloody World Wars. We tried economic isolationism, protectionism, and we helped set off a worldwide depression. I remain deeply committed to building closer ties with the Asia-Pacific region. Although much of our Nation's heritage comes from Europe, our future points equally, importantly, toward Asia.

Asia's transformed itself in the space of a generation into the most rapidly growing region on the face of the Earth. Asia-Pacific nations enjoyed staggering real economic growth in the decade of the eighties. The Australian economy grew 41 percent; Japan's, nearly 52 percent; Malaysia, almost 60 percent; Hong Kong—there are many here from Hong Kong tonight—89 percent; Singapore, 93 percent; Taiwan, 116 percent; and South Korea, 150 percent.

The Asia-Pacific region has become our largest and fastest growing trading partner. We conduct more than \$300 billion worth of two-way trade annually. Together, we generate nearly half, listen to this one, together we generate nearly half of the world's gross national product. American firms have invested more than \$61 billion in the region, and that figure will grow. Asians have invested more than \$95 billion in the United States. In everything from automobiles to microchips, from baseball to Australian rules football, we grow closer each day.

A few years ago, it was fashionable to refer to the 20th century as the American century and the 21st as the Pacific century, as if we were engaged in some long-term competition with our Asian allies. I don't see it that way. The United States will remain large and powerful, but in years to come, we will deepen our partnership with our Asian friends in building democracy and freedom.

We'd be here forever if I tried to tick off our interests and activities country by country. So forgive me, but instead I will address three central issues in our relationships with the nations of the region, security, democracy, and trade.

In the area of security, Asia's variety has spawned a diverse pattern of political and strategic cooperation. Our custom-made agreements and relationships provide a strong foundation for future security.

Let me give you a few examples of how we seek to build the peace. The conflict in Indochina has preoccupied this Nation for years. Finally, we've entered into a period of healing and constructive cooperation. We will work step by step to resolve the painful issues left by that war. The ASEAN nations, Japan, Australia, and the U.N. Security Council's permanent members recently forged a Cambodian peace process that promises free elections in a nation previously rent by tyranny and genocide. Just yesterday, for the first time in 16 years, we sent an accredited diplomat to Cambodia to participate in the peacemaking arrangements.

We envision normal relations with Vietnam as the logical conclusion to a step-by-step process that begins by resolving the problems in Cambodia and by addressing thoroughly, openly, and conclusively the status of American POW's-MIA's.

Today, I am announcing that we will upgrade our relations with Laos and that we soon will place an Ambassador in Vientiane.

The Republic of Korea has moved to build better ties with North Korea while boldly challenging the North to abandon its menacing nuclear weapons program which is the greatest threat to regional peace. We welcome recently organized efforts involving us, the Japanese, the Soviets, Chinese, and Koreans to bring North Korea's nuclear program under international supervision. Meanwhile, we will maintain our military presence in the South as long as the people want and need us.

In laying the foundation for peace through our global partnership, we have worked closely with Japan in the area of foreign aid. We are the world's two foremost providers of such aid. We also cooperate on development assistance, more and more on environmental protection, trade, arms control, refugees, and regional peace. We've urged the Soviet Union to take a progressive attitude toward the Northern Territories in its discussions with Japan.

The Japanese have joined us in trying to lead the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe toward free enterprise. They support more than 45,000 U.S. military forces in Japan with \$3 billion in annual host nation contributions. Japan contributed nearly \$13 billion to the multinational forces for the Gulf war, 10 billion of which went to the United States. This required new taxes, a very tough thing for any politician to ask of working people, but Japan deserves praise for choosing the right course.

To the South, Australia casts a presence far larger than its relatively small population would suggest. It takes justifiable pride in its long tradition of defending democracy, and its economic, political, and cultural presence helps unite the Asia-Pacific region with the rest of the world.

We can help ensure future peace in the region and defend our interests through a range of military arrangements. Bilateral alliances, access agreements, and structures such as the five-power defense arrangement give us the flexibility we need.

While we must adjust our force structure to reflect post-cold-war realities, we also must protect our interests and allies. In this light, we cannot afford to ignore the important sources of instability: in North Korea; in Burma, where socialist despotism holds sway despite, I might add, despite the heroic efforts of freedom fighters like Nobel laureate Aung San Suu Kyi; in China and other states that resist the worldwide movement toward political pluralism and that contribute to the proliferation of dangerous weapons.

Let me mention just a few words regarding China. China is vitally important. It is our policy to remain engaged. We believe this is the way to effect positive change in the world's most populous nation. That's exactly what Secretary of State Jim Baker is doing there this week.

Fortunately, the key to future stability in the region lies not with arms but with ballots. Democracy has swept across Asia with some notable exceptions such as Burma, China, North Korea, and Vietnam. Yet we remain engaged in the region and especially in China. If we retreat from the challenge of building democracy, we will have failed many who have worked hard, even

died for the cause.

The United States will support democracy wherever it can, understanding that nations adopt political freedom in their own ways, in manners consistent with their histories and cultures. After decades of uncertainty, the future really does seem full of hope, and even the intransigent few seem likely to join the rest of the world in building a commonwealth of freedom.

Then this brings us then to the third focal point and a crucial ingredient in a stable, free society, and I'm talking, of course, about economic prosperity. No nation can ignore the incredible vitality of this region, or afford to. Yes, we disagree on some important trade issues, but we also recognize a more important fact: Our fates and values have become linked forever.

Contrary to the opinions of American protectionists, free trade requires efforts by all parties involved. Too often, trade disputes bring out the worst in people. Japan bashing—you've heard that expression—Japan bashing has become a minor sport in some places in the United States, and some in Japan have become equally scornful of the United States. Both our nations must reject those who would rather seek out scapegoats than tackle their own problems.

We made a good start. The Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Group encourages growth and trade. The Uruguay round of GATT talks remains the single most important vehicle for advancing the cause of free trade and fending off the scourge of protectionism. We call upon Japan and Korea to work with us in breaking down old barriers to trade, opening up markets in manufacturing, services, and agriculture. Our Structural Impediments Initiative, those talks have helped lower barriers to trade and investment. But we need to give those talks new life, give them a kick, and create a better climate in Japan for U.S. businesses.

The fact is that Japan, which nearly half a century ago became a focal point of American hatred, has become one of our closest and most treasured allies. I enjoyed a warm and constructive relationship working with Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu. And I look forward to spending time with my old friend Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa, sig-

nificantly a man steeped in Western and Eastern culture and superbly equipped to build bridges of culture and trade between our two great nations.

Together, we can build an even more prosperous and spectacular future—but only if we take up the tough, rewarding task of promoting worldwide economic liberty. We seek a vibrant international economic system that unites markets on every continent.

We in the United States also must strengthen our economy. We level an unacceptably high effective tax rate on capital gains. Germany, no capital gains tax. The complicated Japanese tax averages about one percent. This puts our own business people, our own entrepreneurs and venture capitalists at a huge and shameful disadvantage compared to our Asian trading partner. We run an enormous and growing budget deficit which inflames political divisions within our own country. We must take powerful action to reduce that deficit while nourishing economic growth. To compete internationally we must modernize our banking industry and make our industrial base more competitive. We must work with our allies to build a stable and sound monetary regime.

Perhaps most important, we must build human capital. We have an obligation to prepare future generations for life in the 21st century. The integrated global economy will demand more of us than ever before, and our schools must meet the challenge.

Technological change can do much more than make our lives more comfortable. It can sweep away totalitarianism and forge the foundation for lasting liberty. We live in an age of liberation technology, and no technology does more for the cause of freedom than the means of mass communication. No wall is high enough and no government sufficiently despotic to shut off what some call a revolution of electrons. As we compete with our allies in this area, we

must remember that information feeds intellect, and good information fosters freedom.

Let me close by summarizing our general approach to relations with Asia. Our administration sees six keys to promoting lasting peace in the Asia-Pacific region: progressive trade liberalization, security cooperation, a shared commitment to democracy and human rights, educational and scientific innovation, respect for the environment, and an appreciation of our distinct cultural heritages.

Americans have always looked to the horizons for their destiny, even from our earliest days. And we've grown great because we've welcomed people from every continent and every country, and we've tried to make use of their distinct talents when they come here, while constructing a common culture.

Today, we celebrate that diversity and celebrate the prospect that in years to come we will develop with our Asian friends even greater ties of trade and culture.

I look forward to traveling soon to Asia to advance these important principles and to expand market opportunities for tens of thousands of American workers and businesses. As President, I will continue building ties with our allies because those ties mean peace at home and jobs for American men and women.

I want to thank the Asia Society for its vital contributions to the cause of peace, prosperity, and understanding. I look forward to your help as I seek to build closer bonds of affection and interest with the peoples of the vast, marvelous, varied Asia-Pacific region.

Thank you all. And may God bless our Asian-Pacific friends and the United States of America. Thank you very very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 7:20 p.m. at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to John Whitehead, chairman of the society, and his wife, Nancy.*

## Statement on Signing a Bill on the Extension of Most-Favored-Nation Trade Status to Bulgaria

*November 13, 1991*

I am pleased to sign into law House Joint Resolution 282, which approves the extension of most-favored-nation (MFN) tariff treatment to products of Bulgaria pursuant to a bilateral trade agreement. This resolution is a milestone in our rapidly developing relations with Bulgaria. My signature on this resolution represents American support of the Bulgarian people's historic decision for democracy, a free market economy, and the rule of law.

We stand with the people of Bulgaria as

they strive to reintegrate their country into the global economy, and we welcome Bulgaria as it joins the community of free nations.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
November 13, 1991.

*Note: H.J. Res. 282, approved November 13, was assigned Public Law No. 102-158.*

## Message to the Senate Transmitting the Uruguay-United States Legal Assistance Treaty

*November 13, 1991*

*To the Senate of the United States:*

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Treaty between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay on Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters, signed at Montevideo on May 6, 1991. I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the Report of the Department of State with respect to the Treaty.

The Treaty is one of a series of modern mutual legal assistance treaties being negotiated by the United States in order to counter criminal activities more effectively. The Treaty should be an effective tool to assist in the prosecution of a wide variety of modern criminals, including members of drug cartels, "white collar criminals," and

terrorists. The Treaty is self-executing.

The Treaty provides for a broad range of cooperation in criminal matters. Mutual assistance available under the Treaty includes: (1) the taking of testimony or statements of witnesses; (2) the provision of documents, records, and evidence; (3) the execution of requests for searches and seizures; (4) the serving of documents; and (5) the provision of assistance in locating, tracing, immobilizing, seizing and forfeiting proceeds of crime, and restitution to the victims of crime.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Treaty and give its advice and consent to ratification.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
November 13, 1991.

## Presidential Determination No. 92-5—Memorandum Authorizing Assistance to Senegal

November 13, 1991

*Memorandum for the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense*

**Subject:** Determination to Authorize the Furnishing of Goods and Services to Senegal

Pursuant to the authority vested in me by section 552(c)(2) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, 22 U.S.C. 2348a(c)(2), (the "Act"), I hereby determine that:

(1) as a result of an unforeseen emergency, the provision of assistance under Chapter 6 of Part II of the Act in amounts in excess of funds otherwise available for such assistance is important to the national interest of the United States; and

(2) such unforeseen emergency requires the immediate provision of assistance under Chapter 6 of Part II of the Act.

I therefore direct the drawdown of commodities and services from the inventory and resources of the Department of Defense of an aggregate value not to exceed \$10 million to support Senegal's deployment of peacekeeping forces to Liberia.

The Secretary of State is authorized and directed to report this determination to the Congress and to publish it in the *Federal Register*.

GEORGE BUSH

*[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:07 a.m., November 20, 1991]*

## Nomination of Arnold R. Tompkins To Be an Assistant Secretary of Health and Human Services

November 13, 1991

The President today announced his intention to nominate Arnold R. Tompkins, of Maryland, to be an Assistant Secretary of Health and Human Services for Management and Budget, succeeding Mary Sheila Gall, and to be Chief Financial Officer at the Department of Health and Human Services, a new position.

Since 1989, Mr. Tompkins has served as Counselor to the Deputy Secretary at the U.S. Department of Health and Human

Services in Washington, DC. In addition, he has served as Acting Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation at the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1989-1990; and as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Social Services Policy, 1985-1989.

Mr. Tompkins graduated from Bowdoin College (B.A., 1972) and Howard University (J.D., 1975). He was born July 4, 1950, in Washington, DC. Mr. Tompkins is married, has one child, and resides in Clinton, MD.

## Remarks to the Future Farmers of America in Kansas City, Missouri

November 13, 1991

Thank you, Mark, FFA's outstanding president. You know, when Mark and the other national officers came to the White House a year ago and again this summer,

they asked me to come to Kansas City. And after a welcome like this, there's no place I'd rather be. And there is also no place better than sitting up here with Miss Amer-



ica, Carolyn Sapp. [Laughter] I'd like to be the one sitting right there, but it seems my friend and assistant Fred McClure switched the placecards. [Laughter] So I have a question for him. Fred, how did you used to like working at the White House? [Laughter]

And I heard Mark talking about leadership and commitment in that very generous introduction. And I will say that also here are Missouri's two great Senators, Jack Danforth and Kit Bond. And what a job they're doing for this country. And as for Fred McClure, I'm proud to have him with me, an Assistant for Legislative Affairs. That's the top person in the White House working with Kit, Jack Danforth, and all the other Senators and House Members. And Fred learned his leadership skills in the FFA as the Texas State president and then the national FFA secretary.

It gives me a surge of hope to be with so many thousands of bright and motivated young people. And it's another reminder that America has the best young people in the world. And I want to salute the FFA for bringing so many of you together to exchange ideas and forge friendships that will brighten our country for many years to come. I understand that your business session got off to a good start, Danny telling me.

And I also want to send my warmest greetings to members of the National Association of Farm Broadcasters, who also are meeting in Kansas City this week. American agriculture depends upon the free and robust flow of news and views that our broadcasters provide. And they do a first-class job of it.

Now, I know that some of you signed up to come here believing that one of the speakers would be Arnold Schwarzenegger. But if he didn't cancel an agreement now and then, I guess we wouldn't call him "The Terminator." [Laughter] But I've worked out a deal with this guy, and he's agreed to fill in for me at the White House conference that I have next, the next news conference. [Laughter] You see, I can't wait to see the kind and gentle way that he handles some of those tough questions. [Laughter] It's going to be wonderful. He couldn't be here because he's at work filming another movie. And next year, I myself

might make an abbreviated sequel to "Terminator 2." We're going to call it "Term 2." [Laughter]

Let me just, because I want to tie it in, let me just say a word about Arnold Schwarzenegger. As an athlete and actor, yes, but he's also a very creative businessman and a citizen who, I can tell you firsthand, exemplifies what you talk about when you talk about leadership. He takes public service seriously. And he's doing an outstanding job for the country as Chairman of the President's Council on Physical Fitness.

And I won't lead you through the world out that Arnold had planned, but I do want to impress upon you the essence of his message and that is: Get going with good exercise and fitness habits now, while you're young, and don't ever give them up. Each one of you is already a leader in your school, a leader in FFA or you probably would not be here, a leader among your peers. And I don't want any of you to fall short of a single thing you dream of. And that's why I hope you will equip yourself with the physical stamina that comes from exercise. Cultivating a sound mind in a sound body is a key to good health, long life, and performance at your best for the many responsibilities you will face in your families and your careers.

And speaking of that, your president looks very fit, and I would suggest to you that he got to be the great orator that he is—you heard the introduction—because he stays fit. And I might say, speaking of politics, I'm glad he's not running for President next year. He'd be very, very tough to beat. Mark, you keep doing your thing; I'll keep doing mine. [Laughter]

Look at it this way, your FFA experience is giving you powerful skills and drive to help this country compete in the decades ahead. And as you follow your dreams and lead others, as I know you're destined to do, I'd like your special help in pursuing two national goals, goals to help America be all that it should be.

First, I'd like you to work for excellence in American education. If you attend a school in a rural community, and many of you do, there's a good chance your school enjoys the strong involvement of parents,

strong involvement of your community and places a high value on responsibility and achievement.

There are success stories, of course, across the range of our communities, even in the tougher, poorer, inner-city neighborhoods. And some are public schools; others are private or parochial schools. But each has in common the intense involvement of parents, a commitment to discipline, a commitment to values, a rigorous curriculum, and a large degree of freedom from bureaucratic control.

Our America 2000 strategy shows communities how to develop schools that work. We want our schools held to high standards, world-class standards. We want parents to have real financial opportunity to choose schools, including parochial or private schools. We're inviting parents and educators and businessmen and civic leaders to reinvent, literally reinvent American schools. To replace institutions that fail, fail to work, fail to get the job done, with new schools empowered with freedom and flexibility and innovative strategies.

Here's where you come in on all of this: It's up to you and your generation to make this happen. You will inherit this long-term mission as leaders in agriculture, business, or government in your counties, your cities, and your States. And I've put forward a strategy for reforming our schools, and I hope to see as much as possible accomplished during my Presidency. But before this vision can become a full reality, I foresee years of political trench warfare, pitting the reformers against dug-in interest groups.

The challenge of reforming American education will take plenty of patience, grit, and determination, exactly the types of virtues that FFA represents. And I am very pleased that the national FFA organization's plans for its future leadership in agricultural education mesh so well with our America 2000 philosophy. So, the first goal: education.

The second goal I'd like you to pursue is keeping America competitive. We could all take a lesson from the Kansas City Chiefs about competitiveness. They're having a great season. Of course, later this afternoon I'll be in St. Louis saying the same thing

about the Cardinals—[laughter]—until I'm back home in the home of the Redskins. I had to apologize to the Redskins' coach, Joe Gibbs, the other day for rooting for my home team, the Houston Oilers. But I hope those big—[applause]. Hey, I might have been right all along. [Laughter]

But look, your country is counting on you and I'm counting on you to find new uses for traditional and nontraditional crops, your field, things you know something about. We want you to outfox our competitors with your marketing skills. We expect you to draw on rural America's tradition of conservation and lead all Americans to use our natural resources, our precious natural resources, wisely. We're looking to you to create attractive new products, including clean fuels.

I really believe that if the Soviet Union had been blessed with an organization like the FFA that their problems in agriculture wouldn't be nearly as big, nearly as horrible as they are today. You are involved in important work.

We've got to keep opportunity alive in this country. Federal income tax rates are lower, flatter, and fairer than they were a decade ago, but they still seem to reward debt and punish saving and investment. And that's why we're long overdue for a capital gains tax cut, something I've asked Congress for every year since I became President. But Congress isn't getting the message. These Senators are, but most of the leaders up there are not. In the farming, ranching, and agriculture business, in those communities I'm sure you can appreciate how a capital gains tax cut would improve property values. But more than that, it would boost investment and jobs in every sector and every industry in this Nation. And I wish you'd help me get that message to the United States Congress.

You see, I know you guys have the clout. Seventy-seven Congressmen wrote letters asking me to come speak to this FFA convention. That's not bad, 77. So, it seems only fair you let 'em know what I said and ask them to consider it. [Laughter]

You know, we need to take the shackles off our banks and financial services companies. I've sent to Congress a comprehensive

banking reform package, but again, Congress isn't getting that message. Would you want to start out in business with outmoded banking laws that won't allow American firms to compete on equal terms with the Japanese and Europeans?

We need to seize new opportunities and tackle new challenges in world trade. This is an important aspect of the FFA convention theme, "Leadership for a Growing Planet." In the GATT talks, these Uruguay round GATT talks on trade that we're now engaged in, we're engaged in what I hope will be the final battle against agricultural protectionism around the world. As many of you know, I met face to face just last Saturday with the European Community leaders. That was in The Netherlands last week. And I made it plain that American agriculture and American agribusiness stand for free and fair trade. We want to complete a good GATT deal that opens more markets for American exports and launches a booming new generation of trade. American farmers can compete with anybody, anywhere in the world.

We're on our way toward achieving an excellent bargain for more trade and more jobs through our efforts with Mexico and Canada. The North American free trade area will present your generation some fantastic, some exciting opportunities. And so will the free-market transformation of the former Soviet empire. Economic growth and stability in the former Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe ultimately will make them better trading partners with the United States. And now that the good people of those lands have thrown off the chains of communism, we intend to help them in their economic transition.

Let me say something else about my efforts to promote our exports. I am not going to apologize for a single moment that I devote to promoting America's interests abroad. Some of my critics act as if the global marketplace is off somewhere in Asia or in Europe. But you and I know it is right here in Kansas City and in Birmingham and Bakersfield and the Silicon Valley.

Every additional billion dollars in new exports—listen to this one—every one means 20,000 new American jobs. And when I fight for free and fair trade in Latin Amer-

ica or East Asia or Europe, some will carp and claim that I'm pursuing foreign instead of domestic policy. Well, to borrow a word you all understand, and I'll try to clean it up for you, that is hogwash. The whole line of argument is misleading. But I don't think the American people are misled, and I don't believe you're misled. I'm sure you understand that what I'm working at is a real-world approach to creating more jobs and more wealth for Americans in America.

And it's a life of challenge ahead. It's a life of challenge ahead for you and your generation. We're looking to you for fresh ideals and energy to renew our schools, our businesses, and our government institutions. We're counting on you to become the Schwarzeneggers of a tough global marketplace. You'll need training, discipline, creativity, and alert minds to seize new ideas and opportunities.

Is this a tall order? Well, sure it is. But looking at you, I know that you'll achieve everything we expect of you, more.

As all of you know there's been some recent developments on the peace front that I think are terribly important to all of you. As we convened an historic conference in Madrid to get those talks started on a Middle East peace, and when I worked with President Gorbachev and President Yeltsin or the leaders of Eastern Europe as they struggled to build societies founded upon freedom and the rule of law, or when we moved to repel a brutal dictator's invasion of Kuwait, in all of these ways we are assuring a more peaceful world for your generation and the next.

And so, let the isolationists turn their backs on the historic opportunities that are before us. I cannot give up on the quest for peace on Earth. I owe it to your generation and the next generation to continue to lead, to use America's moral leadership towards that end. And I will not change my ways. I'll continue to work for world peace, and that's good for everybody in this room and all across the United States.

Thank you very much for this opportunity to speak. And let me put it in perspective. What you're doing is important: Your concept of leadership is important; your commitment to agricultural America is im-

portant. So, have some fun while you're here in Kansas City, but remember you are engaged in the future of the United States of America. And God bless you, and may God bless our great country. Thank you very, very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 2:10 p.m. to the national convention meeting in the Kansas City Municipal Auditorium. In his remarks, he referred to Mark Timm, president of the Future Farmers of America. Following his remarks, the President traveled to St. Louis, MO.*

## Interview With Don Marsh of KTVI-TV in St. Louis, Missouri November 13, 1991

### *Unemployment Compensation Bill*

*Q.* Mr. President, let's make some news. You've just talked to Mr. Dole, Senator Dole; you've got some news for us.

*The President.* Well, I talked to Senator Dole and Congressman Bob Michel, our leader in the House. I congratulated the Speaker, Speaker Foley, Chairman Rostenkowski of the Ways and Means Committee, both our leaders. And it looks like we now have, at long last, an unemployment compensation bill that will get money into the hands of those whose benefits have run out and will do it without burdening every other taxpayer. By that I mean, do it within the budget agreement.

So, it's good news. It's a compromise, but it's long overdue. And I now hope both the House and the Senate pass it promptly. And according to the leaders I talked to and then their Democratic counterparts, they feel that it will pass.

*Q.* No doubt about the signature.

*The President.* No doubt about the signature if it stays the way this deal has been hammered out, absolutely.

### *The Economy*

*Q.* I want to talk to you about the economy, as I'm sure all the people who follow me will. Mr. Bush, since you took office, 25,000 Missourians have lost their jobs. Ron Brown, on the radio yesterday, said the least amount of economic growth of any administration since Herbert Hoover during your administration. That's a lot of heavy baggage to carry to '92, isn't it?

*The President.* Yes, any time the recession is upon you, and it's not now, but anytime

the economy is slow it's a problem. But I'm disinclined to listen to much that Ron Brown says, but what we're trying to do is get some people in the Congress, like the two Senators we have from Missouri, who understand what it takes to get this economy growing and will not continue to bust the budget agreement that we struggled to get—in other words, spending too much—and will pass some of what I've called upon to stimulate the economy and kick this job base.

And I'm a little more optimistic now about that. And there's been some good news recently. The credit card companies are apparently starting down on the interest rates. The interest rates are down to almost historic lows now. Inflation is still under control. But it needs a boost of confidence; that's what it needs.

*Q.* But interest rates are down, but nobody is buying anything. They're not buying houses. They're not buying cars. They're not buying anything.

*The President.* I know, and you could—the rates would be very good for that. But I think it's strictly confidence. And I think that the fundamentals are getting better. They're not perfect yet. But it will kick in, and in the meantime, everybody's got to keep doing the best they can. But I can't go along—and I mentioned this unemployment benefits bill—and do it in a way that's going to make things worse. I want to make things better.

*Q.* Is the need for confidence the reason why you're so reluctant to use that "R" word?

*The President.* Which is the "R" word?

happened. I was walking across the school campus. And it just changed my life and the life of everybody then. The country pulled together like never before in our history, with the possible exception of World War I, but I'd say even like never before in our history.

There was an evil out there: totalitarianism. And we prevailed. And that spirit that existed in World War II was epitomized by Desert Storm. Different war, different scope, different duration, different body count, but that same spirit of the country coming together is what I remember about World War II.

#### *U.S.-Japanese Relations*

*Q.* Just a couple of seconds. It's unfair—don't answer if you don't want to. A lot of the veterans I've talked to think that the Japanese won that war, at least economically.

*The President.* I don't agree with that. And it's very easy for somebody that fought in that war, as I did, to go through what's now known as Japanese bashing. But that's not the way you approach something like this. They're democratic. They've got to let us into their markets more. One of the rea-

sons I'm determined to go on this trip is to do a better job of getting them to open markets.

But I don't think this is a time for re-crimination and anger. And you're talking to one that got shot down by the Japanese. So, I've been there, and I can speak with some perspective. But I can understand when competition is there, but the last thing we ought to do is do what some are suggesting and pull into some fortress America, because my memory also goes back to the Depression in the thirties when we thought we were going to isolate ourselves by being protectionistic. And what happened, you shrunk the entire job market. Thank God we are exporting now, or a lot more people in Missouri would be hurting.

*Q.* Thank you very much. Our time is up.  
*The President.* Nice to see you.

*Note: The interview began at 4:20 p.m. in the Radisson Hotel, St. Louis Airport. In his remarks, the President referred to Ronald Brown, chairman of the Democratic National Committee. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this file this interview.*

## Interview With Richard Ford of KSDK-TV in St. Louis, Missouri November 13, 1991

### *The Economy*

*Q.* Well, I guess you know everybody's anxious to talk about the economy.

*The President.* Yes.

*Q.* Well, it is the economy I want to talk about, too. And I might preface this, Mr. President, saying some of the questions I'm asking reflect some feedback that we get from our audience. And here in Missouri, for instance, the economy has been described as stagnant in the St. Louis area for a couple of years: Unemployment about 6.8 percent and not really changing very much; 25,000 manufacturing lost in the last year alone; people out of work who have never been out of work before and not the chronically unemployed. And I'm getting a sense

of maybe frustration, maybe even anger on the part of these people. And I wonder, what can you tell them? What can you tell them about the future?

*The President.* I can tell them we've been through a tough time. We've been through a recession. And I say through because technically I don't believe this country is in a recession. In this area, we've had some economic dislocations because of our success, the success in beating down a military threat that still exists, incidentally, but has enabled us to make some substantial cut-backs on defense. And so, what we've got to do is to "incent" this economy in the ways I've been proposing to the Congress for 2 years. And I'm talking about capital gains,

R&D, IRA's, enterprise zones; a transportation bill would kick the economy right now.

So, we've got some answers. I've got a big problem with the Congress. And apparently the people blame the Congress. I'll take my share of the blame. But we're going through a transitional period here, and we've got to help these people.

*Q.* One of your biggest critics in Congress, of course, is St. Louis Representative Richard Gephardt—

*The President.* Yes, he is.

*Q.* —who says you have no sense of leadership. You're frozen by insensitivity to what people are thinking.

*The President.* I'm disinclined to respond to those kinds of personal attacks. I don't agree with that, and the American people, fortunately, don't agree with that. I think the American people see Congress as a major stumbling block, and he happens to be the leader of the House over there. And if they would go forward and do some of the things I've asked, I think we'd be far further along in the economy.

But today, for example, we get a breakthrough on unemployment compensation, helping people whose benefits ran out. But we did it by beating back a lot of bad ideas that would bust the budget agreement and tax all the people that are working, the 94 percent of the people that are working. And I don't want to do that. And I have a big difference with the liberal ideology of the leadership in the Congress.

#### *Unemployment*

*Q.* Some cynics might say that you agreed to that unemployment benefit extension because the polls show you losing in popularity or losing in this rate of approval.

*The President.* Some cynics might say that, but they don't know the facts. The facts are, if the Democrats had done what they're willing to do now, we could have had a bill 2 months ago and should have. But they asked me to bust the budget agreement and further tax the 94 percent of the people that are working. And by standing up and saying, "No, we're not going to do it that way," we're going to beat back the liberal idea that you can just keep on spending forever that got us partially in the mix we're in now. And so, I had

to stand up against it.

But now, apparently, we've got a deal. Haven't got it passed yet, but it's a good compromise. But I don't think somebody will charge that because they can see the evidence of the legislation.

*Q.* You're familiar with this Times-Mirror poll that was taken that showed this drop in popularity. There was another statistic in that poll that's disturbing to some, that 39 percent of those polled are afraid that some member of their family is going to lose their job. And isn't it very difficult for people to spend money to stimulate the economy when they live with this fear—

*The President.* Yes.

*Q.* —that maybe they're going to be unemployed?

*The President.* Yes, yes, it is.

*Q.* What do we do about that?

*The President.* What we do about it is passing the incentive programs that I've got up before the Congress. I'm not sure that will happen now because Congress is going to go out, and I think they should go out. It's long overdue that they go out in my opinion. And then I will make some proposals at the State of the Union Message and take my case directly to the American people. And I think they'll support me. I hope things are better by then. But even if they're not, I'm going to have a program that I will look the American people in the eye and say, "Look, they've tried it their way. I've had to block some of the lousy ideas that the Democratic leadership has come up with. And here's what I think is best. Now, you back me, and let's try to get it done."

But you're right, confidence is a big, key thing. But there's some good news on that. Interest rates are down, and today yet there's another very important credit card company came down on their rates. At some point when people see the rates are where they are, I believe you're going to see confidence start back in housing or in consumer buying. And that's what the economy needs.

*Q.* But people don't have jobs, sir. They don't have any income. They don't care what the interest rate is. They can't spend any money. They can't borrow any money.

*The President.* That's right, 6 percent.

*Q.* Their credit cards are maxed out already.

*The President.* There's 94 percent of the people that can stimulate the economy and help create jobs, however.

#### *Transportation Bill*

*Q.* Two Governors were in town here yesterday, both Republicans, Ashcroft and Edgar from Illinois. And they say we need a new bridge across the river, a very expensive bridge that has to be built. The rest of the infrastructure here could be helped. I was just wondering if you would approve or consider some sort of WPA kind of thing. If you will, that would stimulate the economy and also rebuild the infrastructure.

*The President.* Before we need a whole new WPA program, what we need is—you're right, we need to do something about the infrastructure. And they ought to pass our transportation bill. You remember last March when I challenged the Congress to pass it in 100 days? Said, "Hey, you guys are sitting around here. Can't you at least pass something that will help the infrastructure, help the highway system in 100 days?" It's now how many months later? We might still get it before the end of this session. But I'm a little bit skeptical.

But that's the kind of thing we ought to do rather than go out and try to think of some big new way to spend money. We've got a good transportation bill that would do

exactly what you're talking about. Now, whether it takes care of that bridge or not, I don't know.

#### *Sale of F-15's to Saudi Arabia*

*Q.* Not far from here, we have a McDonnell-Douglas plant, where you've already alluded there's a lot of unemployment because of defense cutbacks. Will you support the sale of F-15's to Saudi Arabia that would keep employment there at a good level through the next several years?

*The President.* We have no requests, and I'll consider all these requests when they come to me. We have no requests yet.

*Q.* For the F-15's sale—

*The President.* Yes.

*Q.* —not formally been made yet?

*The President.* No.

#### *Wage Levels*

*Q.* There's an economist—and this will be my last chat here—who says that it's not high taxes and it's not high interest rates that are the problem, it's low wages, that people aren't making enough money in this country because all of our manufacturing jobs have gone someplace else. Do you think there's any truth in that?

*The President.* No, I don't think there's any truth in that.

*Note: The interview began at 4:30 p.m. at the Radisson Hotel, St. Louis Airport. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this interview.*

## Interview With Julius Hunter of KMOV-TV in St. Louis, Missouri November 13, 1991

### *Domestic and Foreign Policy Interaction*

*Q.* Mr. President, you're being given worldwide acclaim for your foreign policy programs or foreign policy initiatives, but your critics are crying a lot. I mean, I'm sure you've heard that crying recently that you, during the last 3 years, have not looked homeward and have not taken care of business at home. How do you respond to that?

*The President.* I think they're not telling

the truth. I think that in the first place, I see the world as one great big market. And I think every time we export, we're doing something good. So, when I go, like the other day, to an EC meeting in The Hague and try to expand our agricultural sales that are very important in Missouri, try to expand those around the world, I think that's in the American interest.

Secondly, I think world peace is in the interest of your kids and mine and our

grandchildren. And I'm going to continue to work on that.

Thirdly, I have a good domestic agenda program. But my problem is, the liberal Democrats that control both Houses of the Congress want to try it some other way. So what I have to do is keep proposing and repropounding, make compromises as we did on child care and clean air and some of these bills that are important, and then keep fighting for my agenda: The crime bill, the transportation bill, and these other growth measures that I've talked about. But it isn't easy.

In foreign affairs, when we went to win a war I didn't have to ask the leadership of the Democratic Congress whether it's okay. "Hey, is it all right if I move this division there? Is it okay if we send Schwarzkopf here or there?" I didn't have to do that. I'm the President, made something happen. It's different on domestic affairs. You're always fighting some tired, in my view, tired old ideas up there.

#### *'91 Elections*

*Q.* Speaking of tired old ideas, do you detect a swing in voters' mood in the country? Witness the defeat of Buddy Roemer in Louisiana, the rise of David Duke, and the defeat of Dick Thornburgh, your hand-picked guy for the Senate in Pennsylvania.

*The President.* Well, in the first place, the Buddy Roemer was a terrible blow because it gave rise to a very tough choice in Louisiana. But I have said publicly, and I'll say again: I couldn't be silent in the face of a man who is an ex-Nazi, who is a bigot, whose past is full of racism. So, I've spoken out on that. And the only worry I've got on that one is will that help Duke or hurt him, because Louisianians are proud. I used to work over there. They don't like people coming in from outside telling them what to do. But when you have a man that denies the Holocaust or is bigoted against minorities, I've got to speak out. I owe the country that kind of moral leadership.

On the Thornburgh matter, yes, I'm concerned, but I also was delighted when Governor Florio of New Jersey said, "This is a referendum on President Bush, the elections here." And we swept both Houses. So, there was some good news for us and some

not so good.

*Q.* Do you think you might have to take the unprecedented step of backing David Duke's opponent, the Democrat?

*The President.* Well, I've done that. Yes, I've said that, that if I were down there I'd vote for Edwards. But again, the risk on that is that you are counterproductive. But I feel so strongly that we must speak up against racism and bigotry that I was pleased to do that, in the sense that it's the principled thing to do. But I'm not sure of the election effect.

#### *The Economy*

*Q.* You're in an area with extremely high unemployment, and there are a lot of people who are struggling to make ends meet right now. There are the homeless and the hungry in this country, those who are in despair. It might be difficult for them to believe that the recession is truly over. Might you be getting a picture painted for you by your chief economic advisers that is rosier than it actually is out there in the jungle, in the real world?

*The President.* I don't think that's the case, but I think there is a danger of when you say the recession is over that people who are out of work, and it's 6.8 percent or something of that nature, misunderstand that. We had a period of growth in the third quarter, and the definition of recession is two negative quarters in a row. Well, we had a positive quarter. But what's happening is the growth is slow. It's anemic. And what we ought to do is pass some of the growth measures that I've got before this Congress to stimulate growth and move forward on things like home-ownership and tenant management and a whole new approach. But I'm having difficulty with the leadership in the Congress, frankly. They're thinking old, tired thoughts.

And the American people see this. I'll take my share of the blame, but the American people are right when in survey after survey they blame Congress, as many as four times as much as the President. But this isn't a question of blame; it's a question of trying to help somebody. And I'll continue to reach out to Congress, but I can't accept bad legislation that's going to hurt



everybody in the country.

#### *Health Care*

*Q.* There are 34 million Americans with no health care insurance. And the plan that's been recently offered by business and labor leaders, you're opposed to that plan. What would you say to those 34 million Americans who might seem to think that you're not interested in them getting health care?

*The President.* I'd say we're going to have a health care program. We've got some good programs under HHS Secretary Louis Sullivan. But there are 60 programs that have been put out. There's another one, maybe that's the one you're referring to today, that came out that Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford were on. The price tag on some of these are enormous. And we've got to have a comprehensive program where we do something about the costs that have accelerated so much and try, at the same time, to provide health care for all.

The program, as I see it, that was proposed today looks very much like the one that they proposed in Massachusetts. And they put it in, and then the voters rebelled because it cost everybody way too much money. And we simply have got to be sure that when we get one, and we're going to have a proposal, that it is not going to bust the back of everybody else or put people out of work.

You're concerned; so am I, about jobs. And you don't want to say to every small business, "You're going to be rendered uncompetitive because the Federal Government is going to impose mandates on you."

#### *'92 Election*

*Q.* I know you don't want to aid and abet the enemy, but is there any Democrat that you would be loathe to run against in the next election?

*The President.* If there was I probably wouldn't tell you about him. But, no, look, I've always said I'll have a tough race. I'm confident that I'll prevail. And I want very much, if I decide to be an official candidate, to prevail.

*Q.* If you decide?

*The President.* But I don't go along with the common wisdom as to who's the toughest or not. The media frenzy back in the East I expect—I hope it's kind of been avoided out here in this very sensible part of the country—but they have picked some that they think are the toughest. But let the American people decide this. And let the Democrats sort it out in their own primaries, and then I'll take on whatever they offer up.

*Q.* If you decide to run?

*The President.* If I decide to run. And I've said, though, and not being cute about it, that the only reason that I can foresee would be if I had some health problem. That came up last year, but I feel like a million bucks right now—before taxes. *[Laughter]*

*Q.* Thank you very much, Mr. President

*The President.* Good to see you.

*Note: The interview began at 4:40 p.m. in the Radisson Hotel, St. Louis Airport. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this interview.*

## **Interview With Steve Schiff of KPLR-TV in St. Louis, Missouri November 13, 1991**

### *Domestic and Foreign Policy Interaction*

*Q.* Mr. Bush, you've been getting a lot of criticism from your detractors who say that you've been spending too much time abroad. Have you been spending too much time abroad?

*The President.* No.

*Q.* How do you respond to them?

*The President.* I responded, when I go to The Hague on a GATT meeting, trade meeting, the purpose of which is to open up agricultural markets to American products, that that's good for the American farmer. It's good for the American agricul

tural worker. When I go to the peace conference in Madrid, I happen to think that it is in the national interest to try to help bring peace to that troubled corner of the world. When we stand up against Saddam Hussein's aggression and beat back that, I think it's in the American interest. When I go to the Soviet Union and work with Yeltsin and Gorbachev in turning over that whole system, helping them now move down democracy's road, that's in our pure economic interest. And when I'm going to go to Japan, it will be in the same thing. We've got to open up those markets.

So, I think there's a frustration on the part of the Democrats, some of them that make these silly charges because they don't put it in the perspective of a global economy. We're in a small world. And thank God we have the exports we've got, or you'd have much tougher economic times right here in this State that's hurting.

That's the way I'd respond to it.

#### '92 Election

*Q.* Mr. President, what is your domestic agenda with election right around the corner? Are there certain things that you want to address more than others?

*The President.* Well, definitely. The crime bill, it's been up there; challenged them in March to 100 days to pass, and it hasn't passed. A transportation bill that is job-concentrated that would help the economy immediately; I challenged them to 100 days. It's now, what, 265 days later or something like that. I want to see us do much better in terms of growth. I happen to believe, and they dump on me, the Democrats, on capital gains. I think that would stimulate small business and create new businesses and new jobs, and it would make us more competitive abroad. We've got IRA's that would kick off first-home buyers savings. We've got all kinds in growth programs. Enterprise zones is another one that I think would help.

But we're up against the Democrats in the Congress who want to try to do it their way. I think I was elected to do the things I've told you I'm trying to do. But it makes it very difficult.

#### Unemployment Compensation Bill

*Q.* What about this extension of the unemployment benefits? There seems to be some bickering today between Democrats and Republicans in Washington, some of the Democrats saying that it's going to lead to a tax increase.

*The President.* We just got a breakthrough on that a few minutes ago. And I talked to Bob Dole, Bob Michel, thanked them; thanked Speaker Foley, the leader of the Democrats in the House; Chairman Rostenkowski, the Democratic leader of the Ways and Means, because we've come to agreement now in a way that operates within the budget agreement and, thus, won't raise people's taxes.

My argument with the unemployment bill that was passed before is they just wanted to bust the budget agreement, just added to the burden for the 94 percent of the people who are working. And so we finally prevailed on this, provided the Senate votes for it. So, I think there's good news there on the economic front, certainly on the front for those who should have been getting these checks long ago. We want to help people that are hurting, whose benefits have run out.

But it's the President that has to protect all the people. And that's what I think we've done now. So, I don't know that criticism is relevant anymore. I hope not.

#### AIDS

*Q.* Let's turn to the AIDS issue. Why don't we have a national AIDS bill?

*The President.* To do what? What would an AIDS bill do?

*Q.* Well, I don't know, I'm asking you.

*The President.* Well, if you're asking me, we're doing a good job on research. We're spending far more per victim on AIDS research than we are on heart disease or cancer, which are far greater killers. We've got to do more in the education front on AIDS. When I talked to the researchers at National Institutes of Health, I think they feel that they could use more money, but I don't think they feel a shortage of research funds is what's important.

We are trying to speed AIDS research drugs to market even though some are

going to accuse us of getting them there before they've been fully tested. I think maybe we need to do more in terms of education. And that's one reason I'd like to see Magic Johnson on our National AIDS Commission, if he feels that it's something he's interested in doing.

But I don't think there's an AIDS bill. The reason I asked you is because I thought maybe there was some AIDS bill I'm not familiar with. And I think this approach to sensitize people on the health considerations is important. AIDS is a disease where behavior has a lot to do with whether you get the disease or not, unlike cancer or unlike some of these other diseases. So, maybe we need to do more in the education field here.

Q. Well, it just seems that the former Surgeon General, Mr. Koop, did a lot of talking until he was criticized about it—too much talking about AIDS. And now Ms. Novello doesn't seem to be talking too much about it at all.

*The President.* Well, I don't know that that's a fair criticism because I think she's out there discussing it, trying to encourage people to look at it as a major national health problem, trying to dispel some of the myths about AIDS. I've tried to do that. My wife is wonderful at that, when you hold an AIDS baby in your arms to show that, look, this isn't something that's going to be passed just from casual touching like this.

But look, if you asked me: Am I happy with my role; can I do more? Of course, I want to try to do more. But it's not a function of money, is the point I'm trying to make here, I don't believe. I think it's a function of education, getting people to stop doing things that put their own lives at risk, educate people to that end, and show a certain sense of compassion for the victims of AIDS.

### *Louisiana Gubernatorial Election*

Q. One final question, Mr. President. A member of your party is running very strongly down in Louisiana. And you have been—

*The President.* You really know how to hurt a guy. [Laughter]

Q. And you have been quoted as saying that if you lived in Louisiana, you'd vote for Edwin Edwards. Do you feel that way?

*The President.* I haven't felt too happy about the choice; I'll be honest with you. But look, here's a deal where normally a President, or this President, wouldn't get into a local race of this nature. Normally I'd been in there on the side of a Republican, if it's a Republican versus Democrat. But this one's a matter of conscience. This is a matter of saying to the Nation, in my judgment, we must not condone bigotry, anti-Semitism, racism, the ugliness that's coming out as a result of this man Duke's past.

And I'm sorry I—what I hope I haven't done is to inadvertently let him use this to get sympathy inside the State. But here I have a responsibility in the Nation to say, "Look, this is too much." A denial of the Holocaust, when I've been to some of those places and seen the grim tale with my own eyes. I mean, the white sheets, I'm sorry, it's too ugly to sit silent. And perhaps I've helped the opponent. Perhaps I've helped him. But I have to speak out when I see that.

Q. Mr. President, thank you very much for your time.

*The President.* Nice to see you. Thanks a lot for coming over.

*Note: The interview began at 4:50 p.m. at the Radisson Hotel, St. Louis Airport. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this interview.*

Remarks at a Fundraising Dinner for Senator Christopher S. Bond  
in St. Louis, Missouri  
November 13, 1991

Thank you so much. And Kit, thank you. You're setting the tone. Thank all of you out there in this audience for supporting a great United States Senator and for supporting this party; 1992's a critical year. And what a tremendous sendoff this is.

May I salute Senator Danforth. And thank you for being a tower of strength. May I salute all our statewide officers that are here. I'm also told that hall-of-famers Bobby Bell and Buck Buchanan are here; the great Gatlin Brothers, great friends of Kit's and mine that we'll hear from in a little bit.

And I'm just delighted all of you could be here. My brother, I would like to single him out, my brother Buck, finance chairman. You're tired of hearing from him, I know, but nevertheless I'm glad to see him. Talk about all in the family.

Governor Ashcroft, whom I forgive for declaring broccoli the State vegetable. *[Laughter]* I can't tell you how closely we work with this Governor and how much respect I have for his judgment. And most of all, though, we're to salute our now and future Senator Kit Bond and, of course, his lovely wife, Carolyn. And it is nice to have a chance to spend a little time in this city where my own mother was born and raised. My favorite mystic, St. Louis', also New York's, Yogi Berra, once said of a restaurant, "Nobody goes there anymore. It's too crowded." *[Laughter]* Get it? Nope. Okay. *[Laughter]*

Well, I'm pleased to see this capacity crowd. There's not a nobody in the room. And I know we have other entertainment including, as I mentioned, one of our Bush family favorites, the Gatlin Brothers, who've been up with us at Camp David. And I really enjoy coming here, though, to honor this bright star of Missouri, a bright star of the Senate. And of course, I mean Kit.

We first met in 1968. He came over to our house for hamburgers. The next year, he became Assistant Attorney General for the Consumer Protection Division.

*[At this point, audience members interrupted the President's remarks.]*

That's all right. This happens every place you go. They have their say here, and they'll be escorted quietly out. But let me just say something while they're taken care of. The Federal Government is doing a first-class job on research for AIDS. And we are going to keep on doing it until we can bring a compassionate end to this American tragedy. And I have no problem at all with their speaking their mind.

I don't want to get off the beaten text here. But I just thought Magic Johnson was fantastic the other day when he faced up to this. And I believe speaking out with compassion, doing what we're doing on research is the answer to this terrible problem that plagues not just the United States but many others. So, I have no anger in my heart when I hear people that are expressing their concerns.

I was talking about Kit. Right after he had hamburgers with us, he became the Assistant Attorney General for the Consumer Protection Division. No relationship between the two events, I don't believe. *[Laughter]* But then he went on, was elected State auditor; at 33, your Governor, the youngest in Missouri history; and finally, junior Senator. And he impressed us all so much that we knew we had to have him to be the campaign chairman for Bush-Quayle in '88.

And there's an old saying that what goes around, comes around. And in 1986, Kit Bond was elected to the United States Senate. And the time has now come to send him back. And he deserves it. He's earned the support of the people in Missouri. And he has a record to build on, not empty rhetoric to run around. We hear a lot of political demagoguery from the other party, but it won't sell in Missouri. The motto here is "Show me," not "Snow me." And that's why I believe he's going to win this race.

Kit and Jack Danforth and your great Governor, Governor Ashcroft, and I have

fundamental differences with the liberal Democrats who control both Houses of the United States Congress. Let me just try tonight to define some of these differences. They want mandates. This means they want to pass more and more bills dictating to the States how to solve problems: education programs, crime programs, health programs. Some subcommittee chairman that's been for 30 years telling the people of Missouri how they ought to solve the great social problems. And we want federalism. We want the power to be in the hands of the Governors and in the hands of the local authorities and, bless them, in the hands of the families of the United States by providing choice when it comes to education and child care.

The national Governors, and I'm talking Democrats and Republicans, tell me that the major problem they have is being saddled with more and more mandates by some of these empowered committee chairmen in Washington that pass legislation after legislation, or attempt to pass it, that just tells the States how to do everything. And we've got to stand up against that.

And the liberals just don't understand that Federal money, as they call it, is your money. It is the taxpayers' money. And I am determined to protect your interests.

We all saw Jack Danforth's, I'd say not just heroic but, try to say this right, wonderful example of his character as he stood beside Clarence Thomas. And here's a little something that irked me; plenty did out of all of that. But did you know that with all the pious talk by some of those Democrats about sexual harassment, which is a concern and which we should do something about, but all the pious talk about sexual harassment, the Senate, as the debate went on, had exempted itself from the same sexual harassment laws that everyone else in the land has to live by. And I don't think that's right. And if we had different leaders up in the United States Senate, that would be changed.

You see, we believe that it's time that people felt they had more control over their own lives when it comes to these Federal programs. And we want to enlarge personal dignity, push back this concept of impersonal government.

People matter to Kit—he cares deeply about them—just as they do to all of us here. And that's why we want to do more than complain about this economy that concerns us all. We want to give it a good boost. And as Senator, Kit has backed our growth initiatives: A cut in the capital gains tax; banking reform; personal savings incentives like IRA's to stimulate home buying; an R&D, a research and development tax credit; more investment in science and technology and infrastructure. We need a new transportation bill that he's working hard on that will give Americans jobs and do it soon. We need our America 2000 education program that all three up here are helping us on.

And I mentioned yesterday that credit card interest rates, in my view, should come down. This isn't a Government decision. But I believe those rates should come down. And I'm pleased to say that some banks yesterday lowered their rates, and then one of the large credit card companies today lowered its rates. And I believe that's right. And I think that's good for the American economy. Give it a kick. Let's get this thing moving.

Kit supports our Council on Competitiveness headed by our Vice President, who I think is doing a superb job. You talk about unfair criticism. The way this man holds up to it, he's doing just fine, thank you. And what he's trying to do, and we've got to redouble our effort, is to free workers and businesses from redtape, regulations, and again, these mandates. And people have better things to do than fill out plenty of reports all the time, reporting, reporting to Uncle Sam. And I might add, the Council is doing a good job trying to get a recalcitrant Democratic leadership to move on much needed tort reform, liability reform. These outrageous damage settlements are finishing off a lot of the small businesses in this country. We need to place caps on some of these outrageous claims.

So, we've got a growth program. It's there. It is a sound agenda. But while the people seek action, the liberals in Congress go out and hold a lot of press conferences, sell their funny little T-shirts, and sabotage the initiatives that the American people

want. And I'm getting sick and tired of it.

They even refused to permit a vote on our capital gains tax cut to propel the economy when we had majorities in both the House and the Senate for this a couple of years ago. Couldn't even get it to the floor by some fancy parliamentary procedure out there.

They talk about fairness, and what they're really talking about these days, you listen to the proposals and listen to the load they're putting on me, they're talking about class warfare. And America grew out of that years ago. We're all in this together. And we cannot be divided by Democratic demagoguery.

We've got a good agenda, and they've got an agenda. Their agenda is to block our agenda. And so far, I regret to report, they're having some success because they've got our good troops here outnumbered. And worse, they try to lay the blame at my door, and I don't like that, and at yours, and I'm sure you don't like that either. Well, I think it's time to reject their propaganda and their excuses and demand some action.

And frankly, and I think the American people see this, these guys that write these stories think I live and die by the polls. Well, I don't. I certainly don't want to die by them. *[Laughter]* But I see these polls out there. And I've got to confess every once in a while, I look at it. And the American people aren't dumb. You know who they blame for the dilemma that we're in today, that we're trying to fight our way out of? They blame the United States Congress, and that means the one-party control, the Democratic leadership in the United States Congress.

You want to talk a little domestic agenda? You want to talk a little more domestic agenda? Okay. On March 20th, I submitted a banking reform legislation to the Congress. That was 238 days ago. No legislation. And our banks should be able to compete with these domineering foreign banks. And they can't do it if we don't change the law. No action, 238 days. On March 11th, I sent Congress a crime bill. That was 247 days. And our policemen are out there, and they need our support on the streets. And we need a crime bill that says we care a little

more about the law enforcement and a little less about those who commit the crimes.

Domestic agenda? Okay. On March 4th, I sent energy legislation. We need a national energy strategy. It is my view we are too dependent on foreign oil. And the war over there ought to have taught us that. That was 254 days ago, no bill. On February 13th, up went our transportation legislation. That was 273 days ago, and you guessed it, no bill on my desk. And on May 22d, I sent Congress a national education strategy legislation. And 175 days later, surprise, surprise, no bill.

Look, I think the American people understand that from the very first day I took office I held out my hand to the Congress. And some of the Republican Party thought maybe I did it a little too much. Some thought that I was a little too willing to negotiate, to compromise. I tried. I have held out my hands to those leaders. I have caught their javelins. I have absorbed their blows because I've been trying to get something done for the good of the American people. And I've tried to work with that Democratic leadership. And I owe it to the American people to continue to try because I do believe that our kids need a good chance at a good education, not just some dozen years of babysitting.

We've got a great education program. And I'm going to keep on trying. But I'll tell you this: When this election rolls around, if I decided to become a candidate—I'm getting warmed up here—*[laughter]*—but if I do, I'm going to take this case to the American people and say, "Give me more men like Kit Bond. Give me some good women on our side like Nancy Kassebaum. Give me more Senators like Jack Danforth, and you watch this country move ahead."

Oh, there's so much to do. I mentioned America 2000, our education program. It's good. We've got a great man, a great friend of John Ashcroft's, Lamar Alexander is our Secretary, bringing this revolutionary new approach to the parents and the families, saying we've got to do better for our kids. Trying to restore peace in our streets, give people an opportunity to live free of fear.

And we've got to have a new crime bill. The Senate passed a good crime bill, and I credit these Senators right here. But the Democrats in the House tried to undo much of it.

One area where we have gotten bipartisan cooperation, and this is important to every family, transcends party lines, is on our national drug strategy. And we launched a strategy to combat drugs; it is producing real results. Casual use of heroin in this country and cocaine, these things are going down. We're making progress. We have a long way to go, but at least there's some good signs out there for the American family on that front.

I believe we need this job-creating transportation legislation. Kit knows the condition of Missouri roads and bridges. And he told me he was surprised I could drive to this event and glad I don't have to cross the bridge to St. Charles to get here. *[Laughter]* Help me elect a Congress that knows that if we want to keep America on the rise, we've got to keep it on the move.

And let me just mention, before closing, some international aspects to this, international leadership, worldwide economic competition. Some in Congress, including some from Missouri, pretend that trade and security and international cooperation don't help the working men and women of this country. Well, just tell that to the more than 40 million Americans working in jobs that involve importing or exporting. Today, an estimated 75,000 to 100,000 Missouri jobs depend on exports. You know that military, economic, and political issues cross continents, and they cross borders. For instance, checking foreign protectionism means more American exports and more American jobs.

But some Democratic leaders in Congress just don't get it. They seem to be sounding again—and yes, people are hurting—they seem to be sounding again the siren call of protectionism. The worst thing we can do is to pull back into some protectionist cocoon. The job loss would be staggering. There are one or two of you old guys out here, old enough like I am to remember what happened when we went the protection route right there around the time of the Great Depression, and the whole world market

shrank. And I am not going to be the President that shirks my responsibilities to expand our markets abroad.

There's a lot of change in the world, and we are the leaders not just of the free world but of the emerging democracies around the world. And progress demands we accept that role and accept it eagerly, as a great people should. And we are a great Nation, a great people. And when a dictator threatened American lives, yes, we helped the Panamanian people validate their own free elections by kicking him out, seeing that he's brought to trial.

When a brutal tyrant invaded Kuwait, we helped roll back aggression and liberate a land. Was that victory foreign, was that domestic; what was it? I think it was in the fundamental national interest of the United States that we led the world to say one country's not going to brutalize its neighbor. It's good for your kids and mine, and it's good for the entire world.

And as communism crumbled, we made it clear, typical American spirit, we made it clear that we will support those who promote democracy and free enterprise, and thank God we did. Is democracy, is that foreign, or is that domestic? Is it right to work with Gorbachev and Yeltsin for exciting peaceful change? Can you imagine if all this new democracy and freedom and market economy works in the Soviet Union, what that means in terms of our own trade? Certainly I know what it means in terms of peace for generations to come. Is that neglecting my job, to pay attention to these major problems of change that face the world?

Is it historic and wonderful, as I believe, to bring the warring parties together to talk peace in the Middle East as we did at Madrid, or am I neglecting something? I wish every one of you could have been in the room with me and felt the wonder of that moment when ancient enemies came under the same roof. We've a long way to go before we can say peace, but I am going to keep on working for peace around the world. It benefits your kids, again, and it benefits mine.

Today, we need more leaders like these two Senators up here and this Governor.

They know what I'm talking about. Missouri is linked to trade in Singapore. Kit understands this. He helped draft the 1990 farm bill, which has made America more competitive overseas. Someone asked Kit how he got 23 provisions in the bill. "Simple," he said, "Missourians gave me the best ideas." He listens to the people and makes something happen in Washington, DC. He understands that military aircraft built in St. Louis can help keep the peace. He led the successful fight to make the F- and A-18 the Navy's carrier-based aircraft for the next decade. And he believes in exports that work, whether it is corn or soybeans or the sunshine of democracy, and so do I.

And last year, I was in Cartagena, Colombia. Why? To help work with them to keep drugs out of our cities and out of our schools and away from our families. Was that foreign or was that domestic? Last week, I was in Rome and The Hague. Why? To work for peace at home and abroad and to promote the cause of free and fair trade and to say to every farmer in the State of Missouri, we are going to keep hammering away on these GATT talks until the Europeans open their markets to the agricultural product of the United States of America. And it is in our interest that I do that, and I'm going to keep on doing it. I don't care what your Congressman from Missouri says about it.

As we approach the 21st century, let's remember: Isolationism makes no sense; never did. It represents an old ignorance that was scorned by my predecessors Roosevelt, Truman, and Kennedy, and that all Presidents and the American people since

have looked upon with disdain. I speak of the ignorance that inspires people to hide from the rest of the world, wishing our problems away instead of creating solutions. It urges them to blame others rather than to call forth the best in ourselves.

I want to do better. I will continue to work my heart out to see that this economy gets on the move. I just wish I had more Members of Congress to implement this program I've outlined for you here tonight. More Members like Kit and Jack, we could be moving sooner. But we're going to keep on. And I'm going to keep that hand of friendship and cooperation extended to the Congress of the United States. I think I owe that to the American people. But I am not going to do it their way. The only way you can make, when you don't have a majority, make something good happen, is to veto bad legislation. And I'm going to keep right on vetoing it until we can make something good happen for this country.

Kit Bond's work embodies his motto. I think there's some of the things I've talked about tonight: "Values we believe in, experience we trust." So, my plea tonight is let's make the most of those values. And let's use them to celebrate America. Let's use them to reelect Kit Bond to be Senator from the great State of Missouri. Let's use them to enhance the standing of the United States of America at home and abroad. We are lucky to be Americans. And God bless the United States of America.

*Note: The President spoke at 6:38 p.m. at the Riverport Amphitheater. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

## Remarks at the Welcoming Ceremony for President Carlos Menem of Argentina

November 14, 1991

*President Bush.* Thank you all very much. And President Menem, it gives me great pleasure to welcome you to the White House. The ties between our countries have never been stronger, and a great deal of

credit goes to you and your administration.

Nearly a year ago, a revolt by renegade soldiers faced you in your nation's capital. And you stood firm in defense of freedom and liberty and in defense of your people's



right to a government of their choice. In the end, freedom triumphed. It was an honor to join you just a few days later in beautiful Buenos Aires, the capital of a proud and free Argentina.

In your inaugural address you asked Argentina to "arise and walk." When we met last year in the capital, we spoke about the challenges your country faces and the changes that have already been set in motion.

Today, Mr. President, Argentina is assuming its rightful place as a leader in the democratic community of nations. Nowhere in this hemisphere is the shape of the post-cold-war world more evident than in Argentina. Under your leadership, Argentina has become one of the hemisphere's strongest defenders of democracy, both at home and abroad.

When Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait, you sent your Navy to join the international coalition which liberated that pillaged nation. And when tanks rumbled through the streets of Moscow, threatening the Soviet Union's forces of democratic reform, you were one of the very first in Latin America to speak out in defense of liberty. You have called for democratic reform in Cuba and made major contributions to the efforts of the Organization of American States to restore democratic government to Haiti.

At home, you have slashed government spending, privatized state-owned industries, and abolished harmful overregulation of the economy. You have brought once-rampant inflation under control. And last year, Argentina had a trade surplus of nearly \$8 billion, and U.S. firms alone invested over \$200 million in Argentina. Despite facing many difficult challenges when you took office in 1989, your efforts have earned the respect of the international community. More importantly, they strengthened Argentina's competitive position in the global economy by attracting new confidence and investment from around the world. I share that confidence in Argentina's future under your leadership.

In the rapidly evolving relationship among the nations of the Southern Cone, you have taken the lead in achieving regional economic integration and arms con-

trol.

For example, by the end of 1995, the MerCoSur common market aims to eliminate tariffs between Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay, linking your economies together in a way consistent with GATT to form one of the hemisphere's largest open markets. You're taking a giant step toward the goal I stated last year in announcing the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative: To make the Americas the world's largest partnership of free-trading nations.

We also welcome your efforts to set in place nuclear safeguards that will increase international security. And your decisions to forswear chemical weapons and halt missile proliferation do create a safer hemisphere, a safer world.

From Rivadavia to Rio Gallegos, from Zapala to Buenos Aires, your strong, committed leadership is bringing your people hope for change, faith in their countrymen, and the courage to "arise and walk" together.

On behalf of the people of the United States, it is my great pleasure to welcome you to the White House. And may God bless the Argentine Republic.

*President Menem.* My dear friend, Mr. President, distinguished Mrs. Bush, ladies and gentlemen, sisters and brothers of America. Thank you very much for your warm words of welcome. It is to me a source of deep satisfaction to be once again here in this great country whose institutions and values have been and still are an example of freedom and human dignity. Moreover, I come back with the satisfaction of having already traveled a long distance along the path of transformation my government has chosen.

There is still a lot to be done in Argentina. Many expectations are still unfulfilled. Many are the problems. However, with effort, firmness, and determination, we are conquering the slope of decadence. With civil freedom, with economic freedom, with an unprecedented freedom of the press, after 2 years of hard work to achieve change, most of the Argentine people have ratified recently their support during our last elections.

This means backing the government,

backing the economic cause, and also a new way of insertion in the world. Our determination is today firmer than ever before to continue implementing state reform, privatizations, open trade, stimulation of foreign investment, deregulation, and also the return to Argentina of assets that were sent abroad. Argentina has also decided to continue playing an active role in the defense of peace and international security, giving all possible support to United Nations initiatives.

When this year began, a distant region in the world was in crisis. In the Gulf we faced, then, serious risks with possible consequences for the whole planet. Within the framework of what the United Nations decided and as the result of the great effort of the United States and its allies, it was possible to end aggression and restore the full rule of international law. We participated in that joint action, and we are proud we did. Some months later, you yourself, my friend Mr. President, had the initiative to propose unilaterally a significant reduction of nuclear weaponry.

The Middle East had, for time immemorial, been a region where all expectations to obtain a just and lasting peace floundered and were thwarted. A few days ago, you inaugurated a conference that has renewed the hope of a constructive dialog in the region when calling to the same negotiating table antagonists who seemed only yesterday to be implacably hostile. This is a really formidable progress, I insist, a formidable and spectacular progress. A new international order is being generated on the basis of peace, of justice, of reason, and under the guidance of God, our only source of reason and justice.

This is the reason why we recognize today our vast coincidence with the United States, for instance, in the common aim of restoring the democratic government of the Republic of Haiti. That is why we rely on integration. We want to consolidate MerCo-Sur with our regional brothers. And we also want to add our own efforts so that the ambitious Enterprise for the Americas Initiative that you, Mr. President, conceived and announced last year will bear fruit.

With Brazil, we have signed an agreement for the exclusively peaceful use of nu-

clear energy, and we are about to conclude an agreement on safeguards with the International Atomic Energy Agency. With Brazil, too, and Chile and Uruguay—Paraguay and Bolivia will join us in the future—we have made the commitment of not producing nor buying, storing, or transferring chemical or biological weapons; of course, banning any kind of use for them.

Furthermore, we have also joined the control system for missile technology, known by the acronym MTCR. Whitman's prophetic dreams are renewed, entwined with the illusions of having a single and great America as they were presaged Ruben Dario, Jose Marti, and Domingo Faustino Sarmiento.

To this end, it will be necessary to find in each and every country of our America a representative democracy with full respect for human rights and a free economy. I repeat, in all the countries of this continent with absolutely no exceptions.

To this end, it will be necessary, Mr. President, to bring a message of a nation that is looking inwards. The message is very simple: The Argentine nation faces with seriousness the need of having a place in the new international order. This we are sure to obtain since we have a representative democracy, we respect human rights, and we chose a free economy.

We trust that the European Economic Community and the developed world will not persist in applying old protectionist schemes that menace the hope of a better future. We hope that we may be able to cooperate firmly so that, and I quote your own words, my dear President and friend, "we may eliminate subsidies that distort trade." We hope we may be able to translate into concrete results some political statements allowing markets to exist whose transparency will reward efficient producers.

We trust in the oldest constitutional democracy in the world, and that democracy is the one in the United States. We place our trust in the United States and its leaders who in 1991 have faced up to their responsibilities towards the international community with maturity and imagination and commendable moderation.

Mr. President, I am really moved by this reception. I am sure that our stay here will not only be a pleasure but also very fruitful. I thank you for your warmth and your hospitality. God bless you, Mr. President. God bless your country, and God bless our America.

*Note: President Bush spoke at 9:58 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House where President Menem was accorded a formal welcome with full military honors. President Menem spoke in Spanish, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.*

## Exchange With Reporters in the Cabinet Room November 14, 1991

### '92 Election

*Q.* Mr. President, is Buchanan doing the right thing thinking about running?

*The President.* I haven't paid much attention to that yet.

### Libyan Indictments

*Q.* Mr. President, do you have any comment on the Lockerbie indictments?

*The President.* We will have, but I want all that to come out properly. And then I'll undoubtedly have something to say. That was a terrible event. And indictments—we have a system of justice in this country. But I gather from briefings I've had that they're serious, I mean, this isn't some quick hit, quick fix on trying to find the answer; that this is very serious business that we're involved in. But I'll have more to say about that after I have had a chance to get briefed on the indictments themselves. I've been briefed on things that are leading up to all of this.

*Q.* Well, are you concerned that although, sir—Mr. Barr said that it's believed that the two Libyans were operating as part of the intelligence operation.

*The President.* As I say, I'm not going to comment until I am briefed on the formal indictments. I've been briefed on events leading up to the indictments and the paper trail and a lot of things that go into all of this. This has been a serious search for a long time. And some have been unfairly condemned because of lack of information. So, I don't want to comment on that until I've gone into it in more detail.

But I've seen enough of it to know that there's been some very good work done on

the part of the U.S. working in cooperation with others to get this far. But I just have to stop short of going further until I am thoroughly informed as to exactly what counts are in this indictment and all of that.

### Legislative Initiatives

*Q.* Mr. President, have you now decided to wait until the State of the Union to put forward a growth package?

*The President.* Well, as I keep saying, we've got a growth package out there, and it's got some fine ingredients. In fact, one of the subjects we're talking about today has some growth aspects to it, as a matter of fact. And we're talking energy here today. But I just wish that the Democratic leadership had moved on the initiatives that I've been talking about for a long, long time in terms of growth. But I'll get some advice here this afternoon on that and see what we've got.

But I'm glad we got together on this unemployment compensation bill, as a matter of fact. We've been saying all along we want a bill that is temporary, doesn't lock in more and more mandates. We want a signable bill that would not invoke the emergency escape from the budget agreement, from the fiscal—and we've just insisted on that. We wanted a signable bill that is paid for and doesn't burden the 96 or 94 percent of the people, whatever it is, that are working. And we've gotten such a bill. And we could have had it last summer if certain leaders up there hadn't wanted to try to inflict a political defeat on me.

And the people that are hurt are those that need help, those whose benefits have

run out. And so I had to insist on these fiscally sound measures. And to the credit of the Senate, Bob Dole particularly, who's taken a strong leadership position, we now have a bill that meets those three criteria. And we didn't have it before. And I find the only way you can get good legislation with some, the way it works up there on Capitol Hill, is to beat back bad legislation. And that's what's happened.

*Q.* But you're going to let the economy ride as it is for a few more months before you propose anything new?

*The President.* —certain things that we may be doing. But I'll have a very strong State of the Union Message that hopefully can mobilize the Democrats that control Congress to do what they should have done some time ago. And we've got, and I talked about it last night out there, we've got several very strong growth initiatives out there. And as these Members of Congress know, you just don't get them through. But we will, because that case will be taken

strongly to the American people later on. So we'll see.

*Q.* Are interest rates about as low as they can go, sir?

*Q.* —take a final shot on the Cuomo question?

*The President.* What is that, Laurie [Laurie Santos, United Press International]? Get out of here. We're talking energy. If you want to hear about energy, that's something else.

*Note: The exchange began at 11:30 a.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House following a photo session with Senate Republican leaders. In his remarks, the President referred to television commentator and journalist Patrick Buchanan, a potential candidate for the 1992 Republican Presidential nomination, and the investigation of the 1988 terrorist bombing of Pan American Flight 103 which crashed in Lockerbie, Scotland. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.*

## Remarks at a Meeting of the President's Advisory Commission on Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans

November 14, 1991

Let me just make a brief comment. And what I really want to do is hear from our dynamic Chairman about where we're going to go and how we're going to catch up, because I'm a little embarrassed that it's taken a long time, longer than I would have liked, to get this going. And I think they're together now, and we've got some priorities at stake. And the Hispanic community is of high priority.

Nobody at this table and nobody in the country can be happy about unacceptably high dropout rates, sometimes lack of resources in the communities themselves across this country. And I just want to say that I'm very grateful to our Chairman, Andres Bander, for undertaking this important role. And knowing him and of him, why, you better watch out because he'll put all of us to work. And I just wanted to pledge doing my part.

I'm proud of our Secretary of Education and his drive on bringing to the American public the program America 2000. It's good. It's new. It's revolutionary, and it can have a tremendously powerful effect in the area of Hispanic community education. And so, Lamar is fired up on this as well as I am. And I think that we've got a lot of things that can appeal.

I believe that the Hispanic Americans are the pivotal community in the economic growth that is going to come from the expanded trade with Mexico, for example. And I'm going to fight hard for that agreement when we get it hammered out. And I believe that it can help not just in trade but also then for strengthening of families. In that sense, I think it's very helpful to education.

As I say, I'm pledged to doing my best to help, this isn't going to be done at the Fed-

eral level, but help eliminate the unacceptably high dropout rate we've had. I think that one thing going in the Hispanic American communities that offers great hope is this concept of family and the involvement of family. I think we need more involvement, but that concept is strong still, very, very strong. And Barbara Bush is trying to work with Lamar and others to help respond, have parents' involvement in the education of their kids. Perhaps that's one thing that the Commission is going to want to take a look at, see how it can be strengthened.

But we've got some powerful experts around here in higher education. But the common ground is concern. The matrix is

concern, commitment to improving the education in Hispanic American communities all across this country. And I just want you to know that I have been interested in this for a long time, and I want to help as much as I possibly can, help our Secretary and, Chairman, help you in this work.

So, now we will hear from you all as to how you think it's going and what the priorities should be for the White House, for the Department, and of course, I think even more fundamentally, for the communities themselves.

*Note: The President spoke at 2:48 p.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House.*

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Meeting with President Levon Ter-Petrosian of Armenia

*November 14, 1991*

The President met in the Oval Office today for 45 minutes with Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosian. The President congratulated President Ter-Petrosian for his recent victory in Armenia's first free and fair elections. He expressed U.S. support for the Armenian Government's political and economic reforms.

The President also said the U.S. intended to build a strong relationship with Armenia.

The two leaders discussed possible U.S. assistance to improve food distribution within Armenia, to provide medical assistance, and to increase trade and investment through OPIC and the Export-Import Bank. In addition, the President told President Ter-Petrosian the U.S. planned to open a consulate general in Yerevan in 1992 and was also willing to begin a Peace Corps program in Armenia.

## Teleconference Remarks to the Fortune 500 Forum

*November 15, 1991*

Thank you, Jim, very, very much. Thank you for that welcome. And I must say, the miracle of technology, I heard every word of all of that. Glad to be with you, and my greetings to Marshall Loeb and my thanks to all for this opportunity to address the people who produce a good chunk of the gross national product. I'm doing this electronically, and then this afternoon General Scowcroft will be with you in person.

Bringing all of you together is a real serv-

ice and proves once again why Fortune is one of America's leading economic indicators. In the supercharged competitive atmosphere you call home, there is never room for complacency. The world doesn't care much about yesterday's track records, and it wants to find the restless man or woman with the next new idea.

This year, a new element overshadows the normal quest for excellence. Times have been tough. And as one looks ahead,

plans for the future, there's worry about the economy. And I'm concerned. People out there are hurting, and I want to help. But I want to be sure that any actions taken by the Federal Government are fundamentally sound.

Let me just take a minute to share a few thoughts about how we can get this economy growing. As you might know, our long-term growth strategy is founded on several important elements. First, we know we've got to get that deficit down. Now, we've got a budget agreement that puts the squeeze on the controllable part of Federal spending. I say "controllable" because so much of the budget is uncontrollable. It's legislated, and we're talking about many of the social programs, the means, Social Security and many things like that, interest on the debt. We've got to abide by that budget agreement.

The other day, a massive tax-cutting scheme was proposed, and long-term interest rates shot up immediately because the markets felt that the deficit would again spiral. We've got to keep inflation under control, as it is right now. The Federal Government must conduct itself in a way that will keep interest rates at low levels. We've got to keep American business competitive, and we're trying. Slash redtape. Move more aggressively against regulations wherever possible. Draw the line against more and more Government mandates, mandates that handcuff the American entrepreneur. Most of the legislation that comes down at me has got a wonderful title on it, but it inflicts new mandates on the American people. And I've had to veto quite a few wonderfully titled pieces of legislation.

I also think that competitiveness means real tort reform, capping these sky-is-the-limit liability awards. And as a Nation, we've got to make good on our commitment to quality education and job training to ensure a work force ready for the challenges that a new century will bring.

Finally, we've got to make certain that American business competes on an equal footing, and that means a government committed to the principles of free and fair trade. Let me just focus for one "sec" on this issue. You know firsthand that exports have become a driving force in our econo-

my. Strong exports cushioned our economic downturn. Total gross exports last year accounted for virtually all of our growth. And I know that many of you, especially in the service sector and in agriculture, pay a price for being closed out of foreign markets. We're pushing hard in the Uruguay round to bring down trade barriers, to open more markets to American goods and services. Jim Baker took that free trade message to Japan just the other day. And a week ago tonight, I got to The Hague and delivered that same message to the European Community in The Hague.

Closer to home, we've won Fast Track authority for a North American free trade agreement linking the United States, Canada, and Mexico. And yesterday I met here at the White House with Argentina's great President, Carlos Menem. He's strong on our Enterprise for the Americas Initiative to transform this entire hemisphere into a free trade zone.

Now, these solid, forward-looking initiatives will pay dividends down the road in increased growth, new markets for American products, new jobs for American workers. I'm confident that our long-term strategy is on target, but there are steps that we've got to take right now; no more delay. And let's start with the overhaul of our antiquated bank system. Everyone of you knows how the problems in our banking system plague this economy. In March, I sent up to the Congress the first comprehensive bank reform since the 1930's, reforms that would bring American banks into the modern age. And even though the Congress is heading toward recess, we're going to keep pressing for these fundamental and important reforms. We can get them done within the next week.

The same goes for our other key proposals. For 3 years now, I have proposed a package of growth initiatives: Not just capital gains, to which I remain committed, but incentives to encourage saving like our family savings accounts, increased incentives for R&D to help keep American business competitive, measures to help first-time buyers tap into their IRA's to buy that new home, enterprise zones to unleash the urban entrepreneur. Each one of these ini-

tatives would give a sluggish economy a needed boost.

So far I've spoken about ways we're trying to turn things around. Now let me tell you what we won't do. The first rule of economic policy puts me in mind of the Hippocratic oath, "Do no harm." We're going to draw the line against the budget-busters. We're going to resist the quick-fix solutions out there. You and I know that when things are down there's a lot of political quick fixes that are proposed. And a lot of them are very, very attractive politically. They'd be attractive for me if I could embrace them. But from the folks who would have you believe they can reach in, flip a lever here, turn a knob there, and fine-tune a \$5 trillion economy, we're getting these programs. We've got to resist them.

Pressure is building as we enter 1992. But let me say right now, we cannot and we won't sacrifice long-term economic health for short-term political gain. I don't expect it to be easy—understatement of the year—but I am determined to find a way to work with the opposition, to reach out, to deal in good faith, and to do our job so that you can keep doing yours.

And one last comment. Yesterday the House overwhelmingly passed unemployment benefits legislation and sent it to the Senate. My message to the Senate is simple and direct: People are hurting out there. And if they're to receive a check before Thanksgiving, the Senate must get this bill to me today. I want to see this legislation, legislation that meets the criteria that I've laid out on my desk today. This new bill does not bust the budget agreement. We could have had one like it 3 months ago. But in any event, by standing up against bad legislation, I can now say to the American people: We can help these people that need help. And the rest of the people, the taxpayer, the guy that does have a job, is not going to be further burdened because of this by higher taxes or higher deficit.

Now, once again, my thanks to all of you. And now, Jim and Marshall, I'll be pleased to take a couple of questions.

#### *Economic Outlook*

Q. Mr. President, as citizens, as voters, we certainly often advise you as to what we

would like you to do. You may answer this question as generally or as specifically as you would like. But what would you like to see American business leaders do in 1992?

*The President.* Well, I think that our system works best when independent enterprises take their cue from the market, not from Washington. So in 1992, what I want to see is simply this: I'd like to see you do what you do best.

First, you can build on your enormous successes. You know, during the eighties, the manufacturing sector of our economy retooled, literally revolutionized the way American companies do business. And you know the results. Manufacturing productivity shot up more than 35 percent. You honed the competitive edge that enabled our companies to capture new markets abroad and keep customers satisfied here at home. Exports of goods and services have exploded. In real terms, exports are up more than 70 percent in the past 5 years.

And as I promised just a few minutes ago, we'll keep working in Washington to create a good climate for growth. There are some tough economic statistics out there. But right now, inflation is under control. That's one stealth tax that people don't have to worry about. Interest rates are lower now than they've been in years. Earlier this week, I called for lower credit card rates to take some of the sting out of consumer debt, and I'm pleased to see some banks responding. Frankly, I hope more will follow suit. Revive consumer confidence. Give this economy a little kick.

To improve the business climate, we'll keep working to drive down trade barriers abroad, to pursue a sound fiscal policy at home. We'll do all we can to keep the playing field level. That means cutting through the redtape and needless regulations. You keep innovating, pioneering new products, setting new goals, and rising to the challenge. And then, if both of us do our jobs, 1992 will mark a new beginning for American business, and I really believe a new era of prosperity for the American people.

When you see the difficulties we're having now, it is clear to me that American business fundamentally is getting in good shape to be more competitive in the future,

to be leaner, to be ready to fire on out there and compete with anybody around the world. That's your goal. My goal is to see that the Government doesn't get in the way and where possible, like hammering out trade agreements, be helpful to you.

So, that's the way I see it. And some of that's gratuitous, but I am not pessimistic about where we're going. Yes, we've got some short-term problems here, and they're significant. And the deficits have kind of added up here; interest rates were much higher. But we'll be coming out of this. The big debate amongst the economists is where we actually stand. But the third quarter had some growth to it, anemic and slow, now seems to be some kind of leveling off. But most of the hotshots are predicting growth, so I hope that's correct.

But at some point, if we do our job right and don't burden the economy with kind of bold, quick fixes that have appeal like enormous tax cuts that can't be paid for in any way, I think things will come around, and I think this economy will really move on out with the fundamentals in place for the best growth we've seen in years.

### *Education*

**Q.** Mr. President, I have a question for you. I know that the troubles of our public school systems worry you greatly and they also cause the business community great concern: Eroding standards, high dropout rates, declining math and science proficiency. It worries us as concerned Americans, but as business people these realities give us grave doubts about the American work force. The question is twofold: What immediate steps do you plan to take? Secondly, what kind of advice and direction would you give American business people, both large and small corporations, who would like to get involved and would like to make a difference?

**The President.** Well, in America 2000 we set national education strategies. And in our very able Secretary Alexander and then his Deputy, David Kearns, who you know so well and to whom I'm deeply indebted, you've selected people to lead the effort. We want to do whatever we can here. I'm fortunate to have Lamar there. And I'm delighted that we managed to lure David

Kearns from the upper reaches, to come out of the highest level of corporate America to take on this fantastic new challenge in our classrooms. We're serious, they are and I am, about igniting a revolution in American education.

Business can do a great deal to help us along the road to America 2000, and they already are. We've got some great advisory groups formed from high-level business people, and they are pitching in, rolling up their sleeves, engaging. And that is important because Government alone isn't going to solve all this.

But look, first is consumers. You have what I would call a vested interest in the quality of American education. One element of America 2000 calls for bringing the corporate community into our classrooms. You can anchor our education reform in real world concerns. You can bring the needs of the market to our schools.

Secondly, we need your help as reformers. The business community volunteers millions of hours serving as mentors in our schools. I remember going to Rochester where Kodak has set a tremendous example in that community doing just that, mentoring. You contribute billions of dollars supplying technology and supporting innovative ideas in education. Some of you are helping to fund a revolutionary experiment in education reform called the New American Schools initiative; met with many of the business leaders on that up at Camp David.

Education ought to learn a lesson from business. It's time we recognize competition and choice can be catalysts for real change. So let me extend, then, an open invitation to all of you: Bring your ideas to the table. Help us break the mold. This is what we're talking about. Reinvent American education to meet the needs of a new century.

And thirdly, we need your help as teachers. And I know I'm preaching to the choir on this one, because many of your companies are already leading the way. But I urge you all: Go into our schools; share your wisdom. Don't stop there. Bring the classroom into your companies. Help those workers who desperately want to learn how to read and write, master the basic tools of literacy. Help your employees learn new



skills, better themselves for the good of their careers, and also I think it's for the good of the companies.

If we made a mistake in the past, it's been leaving education to the professional bureaucracy, to the so-called experts, cutting off our schools from the outside community. America 2000 breaks down those barriers. And I see the business community as an ally, a real agent for change. I salute all of you for what you're doing now. And then, of course, I want to challenge you to do more. And if you don't do that, I'll sic my wife, Barbara, on you. She's a bird dog on this education, and many of you there have helped enormously encourage her as

she takes this message of family involvement and reading around the country.

So again, we're grateful, not just the family but the administration, leaders in the Department of Education for all you have done. Thanks again to all of you for letting me join you in Charleston in this wonderful way. Thanks a lot. Nice to be with you. Thank you very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 10:30 a.m. from Room 459 in the Old Executive Office Building. In his remarks, the President referred to Jim Hayes and Marshall Loeb, publisher and managing editor of Fortune magazine.*

## Statement on Signing the Continuing Appropriations Bill

November 15, 1991

Today I have signed into law H.J. Res. 374, making further continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1992.

Providing for the operation of the Government through Continuing Resolutions is an undesirable practice. However, a third Continuing Resolution for FY 1992 is necessary at this time in order to keep certain activities of the Government functioning while the Congress completes the appropriations process.

I commend the Congress for presenting me with a simple, straightforward extension

of funding that is not burdened with unrelated provisions. I urge the Congress to complete the ordinary appropriations process by November 26, which is the date this third Continuing Resolution expires.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
November 15, 1991.

*Note: H.J. Res. 374, approved November 15, was assigned Public Law No. 102-163.*

## Remarks on Presenting the National Endowment for the Humanities 1991 Charles Frankel Awards

November 15, 1991

Please be seated, and we'll get on with the show here. Welcome to all of you. Barbara and I are just delighted to have you here. I especially want to single out Lynne Cheney, the Chairman—hey, you—[laughter]—the Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities, and then greet the members of the Council, the Endowment's National Council. And of course, a

special greeting to the honorees.

Lynne and I and Barbara want you to know how deeply we value the achievements of the NEH. And especially let me say to you how much we appreciate your leadership, Lynne, an exemplary scholar and an outstanding public servant. And she really is doing a first-class job over there.

As we single out these recipients for

honor of the third annual Frankel Prize for the Humanities, let me just recall some words of Thomas Jefferson: "If a nation expects to be ignorant and free in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be. Enlighten the people generally, and tyranny and oppressions of body and mind will vanish like evil spirits at the dawn of the day."

Well, those words from Thomas Jefferson point to the vital connection between knowledge and freedom. And they remind us that citizens of all ages must strive for greater learning if society is to thrive. This prize honors men and women who are teachers-at-large, who share with the public their love for the humanities and for America as a civilization. With the Frankel Prize, we honor front-line defenders of our Nation's culture and values.

Charles Frankel was a university professor, writer, cultural affairs leader in our diplomatic service, and founder of the National Humanities Center. Our honorees exemplify the commitment to learning and civic responsibility that characterized Mr. Frankel's great life. Their achievements give resonance to the words of Henry Adams: "A teacher affects eternity; he can never tell where his influence stops."

Winton Blount, Red Blount to me, my dear friend from Alabama, he's a man of many parts. He's poured equal portions of his tremendous talent and energy into business entrepreneurship, public service, and leadership in education and the humanities. For the Alabama Shakespeare Festival, he and his wife, Carolyn, generously donated an outstanding performing arts center. He's a patron and director of the Folger here, the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington. He served more than three decades as a trustee of the University of Alabama, and he serves on the Alabama Foundation for Educational Excellence.

He also has helped support the written word in a way few of us ever will have the chance to do, namely, as U.S. Postmaster General. Think of all the latter-day Brownings and Brontës whose love verses and novel manuscripts reached their destinations thanks to this man right here. [*Laughter*]

With a passion for American history and

culture, Ken Burns has taken this country's most defining experience and made it a documentary film masterpiece, "The Civil War." Thirty-eight million television viewers, thirty-eight million, have observed Ken Burns' artistry in recounting America's epic. Ken has also made acclaimed documentaries on Huey Long, Thomas Hart Benton, the Brooklyn Bridge, and the Statue of Liberty. And now I can't wait for him to complete his next project, a film about baseball.

Happy occasions are coming in bundles today. This is the birthday of Winton Blount's wife, Carolyn, and of Ken Burns' daughter, Lilly, who is 5 years old.

An insightful literacy critic and teacher, Louise Cowan believes that appreciation of literature is essential in the formation of civic and business leaders. Over the years she's impressed thousands of students with the power of literature to form the conscience and consciousness of a people. She ranks among the great builders of education in Texas. As English department chairman and graduate school dean, she brought strength and distinction to the University of Dallas in its formative years.

As founder of the Dallas Institute of Humanities and Culture, she's brought community leaders together to discuss the impact of humanities on civic values. One of her new students happens to be my daughter-in-law. There's no nepotism involved in this award, I might point. [*Laughter*] But with pride, we point out that our daughter-in-law is there. As a remarkable teacher of teachers, Louise Cowan also founded the Dallas Teachers Academy, which helps deepen the learning and skills of teachers in the Dallas public schools.

Karl Haas has endeared himself to millions of radio listeners for his "Adventures in Good Music" program. Karl's program combines selections of classical music with his warm and informative commentaries. Karl's appeal reaches beyond the usual confines of classical music audiences. He likes to tell about the letters he gets from farmers who tune into his show on their transistor radios while driving their tractors. His large following also includes many who listen to the Armed Services Radio Network. Karl Haas began his musical career as

a concert pianist. He continues his concert tours and performed in 25 cities just last year. He also is author of the popular reference book "Inside Music."

John Kuo Wei Tchen is a professional historian who has helped Americans discover the riches of immigrant culture through his prolific writings, lectures, media productions, and organizational efforts. As co-founder of New York's Chinatown History Museum, he's won praise all across the Nation for his innovative approaches to presenting community history. He served 2 years as chairman of the New York Council for the Humanities, and recently he was appointed to the Advisory Council of the Smithsonian. He wrote a prize-winning book on photographs of San Francisco's Chinatown.

And on behalf of all Americans, Barbara

and I thank all of you for the commitment that you've shown to the humanities and to your fellow citizens. And may God bless you all.

And now, Chairman Cheney, if you will take over and instruct us as to how we present these well-deserved awards.

*Chairman Cheney.* I can do this, Mr. President, if you show me how the podium works. [Laughter]

*The President.* Yes. I don't want you to look like Queen Elizabeth. [Laughter]

[At this point, the President presented the awards.]

*The President.* Thank you all for coming. And congratulations once again to all the winners, well-deserved. We're proud of you.

*Note: The President spoke at 11:34 a.m. in the East Room at the White House.*

## Letter to Congressional Leaders on Iraq's Compliance With United Nations Security Council Resolutions

November 15, 1991

*Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)*

Consistent with the Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution (Public Law 102-1), and as part of my continuing effort to keep the Congress fully informed, I am again reporting on the status of efforts to obtain compliance by Iraq with the resolutions adopted by the U.N. Security Council.

Since I last reported on September 16, 1991, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the United Nations Special Commission created under Resolution 687 have continued to conduct inspections and other activities related to Iraqi weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles. Iraq has continued to use concealment, deception, and denial of unrestricted access to prevent or inhibit U.N. inspections. Despite these efforts, the U.N. teams have uncovered additional evidence of these weapons systems.

In particular, inspections carried out during this period found unambiguous evi-

dence that Iraq had a comprehensive program, with a very large technical work force and infrastructure, to design and build nuclear weapons. Iraq's determination to prevent disclosure of this evidence was demonstrated by the well-publicized events of September 23-26, during which Iraqi authorities unsuccessfully attempted to prevent a U.N. team from removing key documents concerning the nuclear-weapons program and Iraqi procurements from foreign sources.

Similarly, U.N. inspections during this period have shown that Iraq has greatly misrepresented the scope and size of its chemical, biological, and missile programs. Two additional undeclared types of nerve agents have been discovered at Samarra, and stocks of chemical munitions, which far exceed the amounts declared by Iraq, have been identified in a number of locations. More than 60 long-range Iraqi missiles have been destroyed by the Special Commission, but we have reason to believe that several

hundred others remain unaccounted for and unacknowledged by Iraq.

The IAEA and the Special Commission are continuing their efforts to identify and destroy these Iraqi programs. Commission Chairman Ekeus travelled to Baghdad to underscore the determination of the United Nations to carry out its mission. U.N. inspections continue, and German helicopters (on loan to the Special Commission to facilitate inspections) have been used effectively. In addition, on October 11, the Security Council adopted Resolution 715, approving long-term monitoring plans submitted by the Special Commission and the IAEA to continue international inspection of Iraqi activities that could lead to future programs of this type.

The United States has assisted the United Nations in its activities, including the conduct of U-2 surveillance flights and the provision of intelligence from various sources, and will continue to do so. It should be noted, however, that a problem persists with regard to financing the international inspection teams.

Significant further progress has been made since my last report toward implementation of the resolution of the Security Council concerning compensation of the victims of the unlawful invasion and occupation of Kuwait. The second session of the Governing Council of the new U.N. Compensation Commission met from October 14-18 in Geneva and adopted arrangements for ensuring payments to the Compensation Fund from future Iraqi oil shipments (at such time as the Security Council lifts the current sanctions). The Governing Council also adopted further guidance on certain issues concerning the criteria adopted earlier on the claims of individuals for up to \$100,000. The Executive Secretary of the Commission is continuing to fill out his staff with the technical experts necessary to review claims and to collect revenues from Iraqi oil exports. The Governing Council has scheduled meetings in November, January, and March to organize the processing of these individual claims and to adopt criteria for handling other types of claims, including those for environmental damage and loss of natural resources.

In the meantime, the U.N. Security Coun-

cil has taken further action to permit shipment of food and other humanitarian supplies for the Iraqi people in a manner consistent with the Council's previous decisions. On September 19, the Council adopted Resolution 712, which approved procedures for the sale of up to \$1.6 billion of Iraqi oil with the proceeds to be used for the Compensation Commission, other U.N. activities related to Iraq, and humanitarian relief under U.N. control to ensure its equitable distribution in Iraq. Unfortunately, Iraq has not yet indicated that it will accept the regime established by Resolution 712 for the provision of such humanitarian relief. At the same time, Saddam Hussein's government is hoarding supplies of food, which it distributes only to favored groups. As a result, the Government of Iraq must bear full responsibility for any suffering that may result from shortfalls in food and other essential supplies during the coming months.

The United States remains concerned that Iraq has not yet carried out its obligations under previous Security Council resolutions to return all detained Kuwaiti and third-country nationals. On March 7, Iraq agreed to cooperate with the International Committee of the Red Cross on repatriation of prisoners and civilian detainees. As recently as the October 16-17 Tripartite Commission meeting in Geneva, Iraq accepted the responsibility to respond to appeals for the release of, or information about, the Kuwaiti list of over 2,100 persons. We have raised this humanitarian issue with the Baghdad authorities on more than one occasion. We also remain concerned about Iraq's failure to return all stolen Kuwaiti property and military equipment (including Hawk air defense missiles), as it is obligated to do under the various Security Council resolutions.

During the period since my last report, the Iraqis continued to violate Kuwait's northern border to retrieve equipment left behind. We will carefully monitor Iraq's actions in this regard and remain prepared to take appropriate steps if the situation requires.

As I stated in previous reports, the United States remains concerned about the situa-

tion of the Kurds and other population groups that have been the object of repressive measures by the Iraqi Government. Once again, we have informed the Government of Iraq that, in concert with our Coalition partners, we will continue to monitor carefully the treatment of Iraqi citizens, and that together we remain prepared to take appropriate steps if the situation requires. To this end, we will continue to maintain an appropriate level of forces in the region for as long as required by the situation in Iraq.

I remain grateful for the support of the Congress for these efforts, and I look forward to continued cooperation toward achieving our mutual objectives.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

*Note: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Robert C. Byrd, President pro tempore of the Senate. An original was not available for verification of the content of this letter.*

## Appointment of David J. Beightol as Special Assistant to the President for Intergovernmental Affairs

*November 15, 1991*

The President today announced the appointment of David J. Beightol as Special Assistant to the President for Intergovernmental Affairs at the White House. He would succeed G.O. Griffith.

Since 1987 Mr. Beightol has been the director of Wisconsin Governor Tommy G. Thompson's Washington, DC, office. In this capacity, he has represented Governor Thompson on several national and regional organizations, serving as: chairman of the executive committee for the Council of Great Lakes Governors, chairman of the National Governors' Association's international advisory committee staff advisory council, chairman of the U.S. Trade Repre-

sentative's Intergovernmental Advisory Committee Working Group and chairman of the National Governors' Association "After School Years" task force staff advisory committee. From 1983 to 1987, Mr. Beightol served in several capacities such as legislative assistant and press secretary to Congressman F. James Sensenbrenner (R-WI); and later as a Republican technical consultant on the House Space, Science, and Technology Committee.

Mr. Beightol graduated from the University of Wisconsin, receiving a bachelor of arts degree in history. He was born on September 21, 1958. Mr. Beightol has two children and resides in Chevy Chase, MD.

## Remarks on Presenting the Presidential Medals of Freedom

*November 18, 1991*

Welcome. Welcome, and please be seated. Let me first single out President Ford and say how pleased we are to have him here. And of course, members of our Cabinet over here. And especially today, the families and friends of the recipients.

It's a special honor to have the privilege of presenting the Nation's highest civilian

award, the Presidential Medal of Freedom. Since the first Presidential Medal, since those first recipients were chosen by President John Kennedy in 1963, some of the world's most notable individuals have been honored. In this administration alone, the medal was awarded to war heroes like General Doolittle, Jimmy Doolittle, General

Schwarzkopf; diplomats and public servants like Jim Baker and Margaret Chase Smith and Douglas Dillon; world-famous entertainers such as Lucille Ball; and just last year, a world leader of enormous consequence, former Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

And each of these extraordinary individuals were pioneers in their own right, each a monument to individual achievement. I'll never forget that November night 2 years ago when Lech Walesa accepted his medal right here in this room, saying that now one of the greatest dreams of his life had been fulfilled because this medal stood for the freedom of a nation and the freedom of mankind.

Today we recognize 10 men and women who have enriched our Nation, whether as leaders of popular movements, as friends of the common man, or as intellectual giants. Their achievement and dedication are unparalleled in America. And their standards of excellence are just as towering as their commitment to the ideal of freedom.

Author Bill Buckley is the celebrated founder of one of the largest journals of opinion in America, a preeminent intellectual in the American conservative movement, and a distinguished author. Bill Buckley raised the level of political debate in this country, and our Nation is better for it. A true Renaissance man, we honor him today for a lifetime of achievement in American political and social thought.

Clergyman and civil rights leader Reverend Leon Sullivan. Leon has been a voice of reason throughout the latter half of this century. A vigorous proponent of equal rights for all, Reverend Sullivan founded OIC, Opportunities Industrialization Centers, one of the world's largest self-help and job training facilities. More recently, he has worked hard to develop closer ties between this country and Africa. Reverend, we salute your leadership in one of the great movements of our time, here and throughout the world: equal rights under law.

Conservationist Russell Train has devoted his life to the protection and conservation of our land and wildlife, serving both in private environmental groups and in the Federal Government. I've often referred to President Theodore Roosevelt's idea that

we don't inherit the environment from our parents so much as borrow it from our children. For the legacy you are helping us leave to the children of America, sir, we thank you.

Baseball great Ted Williams, whom I don't see sitting here—oops, there he is over on the—don't say anything—[*laughter*—] is an American legend, a remarkable figure in American sports and a twice-tested war hero. At the height of his athletic career, he answered the call of patriotism, serving his country in both World War II and the Korean war, a true champion in the eyes of many Americans. An author wrote of his retirement from baseball, "And now Boston knows how England felt when it lost India." [*Laughter*] Ted, congratulations.

Former First Lady Betty Ford. She first inspired our Nation when, fighting her own battle against breast cancer, she drew national attention to the importance of early detection. Later, as president of the Betty Ford Center, she restored hope and dignity to those lost in the desperation of drug and alcohol dependency. Mrs. Ford, your compassion and caring have shown millions the way to new lives of freedom.

Former Speaker of the House Tip O'Neill is a legendary figure in American politics, blessed with the common touch like few others. Over 50 years ago, Tip entered the rough-and-tumble of Massachusetts politics and soon became the Bay State's first Democratic speaker. Throughout 40 years as a Member of Congress and a decade as Speaker of the House, Tip O'Neill built one of the most remarkable political careers of this century. He is a tough partisan. Jerry, would you agree to that? [*Laughter*] But above all, far more important, a true patriot. Congratulations.

And to former Puerto Rico Governor Dor Luis Ferré, an old friend. He's known as the grand old man of Puerto Rico. Beloved by his people as a patron of the arts, a savvy businessman, and a public servant of the first order, Don Luis is a lifelong advocate of statehood for Puerto Rico. And sir, we honor you today as an extraordinary leader in the life of Puerto Rico.

Historian and humanist Hanna Gray is a

world-class educator, the first woman to serve as president of a major university, the University of Chicago. Throughout her career, Mrs. Gray has been widely regarded as an outstanding Renaissance scholar. An example for others in her profession, she continues to teach at least one class a semester. Mrs. Gray, for your pursuit of the highest ideals in your profession and your commitment to excellence in American education, we salute you.

Vernon Walters enlisted in the Army as a private in 1941 before the outbreak of World War II. Nearly half a century later, he was our Ambassador to Germany during the fall of the Berlin Wall. In the years between, he served six Presidents as a statesman, an ambassador, and a trusted aide. His brilliant mastery of the art of diplomacy is renowned, and his extraordinary linguistic skills have frequently advanced our diplomatic efforts, often in the face of grave danger. It's been said that courage is the price that life exacts for granting peace. For your courageous service, sir, to the cause of peace and the American ideal, we thank you.

And finally, we honor Professor Friedrich von Hayek for a lifetime of looking beyond the horizon. At a time when many saw socialism as ordained by history, he foresaw freedom's triumph. Over 40 years ago, Professor von Hayek wrote that "the road to

serfdom" was not the road to the future or to the political and economic freedom of man. A Nobel laureate, he is widely credited as one of the most influential economic writers of our century. Professor von Hayek is revered by the free people of Central and Eastern Europe as a true visionary and recognized worldwide as a revolutionary in intellectual and political thought. How magnificent it must be for him to witness his ideas validated before the eyes of the world. We salute him.

The people of the United States are indeed indebted to each of our honorees. You have touched us. You have enriched us. You have shaped our Nation's destiny. And you've also shown us the strength and joy of a simple but powerful idea, the idea of freedom.

God bless each of you, and may God bless our country. And now Barbara and I have the honor to present these awards, and the aide will read the citations for us.

*[At this point, the President and Mrs. Bush presented the Medals of Freedom.]*

That concludes the ceremony. And Barbara and I look forward to greeting all of you out here. And we'll see you in a minute.

*Note: The President spoke at 11:30 a.m. on the State Floor at the White House.*

## Nomination of John Hubert Kelly To Be United States Ambassador to the Republic of Finland

November 18, 1991

The President today announced his intention to nominate John Hubert Kelly, of Georgia, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Finland. He would succeed John Giffen Weinmann.

Since 1989, Ambassador Kelly has served as Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs at the U.S. Department of State in Washington, DC. Prior

to this, he served as Deputy Director of the Policy Planning Staff at the Department of State, 1988-1989; and U.S. Ambassador to Lebanon, 1986-1988. In addition, he served at the U.S. Department of State in several capacities: short-term special projects officer in the Office of Management, 1985-1986; Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for European Affairs, 1983-1985; Senior Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs, 1982-1983; and Deputy Executive Secretary for the Department of State,

1981.

Ambassador Kelly graduated from Emory University (B.A., 1961). He was born July

20, 1939, in Fond du Lac, Wisconsin. Mr. Kelly is married, has two children, and resides in Arlington, VA.

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Release of American Hostage Thomas Sutherland and British Hostage Terry Waite

*November 18, 1991*

We are pleased with the release of Thomas Sutherland and Terry Waite. The release of these hostages after years of captivity in Lebanon is a time of joy for them and their families.

For their assistance in the release, we wish to thank the United Nations and the Governments of Iran, Syria, and Lebanon.

Our joy is mixed, however, with deep concern over those who remain in captivity. We call again for the release of all those in

the region who are held hostage outside the process of law. All of them must be free. We support the initiative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to secure their safe, immediate, and unconditional release. The three remaining American hostages and the other hostages being held in Lebanon must be reunited with their loved ones, and there must be a full accounting of all those who have died in captivity and the return of their remains.

## Teleconference Remarks to the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association

*November 19, 1991*

*The President.* Thank you very much, all of you. And thank you, Ashton Phelps. And I'm glad to see that you survived yesterday's tennis tournament. And I'd like to now kind of arrogantly challenge you to bring your partner, if you had one there, and maybe we can play it off here on the White House court.

I might also say that I'm very pleased that you said you're pleased you could look me in the eye after the election. And I'm pleased that I can look you and everyone at that convention in the eye. I was reluctant to get involved in that election, but when it comes to fascism and it comes to bigotry and it comes to racism, I think a President should speak out. And I think I did the right thing, and I know that the voters of Louisiana did the right thing.

I know it may sound like a bit of a cliché, but this really is a challenging time for all of you in the newspaper business. You face competition from a growing variety of news

media. Advertisers have begun holding on to advertising dollars. Readers, they're getting more sophisticated and demanding each day. And in the end, you must provide the living history that people find essential. You must do it quickly. You must do it fairly. And you must do it under extraordinary constraints. I once heard someone describe the newspaper business as the only multibillion-dollar industry that ultimately had to depend on 12-year-old kids with bicycles.

The atmosphere out there may have reached the point where some of you feel a certain trepidation before opening up your own newspapers. The news often reminds me of one of my favorite songs, a country song by Anne Murray. And it's called, "A Little Good News." And one nice verse goes—I won't sing it for you, you'll be happy to know—"I came home this evening. I bet that the news will be the



same. Somebody takes a hostage. Somebody steals a plane. How I want to hear the anchorman talk about a county fair. How we cleaned the air. How everybody learned to care."

I think that's a great idea. But I also know that you couldn't survive a minute by printing nothing but county fair stories. You must print news that people can use. And along those lines, I'd like to just spend a couple of minutes talking about our administration's domestic agenda. As you know, it takes two to play when it comes to doing the Nation's business. And it takes a White House with a program and a Congress determined to get the work done.

For nearly 3 years, my administration has tried to hold up its end of the bargain. I have tried to reach out. We have offered up a host of new programs and approaches in everything from clean air to crime in the streets. We've had a few victories, a few stirring victories such as the Clean Air Act, our child care initiatives. And then I'd cite the Americans with Disabilities Act and a matter that may not fall strictly within the arena of domestic policy, but that did show just what Americans can do when they decide to move: the war in the Gulf.

But most of our important business remains undone. I sent Congress a comprehensive crime package nearly 3 years ago, and it still hasn't seen the light of day. Meanwhile, criminals continue to terrorize the public. Citizens become increasingly cynical about our legal system, and police lose faith that anyone really cares about restoring peace to the streets.

My administration has a good plan. I firmly believe that the American people support it. And Congress just wants to tinker around the edges with little pieces, rather than daring to fight right back at the criminals.

The same pattern shows up in education. We've tried for a couple of years to promote an excellence in education act. No parent of a schoolchild can argue with our goals: Better schools, disciplined schools, schools freed of violence and drugs, schools that produce students who can compete fully in our international marketplace. We've proposed an America 2000 education strategy that would toss off the old ideas

that hamper education today and would restore competition to the schools.

We've called for a system of voluntary national exams so that we can measure our schools' performances and hold them accountable. We want to build a system of good schools, not one in which a vast gulf separates the best and the worst. And we want poor kids to have access to the same quality of education as everyone else. And we want our students to become the world's best in math, science, English, history, and geography. Schools must stop babysitting our students, start challenging them to reach for the stars.

You can appreciate this: I heard some newspaper editors and publishers complain that they can't find young reporters who can write or who have enough basic knowledge to put stories in proper perspective. And when our educational system fails, you lose readers. It hurts your business more than most.

You can do more than print stories and editorials, too. Our strategy calls for community involvement. In fact, it relies on the efforts of everyone. More than 20 States have begun State 2000 efforts. Rather than waiting for Congress to act, they've started in themselves. And you can help.

In Greenville, North Carolina, the Daily Reflector has worked to bring a nationally recognized literacy program, the National Literacy Volunteers of America, to Pitt County. Jordan Whichard led the way there. And his involvement shouldn't surprise anyone. Jordan's father, Dave, was instrumental in starting the SNPA's literacy program.

And so, my point is simple: You don't have to work in a school to make education happen. You can do it anywhere. I am delighted that I'm working with Secretary Lamar Alexander, his able Deputy, David Kearns, who used to be chief executive officer of Xerox. They're doing a superb job. They have a superb team. And I really believe that in this area we're beginning to awaken the conscience of this Nation and make good things happen.

Finally, a few notes on our economy. First, I'm concerned. I'm concerned about the people that are hurting. And although

we technically have pulled out of recession on a national basis, and although we enjoyed a very modest economic growth in the third quarter in recent months, many people still feel the pinch of an economy that isn't growing as it should. No honest observer can tell you that things are great. They're not. And when people are hurting, I worry about it, and I know you do too.

And still, some fundamentals point to a good recovery. We ought to get it in perspective. Inflation is down. Interest rates are way down. Personal debt is down. Inventories are down. Quality is up. Exports are up. But in spite of these very encouraging signs, very encouraging fundamentals, the economy remains sluggish.

There are a number of steps we can take to get our economy booming again, and steps that, in my judgment, Congress should have taken long ago when I proposed them. These include—and I know I sound like a broken record to some—capital gains tax cuts, research and development tax credits, expanded IRA's, comprehensive banking reform legislation, international trade liberalization, and a job-intensive, sound transportation bill. This is just part of the litany.

But while Americans demand action, it remains business as usual up on Capitol Hill. And business as usual can only hurt people who want to work, who want to move on into better jobs. I'm going to continue to try to work with Congress because I truly believe the American people want less talk and more action. And I want to get our message out and build support for other initiatives that I mentioned here today.

Obviously, this won't be easy, for 1992 is just over the horizon, and politics will play an undue part in the debate. But in the end, politics should serve the people. And that's what I was elected to do, serve all of the people of the United States. And it's what I intend to do.

I hope you also will serve, as you always have, as critical observers of the scene. And I encourage you to cut through the politics and get at the real issues such as safe streets, good schools, and an economy that gets all our people to work.

And again, Ashton, thank you and thank all of your associates there. I'm sorry, very sorry that I couldn't be in Boca with you.

But now I'd be glad to take a couple of questions. Thank you very much.

### *Newspaper Industry*

*Q.* Thank you, Mr. President. Secretary Cheney was kind enough to be with us at our convention. And during a reception the other night, one of our major newspaper owners said to the Secretary, "I hope the President realizes just how concerned the American people are about the economy." What can you tell us about the specific outlook of the economy for '92? You mentioned some of the uncertainties, and you've reiterated your concern which I think we're all glad to hear about. What's really going to happen, as we newspaper publishers look at 1992?

*The President.* Well, the first key is that a business, newspaper business, whatever, can't look to Government for all the answers. I think if there's any group that understands that, it's the people right there in that room. I might start by recommending that you put Doonesbury in the obituary section; that might make a contribution. But as I—[laughter]—I really feel strongly about that one, I'll tell you.

But as I noted earlier, your industry faces a whole host of challenges including the increased competition from television and even computer data services. Most Americans make use of a wide variety of information services, and I think most educated Americans still prefer to read a daily newspaper. I know I do. And I look over five papers each morning before I get to work, and then I have that White House News Summary; we get clips from the others.

Our newspaper industry reflects our nature as a people. American newspapers remain aggressive and feisty and informative, and they try to cover every aspect of our lives, from the entertainment we enjoy to world affairs far away. And so, that mission will never change.

For my part, our administration has tried to remain accessible to reporters. And I think I hold perhaps more press conferences than any President in recent history and perhaps any President ever.

On the business side of the ledger, I have promoted initiatives that encourage invest-

ment, research, and innovation. The keys to any successful business are those. High taxes, onerous mandates, and this propensity for stringent regulations make it very difficult for business, especially small businesses, to function.

Now, we have tried to address this competitiveness issue in a host of ways. One of them, and it's very important, we want to reform backward banking laws that deny entrepreneurs the support they need to create a business. Our banking laws are antiquated, and we've proposed bold reforms to the Congress. We're having trouble getting that kind of legislation through. We've got to make this economy of ours entrepreneurial-friendly again.

And we've tried to attack hidden taxes, and we've got to do more there, such as crime. Most of you probably spend a huge amount of money on security, both for your people and your machinery, and you still get pinched by everyone from the newspaper box wrecker or the person who tries to mess up multimillion-dollar printing presses. We have to crack down on crime, both by punishing criminals and by encouraging decency.

Educational deficiencies, and I dwelled on that a little earlier, cost lots of money. And when you have to hire people just to educate your workers, you lose money. You lose time. And you lose part of the edge vital to your industry. And poor schools also deprive the economy of future workers and business leaders, the people who buy ads and keep your companies profitable.

Many newspapers, I believe, recognize this basic truth and contribute directly to reading programs in their cities. And those programs can make a huge difference in the quality of the work force that you see in the future. And others lend reporters and editors to schools as teachers; and with the same effect, I might add. Some have taken an active role in promoting educational reform that works for their communities.

And finally, the world continues changing at a rapid pace. And we see newspapers doing new things all the time with graphics, with business coverage, with consumer news, and other important kinds of information. The old ways just don't cut it any more, not in politics, not in manufacturing,

and not in the news business. So, while you make ends meet, you also must innovate. And that's a tough challenge. But it's an exciting one, too. And I can't predict how you will build greater strength in the future. But I'm sure the visionaries among you will find a way to meet every challenge that confronts you.

In the meantime, when Congress adjourns, I want to take my case for the growth initiatives that I've mentioned to you to the American people to help instill a sense of confidence in the American people. And I think the fundamentals are there. Again, I hurt when other people are hurting. And I've got to convey that to the American people a little bit more, too.

*Q.* Mr. President, we have a question from our incoming president, Mr. Bern Mebane of Greenville, South Carolina.

*Libya*

*Q.* Mr. President, with the indictment of two Libyan operatives in the Pan Am 103 bombing, would you share with us some of the options you are considering to isolate Libya even further?

*The President.* First, I'd like to praise the Justice Department for all the hard work that went into securing these indictments. When you deal with something like an airliner bombing, good evidence is very hard to find. And our investigators found something even more obscure than a needle in a haystack.

Second, the indictments signal simply that we're doing our job. We have a process in place for investigating this act of disgusting cowardliness and viciousness. The Pan Am bombing, remember, killed 270 people, 189 of whom were American citizens. And as we've said before, we've been looking at possible responses beyond seeking to bring the two accused to trial.

Third, we've not ruled out anything. We've not ruled any option in or out. We must keep our options open in responding to the incident. But I hope you can appreciate the importance of keeping our options secret as well. I don't want to telegraph what we might do. One thing I am doing is speaking with our allies on what steps to take against Libya and to stop such acts

from taking place ever again. We're going to continue to work together to coordinate our efforts against international terrorism.

And more broadly, we remain committed to fighting terrorism all over the globe. As President, I have an obligation to look after American interests overseas and to protect American citizens. We hope that these indictments will demonstrate that we mean business. And I promise you we are not going to let ourselves become complacent about terrorist threats.

In the new world order, as I've called it, the United States will continue to have enemies. And many of them may think about using terrorism as a weapon against us. This episode also underscores the importance of a more comprehensive, effective intelligence capability in an era when threats will come from all quarters. I'd like to add, incidentally, that I appointed Bob Gates to head the CIA because he possesses the professional skill and the intellectual capacity necessary for reforming our intelligence operations and enabling us to assess threats to our interests. I met with Bob just this morning, and we went over some priorities that he has now established just in the last couple of days for the intelligence community.

## Exchange With Reporters

### November 19, 1991

#### *Soviet-U.S. Relations*

*Q.* Mr. President, what do you think of Shevardnadze becoming the new Foreign Minister?

*The President.* We just began discussing that. And we know him well and have great respect for him. As I say, this is a matter for the Soviet Union to determine, but he has many friends in this country, one close one sitting right on this couch here, and all the rest of us have respect for him. So, we will work closely with him, and I'm just thrilled to see Mr. Yakovlev again. We just started talking about a conversation that he and I had in our Embassy there not so many

So, with respect to your question, I hope you will forgive me if I don't show my hand, if I don't go into more detail on what options are available. I'm sure you've read about economic sanctions, and I'm sure you've read about retaliation. But beyond mentioning broad categories, I would simply emphasize that I will continue to consult with our allies, people whose citizens were also killed in this horrible act of terrorism, and then will make a prudent decision on behalf of the United States of America. And I'm confident that when that is done, the American people will be supportive of the President in this instance. This is one that gets way beyond partisan politics and the politics of '92 that I talked a little about a while ago.

Hey, listen, thank you all very, very much for having me as your guest via satellite communications. And I'm delighted to be with you, and I wish you well. And I have great respect for what you're about down there. Thank you very, very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 11:32 a.m. from Room 459 of the Old Executive Office Building to the association meeting in Boca Raton, FL. In his remarks, the President referred to Ashton Phelps, association president.*

months ago, and a lot of change, a lot of things happening.

*Q.* What kind of power Mr. Shevardnadze can have if the Republics are taking over?

*The President.* I defer all questions to our guest here. And we're going to be discussing with him a lot of things, including Soviet-U.S. relations. But I'd have to ask you to——

*Q.* Why do you think it came about?

*The President.* ——talk to him.

*Q.* Why did it come about? What do you think is the reason?

*Mr. Yakovlev.* About what?

*Q.* Shevardnadze becoming——

*Mr. Yakovlev.* I suppose it's good idea to, I would say, to say to the international community that we are returning step by step to the position of democracy and good foreign policy.

*The President.* Thank you all very much.

#### *Stock Market*

*Q.* Mr. President, the U.S. stock market's down 68 points. Are you worried about another fall?

*The President.* —yesterday that it is inappropriate for a President to comment going up or going down on the stock market. So, I'm not going to change my view on that.

*Q.* Soviet aid package ready?

*The President.* Thank you very much.

*Q.* Lovely day.

*The President.* Yes, it is. Now we're talking, Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International]. [Laughter]

*Note: The exchange began at 3:05 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House prior to a meeting with Aleksandr Yakovlev, a former Politburo member and Senior Adviser to Soviet President Gorbachev. In his remarks, the President referred to Eduard Shevardnadze, former Soviet Foreign Minister. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.*

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Meeting With Aleksandr Yakovlev

*November 19, 1991*

The President met with Aleksandr Yakovlev, Senior Adviser to President Gorbachev, for approximately 1 hour in the Oval Office. The President and Mr. Yakovlev reviewed the current situation in the Soviet Union. Mr. Yakovlev discussed the result of the last State Council meeting, which set the foundation for a political union of the

Republics. Mr. Yakovlev also underscored the difficult food situation the Soviet Union faces this winter. The President stated his willingness to help and expressed his appreciation for the opportunity to be brought up to date on developments. Mr. Yakovlev presented the President with a letter from President Gorbachev.

## Message to the House of Representatives Returning Without Approval the Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1992

*November 19, 1991*

#### *To the House of Representatives:*

I am returning herewith without my approval H.R. 2707, the "Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1992."

H.R. 2707 contains a provision that would prohibit implementation of rules related to the Title X family planning program and abortion. I am therefore compelled to disapprove H.R. 2707. I will sign a bill that

does not include language that prohibits implementation of the abortion counseling and referral rule.

I have informed the Congress on numerous occasions that, consistent with the intent of the statute originally establishing Title X, I would veto any legislation that would entangle Title X with abortion. Accordingly, it is my intention to ensure that no Federal funds are used to support abortion except in cases where the life of the

mother would be endangered if the fetus were carried to term.

Under the regulations upheld by the Supreme Court, pregnant women who seek services from projects funded by Title X are appropriately referred to qualified providers for prenatal care and other social services, including counseling. The Administration seeks to ensure the integrity of Title X as a pre-pregnancy family planning program and to ensure that women who are pregnant, or have a medical problem, are referred to providers who can ensure continuity of care. We do not seek to limit in any way the counseling pregnant women receive when they seek services from those providers.

In a memorandum to Secretary Sullivan on November 5, 1991, I reiterated my commitment to preserving the confidentiality of the doctor/patient relationship and seeing that the operation of the Title X family planning program is compatible with free speech and the highest standards of medical care. My memorandum makes clear that there is no "gag rule" to interfere with the

doctor/patient relationship. I have directed that in implementing these regulations, nothing prevent a woman from receiving complete medical information about her condition from a physician. There can be no doubt that my Administration is committed to the protection of free speech. The United States Supreme Court specifically found that the regulations in no way violate free speech rights.

H.R. 2707 contains several provisions that would delay the obligation of over \$4.4 billion until the last few weeks of FY 1992 and early FY 1993. The magnitude of the delays contained in H.R. 2707 would make it much more difficult to remain within the FY 1993 spending limits required by the Budget Enforcement Act.

I urge the Congress to pass promptly an acceptable bill, one without objectionable language relating to Title X, to provide needed funding for the many important programs contained in this legislation.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
November 19, 1991.

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on Family Planning Legislation

*November 19, 1991*

We are pleased that the House of Representatives has voted to sustain the President's veto of the Labor/HHS appropriations bill. We hope that the Congress will promptly send the President this legislation without the prohibition on implementing the regulations relating to the family planning program.

The President has reiterated his commitment to preserving the confidentiality of the doctor/patient relationship and ensuring that the Title X family planning pro-

gram is compatible with free speech and the highest standards of medical care.

With respect to the regulations that were affirmed by today's vote, the President has made clear that there is no "gag rule" to interfere with the doctor/patient relationship. He has directed that in implementing these regulations, nothing prevents a woman from receiving complete medical information about her condition from a physician.

*Nov. 19 / Administration of George Bush, 1991*

### Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Telephone Conversation With Former Hostage Thomas Sutherland *November 19, 1991*

President Bush called Thomas Sutherland in Germany at about 1:15 this afternoon to wish him well following his release from captivity in Lebanon. President Bush said that he and Barbara share the joy of Mr. Sutherland's family in his release. "I'm glad

you appear to be in good health," the President said, "and it's good to hear Terry Waite's comments about the other hostages." The President sent his regards to Mr. Sutherland's family and wished him a strong recovery.

### Nomination of Jonathan T. Howe To Be Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs *November 19, 1991*

The President today announced the appointment of Adm. Jonathan T. Howe, USN, to be Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. Admiral Howe has served since May 1989 as the NATO commander of allied forces, southern Europe, based in Naples, Italy, and as commander of U.S. naval forces in Europe located in London, U.K.

Admiral Howe previously has served in a number of Washington positions associated with national security policy including: on the National Security Council staff as military assistant to the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, 1969-1974; as Assistant to the Vice President for National Security Affairs, 1975-1977; as senior military assistant to the Deputy Secretary of Defense, 1981-1982; as Director of the Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs, Department of State, 1982-1984; and as As-

sistant to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1987-1989.

Admiral Howe's early years in the Navy were spent in submarines. He subsequently commanded the guided missile destroyer U.S.S. *Berkeley* (DDG-15), Destroyer Squadron 31, Cruiser-Destroyer Group 3 and aircraft carrier Battle Group Foxtrot. He also served as Chief of Staff, 7th Fleet; Director of the Navy's Politico-Military and Planning Division; and as Deputy Chairman of NATO's Military Committee in Brussels, Belgium.

Admiral Howe graduated with distinction from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1957 and earned M.A., M.A.L.D., and Ph.D. degrees from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, 1968-1969. He is author of the book "Multi-Crises: Seapower and Global Politics in the Missile Age." He is married to the former Harriet Edith Mangrum, and they have six children.

## Interviews With NBC Owned and Operated Television Stations November 20, 1991

INTERVIEW WITH DOREEN GENTZLER,  
WRC-TV, WASHINGTON, DC

### *The Economy*

*Ms. Gentzler.* Most of the local stories that we've been covering lately seem to be related to the troubled economy: State and local budget shortfalls and the big budget cuts that are resulting, unemployment, business bankruptcies, the stock market. Yet, you've indicated that you'll wait until January to talk about economic proposals. Why wait, Mr. President?

*The President.* I'm not waiting to talk about it. We've been trying to get through the Congress growth proposals that I think would or would have had a very good effect on the economy. I've got a package of about six or seven items, some of which are job-intensive like the transportation bill. But no, I'm not going to wait on that. What I think I will do, though, is at the time of the State of the Union, put it all together and challenge the Congress to do that which in my view they should have done some time ago.

I'm concerned about it. People are hurting. And I think we have to do something. But it's not a question of complacency. It's a question of not being able to get through the Congress the very things that I think would help the economy.

*Ms. Gentzler.* Some of your critics right now are charging that your administration doesn't really have a coherent economic policy. How do you respond to those critics?

*The President.* Well, that's true because we're getting into a political season, and it's true that the critics are saying that. But they don't look at the proposals that we have made: IRA's and capital gains reduction and a good transportation bill. We have several other things that make up for a good package.

But the problem is, we're caught in a political year. I'd love to see IRA's for first-time homebuyers. That would stimulate the housing business. But we haven't been able to get it through. So, I think we have to just guard against the political charge, look at

the fact. And the fact is we've got good ideas that I've challenged the Congress to act on. They haven't done it.

So what we've got to do now is use this time to gather up our position on all of these things, repackage, maybe add to it, be concerned about this economy. And then, with the whole Nation watching, when the Congress comes back, say, "Now, look, here's what we must do. Now you should support the President. Let's lay politics aside now for a little bit, even in an election year, and try to get something done that will help the people that are hurting."

So that's that approach. But I think you're right. I think you're accurately reflecting the attacks on me that come every single day. I'm used to that, but I think much more important than political attacks is: Can't we get something done to help people?

### *District of Columbia Statehood*

*Ms. Gentzler.* Mr. President, you have said that you oppose statehood for the District of Columbia even though the District gets about 86 percent of its revenue from local residents and businesses. Why do you oppose statehood for the District?

*The President.* Because I think of Washington as a Federal city. I'm not going to change my view on it. I think it was set up as a Federal city. I think that's the way it should be—disproportionate Federal Government participation here—and I think the relationship we've got with the city government is good. You've got a good mayor. We're trying to work with her, and I don't think we need statehood for the city. And that's been a constant position.

*Ms. Gentzler.* The mayor is asking for statehood.

*The President.* Oh, I know she is, and so are many of the predictable Senators. But I don't think that was the way the whole system was designed. And if it ain't broke, don't fix it.



## AIDS

*Ms. Gentzler.* All right. Mr. President, what is your administration doing about AIDS?

*The President.* We've got the best research program going on AIDS. I'm glad you asked it, because we are spending a tremendous amount of money on AIDS, much more per capita on AIDS than we are on cancer, on heart disease, the biggest killers. In fact, so much so that some of those illnesses, the people that are advocating more care are saying, "Hey, you're disproportionately engaged here." So the one thing is we've got a great research program right here, the National Institutes of Health, under Dr. Fauci and Dr. Broder and others. So that's very, very positive, and we're making pretty good strides if you heard Fauci the other day.

We also are going forward in an educational sense, trying to teach people that AIDS can be controlled—sometimes, not always—by behavior. It is one disease where a person's individual choice can make a difference whether that person gets the disease or not. That's not true in the inadvertent poisoning, say, from a blood contribution. But you're seeing efforts being made now to be sure that that blood supply is clean as possible. So that's a helpful approach to be taking on AIDS.

So, I think we're on top of it. We're moving the drugs to market faster, and we're getting criticized by some on that. But I think that's a good approach. It's a tough one, and I think the President should—and I'm trying to show the compassion I feel for the victims of this disease. But I think most people realize behavior is important. Stop doing those things that bring AIDS upon you. And I think that's a good message, too.

## Washington Redskins

*Ms. Gentzler.* All right. Mr. President, before we say good-bye, anything you want to say to Redskin fans in Washington?

*The President.* I hope I've made amends for my indiscretion for rooting for the home team, which I consider—I have to stay with that position. I'm not going to flip on that one. And who knows, maybe they'll meet

again. Having said that, when I was doing my mea culpa with your associates there, I did it from the heart: One, respect for Joe Gibbs; and secondly, I'm caught up, as everybody else around here is, in the excitement of this undefeated team. It's good for the community. It's good for the country as a matter of fact. So, put me down as a fan most of the time. [Laughter]

*Ms. Gentzler.* All right. Thank you very much, Mr. President.

*The President.* Good to see you back.

## INTERVIEW WITH CHUCK SCARBOROUGH, WNBC-TV, NEW YORK CITY

*Mr. Scarborough.* Good morning, Mr. President. Thank you for joining us today and taking some of your time out for us.

*The President.* Thank you, sir. Nice to see you.

## '92 Election

*Mr. Scarborough.* Good to see you, too. Mr. President, I'd hoped to begin this interview by getting your reaction to whatever decision Mario Cuomo made about running for President, but he's still being coy. He is not, however, shy about blaming your administration for New York's economic mess. So perhaps there is some bit of wisdom you'd like to share with him to help him make his decision?

*The President.* No, I had better stay out of that one, Chuck. Nice try, though. [Laughter] But that's a matter—you know, there are all kinds of people running over there, and let them make that determination. And then I will confidently take on whoever wins what will be some hotly-contested primaries. But I had better stay out of fine-tuning the New York situation.

*Mr. Scarborough.* The Democrats though, both announced and unannounced, are apparently drawing a bit of blood in their sniping at you on the economy—

*Mr. President.* Yes.

*Mr. Scarborough.* —and on domestic issues. And there are close associates of yours who are eager for you to get your campaign officially underway, to declare your candidacy, to get your team organized, and to attack aggressively the economic problems that seem to be making you vul-

nerable. Why haven't you organized your campaign yet and gotten it together?

*The President.* I think it's a little easy—I'd make a distinction between having a total campaign organization in place and attacking aggressively on this economy that's sluggish and that's causing enormous hardship and concern to people. I'm going to keep pushing for the growth package that I have and that I've had before the Congress for a long time; and then come to the State of the Union, add to it, and present to the Nation, eyeball to eyeball, what I think is best and say, "Hey, let's set politics aside, and let's get something done for the people." So there's one thing.

In terms of the reelection, I think you'll be seeing my coming out with some top people for the campaign quite soon: who to run it, who to support the person running it. And then the campaign organization will be fleshed out very quickly after that.

So, I make a distinction between the two, but I can see why people are linking them. And you're right, I'm under fire every day. You've got a lot of Democratic candidates, and they're trying to blame the President for everything and attack. Fortunately, the people know that, if you refer to these endless numbers of surveys, that the Congress has to share a little responsibility. In fact, the people say most of it.

So, I'm going to keep trying to help people with the economy, and then we'll have a vigorous, strong campaign. And that will help, Chuck, because I think the campaign organization in 50 States will help deflect some of this intensive criticism coming out of the Democratic National Committee and resonating through the candidates.

*John Sununu*

*Mr. Scarborough.* Are you getting good advice from your Chief of Staff, John Sununu?

*The President.* Yes, I'm getting good advice from him. Very good.

*Mr. Scarborough.* I ask that because there's a published report today in the New York Times saying that those closest to you are getting ever more discontented with him, even your staff and your own family. Your children are derisively calling him

Governor "Nunu," according to the Times, and Barbara has turned against him.

*The President.* That's all crazy.

*Mr. Scarborough.* Is it?

*The President.* Yes, it is. It is not true. Do we call him "Nunu"? Yes, I do. My boys do and do it with affection and have since 1988 when he had a large part in my being elected. But that's an affectionate thing. But I saw that piece. And, Chuck, where they get these mischievous inside-the-beltway things, I do not know. My wife has great affection for John, great confidence in him. And so, it's this time of year. And the guy that wrote that story, they love this inside stuff. I mean, they thrive on it. The country doesn't care about that. They say, "What are you going to do to help me? I'm out of a job. I need help." And it's there that we're trying to do better. And it's there that I'd like people to concentrate on our suggestions. And maybe that would get the Congress to move on some of them.

#### *Terrorism Investigation*

*Mr. Scarborough.* Let me shift gears over to Pan Am 103, the terror bombing of Pan Am 103. Last week, two Libyans were indicted for the bombing of that plane that killed 188 Americans, in total 270 people. The families of those who were lost don't think the buck stops with Libya. They are persuaded that Iran and Syria were deeply involved in the bombing of that airplane, and they are suspicious that your administration is not blaming Iran and Syria because you don't want to interfere with the peace process in the Middle East.

*The President.* That's an erroneous assumption. A lot of people got way out front blaming Syria early on. And let me say that the intelligence community and the Justice Department have done a superb job trying to get to the bottom of this. It was like searching for a needle in a haystack. And they found the needle in an enormous haystack.

*Mr. Scarborough.* So there's no evidence linking Iran or Syria to the bombing?

*The President.* No. And Iran is not involved in the peace process. You might remind the people that are saying that. Syria is. And a charge has been, as you

properly state, by some of the families: "Well, there's some covering up to keep Syria." And that's not the case. We are going to get to the bottom of all of this. But I think most people that have looked at the indictments and looked at the evidence—and I've looked at the evidence—give great credit to those that have done this detective work. And it's not just here; it's in Scotland, and it's around the world.

So, I'm satisfied that we're on the right track. But if there's any further links to be examined, this Justice Department will pursue them.

*Mr. Scarborough.* Mr. President, thank you very much for your time.

*The President.* It's very nice of you to do it this way.

*Mr. Scarborough.* It's been a pleasure.

INTERVIEW WITH TOM RANGLES,  
WTVJ-TV, MIAMI

*The President.* Hey, Tom. Can you see me?

*Mr. Randles.* Yes, I can. Good morning, Mr. President.

*The President.* Good morning, sir. I see you loud and clear. Hear you and see you.

#### *Haitian Refugees*

*Mr. Randles.* We here in South Florida have a very special interest in a story that continues to unfold as we speak, the flow of Haitian refugees from Haiti to the U.S. The State Department says it does not feel these people, who have risked their lives to come here, will be persecuted when they're sent back.

On the contrary, Mr. President, we're hearing stories from Haitians who fled Haiti that their lives are in jeopardy. In some cases, they've been beaten, they've been threatened, their homes burned—all because they supported democratically elected Jean Bertrand Aristide.

How can your administration continue to stand by a policy that says it's okay to accept certain ethnic groups because of tyranny in their homeland, but not Haitians?

*The President.* I don't think that we would deny people who are genuinely politically prosecuted entry. The law provides for that. The law also provides that people fleeing economic chaos do not automatically

get entry. And there's another side of it, Tom. And that is that when you see the boats heading out, two layers on a little sailboat, like I saw maybe on a channel that you represent, I'm saying I don't want to have a policy that acts as a magnet to risk these peoples' lives. And those people that were turned back by the Coast Guard, in accordance with policy, diffused out into the countryside.

So we've got a policy. It is a fair policy. It does make a distinction between economic refugees and political refugees. But let me assure you, it is not based on some race or double standard. If the Cubans started out, a new Mariel boat lift started out, the same thing would happen. It is consistent policy.

*Mr. Randles.* So in effect, you are saying that, in fact, if Fidel Castro should fall or things should drastically change in Cuba and we see a wave of Cubans, a huge wave of Cubans coming to our shores, that your administration will change its policy and the doors to the United States will be shut for these people as well?

*The President.* No, that we already have a policy that says we are not going to do what happened in Mariel, people were going to be sent back if they're economic refugees. Now, if somebody can prove, and they have proper procedures for this, that there's political persecution, that is something different.

Frankly, I think if Castro fell, you would see the exodus going the other way. I just think that he's swimming totally against the tide, whereas in Haiti they're at least trying to go the democratic route. And we're trying to work with the OAS to restore democracy, even though Aristide is—there's a little controversy surrounding him. But he was elected. He ought to be restored. And we are supporting sanctions in the OAS to get him restored. But if Castro—it probably would go the other way, Tom.

*Mr. Randles.* Mr. President, why not at least temporarily relax, perhaps, our country's emigration policy, just temporarily until Mr. Aristide is restored, and allow these people to come to our shores?

*The President.* Well, because we have yardsticks for whether it's political persecution or economic persecution. And those

yardsticks should be followed.

What I'm confused about a little bit is, what's going to be the final determination on Aristide at home in Haiti? Our position is, he was elected, and he ought to go back. And we are working with the OAS to that end, and we have sanctions in place to that end.

But I don't think that there's any reason to change the policy because I do think if it's political persecution by some of these bullies that threw out Aristide, those people can seek asylum. But if you have just the whole country turning out for economic reasons, and the economy of Haiti is a disaster, we just can't handle that. So that's the moral underpinning of this policy.

#### *Fidel Castro*

*Mr. Randles.* We also have a great deal of interest in what happens in Cuba. We talked about it a little bit earlier, specifically the fall of Fidel Castro. What does your administration believe will actually happen to him? What is the most likely scenario, and what kind of timeframe do you think we're talking about here?

*The President.* I believe in the fall of Fidel Castro because I don't think that that country can be the only country, not just in this hemisphere but one of a handful around the world, to be staying with the totalitarian model, in this case Marxist model, when all of the other countries are going to the other way.

So, I have confidence in the will of the people in Cuba. And I can't tell you how it's going to happen, but Castro will not survive this. The people will take matters into their own hands at some time. Now, he runs a very cruel and intrusive security force against the people, not allowing elections, not allowing democracy, tough on human rights. So I'm not saying it's easy, but I just think the tide is so inexorable that he won't be around. And I can't give you a timeframe on that, but I'm not going to change American policy. We are not going to lighten up. We are going to stay with it.

*Mr. Randles.* All right, Mr. President, thank you for joining us.

*The President.* Nice to see you, sir.

#### INTERVIEW WITH LINDA DOUGLASS, KNBC-TV, LOS ANGELES

*Ms. Douglass.* Mr. President, good morning.

*The President.* See you, hear you, loud and clear, Linda.

*Ms. Douglass.* It's much earlier here than it is there.

*The President.* Yes, what are you doing up so—no, no, wait a minute—it's 7:30 a.m. out there, isn't it?

*Ms. Douglass.* [Laughter] I understand you've completed a lot of your day by this hour back in Washington.

*The President.* 10:30 a.m. I get to the office at 7 a.m., walk in the door at 7 a.m.

#### *The Economy*

*Ms. Douglass.* Admirable commitment. Let me ask you off the top, sir, about the economy again. I want to go back to some of the earlier questions. Analysts from Wall Street were quoted all over the place yesterday as the market was fluctuating wildly, once again, quoted as saying that there was concern about a perceived lack of leadership on your part in solving the economic problems. How do you react to the ongoing criticism that one hears from Republicans and businesspeople in Wall Street who are obviously concerned about the instability in the economy?

*The President.* Well, I'm concerned about it, too. And I think it's sluggish. I think there are some reassuring signs, like unemployment and inflation. But these can change. So what I've been trying to do is to get a growth package through the Congress for the last 2 years. I've challenged them as recently as the State of the Union Message to move forward on something like the highway bill that would really help. I believe capital gains would help. I believe changing the IRA laws for first-time homebuyers would help. But I'm up against a Congress that wants to do it some other way.

So when I hear the charge, I can understand because people are hurting. People need the Government to do what it can. It's not going to be totally done by Government. But Government has an important role, and I share the frustration that some

feel about inactivity. I think they also see that the Congress is in this in a big way and unable to go forward. I'd like them to go forward on what I think is a sound growth package. I think it would really help. I think it would help in California. Because as we move back on defense spending—everybody, all the opposition, is saying we ought to, in fact, some of them wanting to go much faster than I do on that—there's going to be economic hardship. So we ought to have growth. We ought to have job creation. That's why I still come back to, especially for your State, this concept of a lower capital gains rate. I think it would stimulate new business.

*Ms. Douglass.* Mr. President, today Democratic candidate Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton will blame part of the country's economic woes on greed on the part of corporate executives. He complains that CEO's make an average of 85 times more than their lowest paid workers and would eliminate the possibility of deducting as a business expense any executive's salary that is more than 25 times that of the lowest-paid worker. Are high executive salaries a problem, in your estimation?

*The President.* I can't imagine anybody can deduct his salary as a business expense. I mean, you pay tax on the salary. But I think it sends a signal when they're way out of whack. I think it sends a signal to the family that's hurting, "Wait a minute, what's going on here?" But I don't know what he's proposing. I haven't heard the Clinton proposal, and I don't know what Government should do about setting salaries or setting labor rates or setting relations between the employer and the employee. I don't believe that's the function of Government. I'm not sure that's what he's proposing. But yes, when people see, when somebody is hurting and they see an extraordinarily high salary, I think it causes discontent.

*Ms. Douglass.* Do you blame any of the policies of the Reagan administration for today's economic problems?

*The President.* No, but I blame the increasing Federal deficit and increasing Federal spending on everybody in the past. I mean, I have my responsibility to bear for that; Congress has a responsibility. But I do

think that these extraordinarily high deficits, which result from well-intentioned legislation passed in the sixties, some of it, is a problem that we have to address. And we've tried to do that by a very unpopular budget agreement that put caps on spending. And now what I'm trying to do, Linda, is to hold the line on this spending. Because every time I turn around, in the side door, over the transom, comes new spending proposals by this Congress. And I have to sometimes say no to popular-sounding legislation.

#### '92 Election

*Ms. Douglass.* Mr. President, you know that the Democrats are going to have several televised prime time debates during the primary season which will give them an opportunity to complain about you at length on prime time TV. Would you welcome prime time primary debates on the Republican side if Pat Buchanan and David Duke challenge you for President?

*The President.* No.

*Ms. Douglass.* And would you participate?

*The President.* No. I have no plans to participate. I've got some responsibilities to run the country, and I'll keep doing that. And then we'll concentrate—I assume there might be a couple of debates in the general election although we haven't addressed that yet. I don't want to run against other Republicans. I want to try to lead this country and try to straighten out some of the problems that exist. And so I don't have any plans to do that. And I don't know what the Democrats are doing, other than knocking me, which is standard fare, and we expect that. I mean, that's what—they all gang up and see who can say the nastiest things and yell the loudest.

What the people want, I think, is something a little different. They know there's a political year, but I think they want to see some action by the Congress and a little less name calling. So, I'm going to continue to reach out to Congress and try to help people. Your State is hurting, and I think some of the proposals I have made can help. So, we'll keep trying to work for it.

*Ms. Douglass.* Thank you very much, sir.

*The President.* Nice to see you. Thanks.

INTERVIEW WITH BILL STUART,  
KCNC-TV, DENVER

*Mr. Stuart.* Good morning, Mr. President. This is Bill Stuart in Denver.

*The President.* How are you?

*Mr. Stuart.* I'm fine. How are you?

*The President.* Good, Bill.

*The Economy*

*Mr. Stuart.* Mr. President, at the end of the Gulf war your approval rating, your popularity, was so high that some suggested, I think only half jokingly, that we forego the '92 election because you would win so easily; why spend all that money? But since the end of the war, your popularity has eroded somewhat. Our News 4-Denver Post poll shows that 54 percent of Coloradans now approve of your job, the job you're doing; down considerably. Why do you think your popularity has eroded since the end of the war?

*The President.* I think it's the economy. I think people are hurting in this country. I think they'd like to see more action out of Washington, DC, although the whole answer doesn't lie in Washington. But there's things Washington can do, and the President has to bear his share of responsibility for some of that; not all of it, because I think Congress is in this. And I think the same surveys you talk about seem to put more of a burden on the Congress.

So I think when people are hurting, and they are, they say, "Hey, what's gone wrong? What's happening? Why isn't the President doing more?" I think it's some of that. So, I have to get out and make clear, here's a growth package that would have helped this economy if Congress had moved. Then, in the State of the Union, here's some new ideas and a package. Take my case not to Congress but over their heads to the American people and make clear that people understand I am engaged, that I'm concerned, and I've got good ideas for helping solve the problems.

I think I've got the latter right now, and I'm trying to stay totally engaged. But I think that's what it is, Bill.

*Mr. Stuart.* Fifty-one percent of the Coloradans surveyed in this latest poll say they'll spend less this Christmas season than last,

indicating a real crisis in confidence. Is there anything you can do in the short run to turn that around?

*The President.* Well, it's difficult. Because if you talk too optimistically about the economy, you send an unrealistic signal. If you talk too gloomily, you get people discouraged. I tried to say the other day I think there are some interesting fundamentals out here: Inflation being way down and interest rates being way down, way down, are good in terms of what the consumer can go out and buy.

But I don't want to sound naive about it. I don't want to act like there are no problems there. The economy is sluggish, and we're trying, through the proposals I've made on growth, to get it moving. So, there's a delicate balance. And I think more than anyone else in the country, obviously, that if the President misspeaks or sounds euphorically optimistic or overly pessimistic, you send the wrong signals to a skittish market and to the people.

So, I'm trying to say: Look, we're in tough times; they're going to get better. The fundamentals are pretty good, but I recognize that people are hurting, and here's what I want to do about it. Let's do something about the IRA's to stimulate homebuying, capital gains that would stimulate new businesses and jobs, a transportation bill that would create jobs on the infrastructure. And just get the message across better.

*'92 Election*

*Mr. Stuart.* You mentioned Congress just a minute ago. Sixty-eight percent of the people we talk to say things are on the wrong track in Washington, going in the wrong direction. That doesn't seem to bode well for any incumbent, whether he's the President or a Senator or a Congressman, does it?

*The President.* Not particularly, no. I'd like to see them change control of the Congress, and then I think we could really get something done. And I'll be taking that case in the election to the American people. One party has controlled Congress for, you know, 40 out of the last 45 years or something, and I think it builds up an insensitive

bureaucracy. And I think it just makes Congress less effective—pass laws for everybody else but not for themselves—and I think people are tired of that.

But I don't want to just sit here blaming Congress. I mean, we're in this together. I think most of the American people know I've tried to hold out my hand to Congress. I'm getting a little tired being the javelin catcher out there from the concerted attacks that are kind of orchestrated out of the Democratic National Committee for a lot of old, tired ideas that have been tried and failed.

So I've got the politics over the horizon, but more important is: How is that family doing out there? And they're hurting, and we've got to help them.

*Mr. Stuart.* Let me follow up on that, talking about Congress. Do you plan to campaign in Colorado next year for the Republican candidate, whoever he or she may be, running against Senator Tim Wirth? How important is that Colorado seat to you?

*The President.* Well, I've always done that, and I expect I will. I can't make a pledge that I'll be in Colorado. It's such an important State, I would expect I would. And I'll be working hard for the Republican candidates and, undoubtedly, for myself and taking the case, the whole case, to the American people. And it'll get clearer then. It's fairly clear when you see these endless polls, you know, the President against whoever it is. But I'm not complacent about it, and I shouldn't be. As long as somebody is out there, Democrat or Republican, that needs help and we're not doing our part back here, whether it's Congress or the administration, we've got to do better.

*Mr. Stuart.* Mr. President, our time has run out, I'm told. Thank you very much.

*The President.* Nice to be with you, Bill. Thank you, sir.

INTERVIEW WITH WARNER SAUNDERS,  
WMAQ-TV, CHICAGO

*Mr. Saunders.* Mr. President, good morning. I'm Warner Saunders, and welcome to Chicago.

*The President.* Glad to be with you, sir, this way.

*Mr. Saunders.* Well, I have tried to contact as many people as I possibly could since I found out that I had this assignment, and I asked them what they would ask you. And this represents, this line of questioning, of course, represents hopefully my best effort and theirs.

*The President.* Fire away.

## AIDS

*Mr. Saunders.* What is your position on the use of condoms and the distribution of clean needles to IV drug users to help stop the spread of AIDS?

*The President.* I have not been in favor of a Federal clean needle program, and I am not in favor of a Federal condom distribution program.

*Mr. Saunders.* There are people, of course, who say that there's almost—

*The President.* I am in favor of helping—

*Mr. Saunders.* —no way of stopping this.

*The President.* Well, I don't think I'd be that pessimistic. We're doing a fantastic amount of research on AIDS, and I think when you talk to the top researchers at NIH, you'll find they are somewhat optimistic. We can get the drugs to the market quicker. We can do better on education. Because you see, Warner, AIDS is one disease where a person can control, to some degree, whether you get it or not. And behavior has a lot to do with it. So, I think we can do a better job in that area, too. I noticed Magic Johnson had something to say about that the other day, and I was very interested because he's coming onto our National AIDS Commission.

## Urban Legislative Programs

*Mr. Saunders.* And of course, that's a big step forward in this whole health issue.

Let's move a little bit to the issue of the cities themselves. The ghettos of this country certainly are becoming a cancer to the society, and many people believe that here in Chicago the administration doesn't view the problems of the poor, the problems of the ghettos as important as international problems. What is your reaction to that criticism?

*The President.* Well, I think that's an erroneous observation. But look, I can understand when you have fantastic levels of street crime in some of these heavily impacted districts that people are saying, "Help!" Actually we've got a good national drug strategy. We've got a good crime bill, if I can ever get it out of the Congress. We're starting a brandnew education 2000 program that helps educate these kids: Give people a better shot in the schools and give them a chance to pull themselves out.

So, I think we've got good programs, but I think they hear this charge, we're more interested in world peace, but I think a President has a responsibility for both, frankly. Maybe—

*Mr. Saunders.* Is the Congress, Mr. President, the stumbling block in getting these kinds of programs to the people who are hurting inside of these poor communities of our great cities?

*The President.* I think, to some degree, I think the Congress should be blamed. In other words, Warner, we've got an unacceptably sluggish economy, and I've made some proposals that in my best bet would help them. And I can't get it through a Congress that is controlled, both Houses, by another party. I was elected to do certain things, and I've done some of them. But we need to change that a little bit, I think.

#### *The Economy*

*Mr. Saunders.* You know, I was just with a group of car dealers last night, and they are really hurting. And so I told them that I'd be speaking with you this morning. And after they stopped laughing, I said, "No, really it's going to happen." [Laughter] And they said, "Well, ask this guy, why is he downplaying the seriousness of the economic downturn?" Are you downplaying it?

*The President.* I don't think so. I'll tell you there's a delicate balance, though. A President has a unique pulpit, not only in this country but in the world. And you don't want to talk the country into a deep recession. So when I point out that interest rates are low, historically low, or where inflation is low, acceptably low, these are good things preparing us for recovery.

I don't want to emphasize just the bad things to talk us into a depression. And I

don't want to emphasize only the good things to make those car dealers think I'm out of touch. But I do think for car dealers, hey, look, interest rates are getting down there. This wouldn't be too bad a time for a family, if it had the confidence that it would have a job tomorrow, to go out and purchase cars. So, I'm trying to find that right balance without being euphoric or without being pessimistic.

#### *Civil Rights*

*Mr. Saunders.* On the issue of civil rights, I talked with a number of civil rights leaders last night, both black and white. And one of the most conservative of them said something, and I quote here: "It appears there is little difference between the platform of David Duke and the policies of George Bush, minus the—minus KKK, Nazi history—that Bush is against affirmative action, integration, and the poor who are on welfare." What's your reaction, Mr. President?

*The President.* The guy's got it backwards. If it was a guy; maybe it was, I don't know who.

*Mr. Saunders.* It was a guy.

*The President.* Well, he's got to go back and do a little research. We're going to sign a bill, a civil rights bill. And I'm getting attacked from the Nazi down there for signing this bill. What I didn't want was a quota bill. I don't believe in quotas. I don't think most blacks or whites or Hispanics believe in quotas. And I fought back an attempt to ram a quota bill down the throats of the American people. Maybe that's what the person is thinking of.

But I'm the guy that's going to sign this one. I'm the guy that sponsored and worked hard for the best civil rights legislation in this century, and that's the Americans with Disabilities Act that helps others. So I think I would just refute the charge coming from a frustrated leader who cler is frustrated. But I think we've got a good record, working hard to support education, black colleges, many thing of that nature.

So, you take a few shots in this business

*Mr. Saunders.* Mr. President, thank you.

*The President.* It's nice to be with you, Warner. Thank you, sir. Good questions.



Tell the people that you got it from you did fine. I don't know about the answers; the questions were good.

Mr. Saunders. Thank you again.

*Note: The series of interviews conducted via*

*satellite began at 10:17 a.m. The President spoke from Room 459 of the Old Executive Office Building. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these interviews.*

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on Food Assistance to the Soviet Union

*November 20, 1991*

The President decided today to make available an additional \$1.5 billion in food assistance to help the Soviet Union, the Republics, and their people cope with immediate food shortages and aid in the longer-term restructuring of the country's food distribution system. With this announcement, total U.S. food assistance for the Union and Republics since January 1991 is \$4 billion.

The President made this decision after having sent four separate experts' missions on food to the U.S.S.R. since May 1991, including the early October Presidential mission led by Secretary of Agriculture Edward Madigan.

The President is proud that America's abundance can help alleviate food shortages this winter. Extension of agricultural credit guarantees to the Union and Republics will not only assist them during this critical period but will provide a needed boost to the U.S. food and agriculture community. Sales of this magnitude will stimulate economic activity through the entire chain, from fertilizer companies to farmers to transporters. Further, as increased demand raises the average price for grain, significantly lower deficiency payments will result in substantial budget savings. These credit guarantees will stimulate the U.S. economy and save near-term dollars in budget outlays for commodity programs.

The agreement was worked out in Moscow in meetings with representatives of Republics and the Inter-Republic Food Committee. The Union and the Republics agreed as part of the negotiations to share responsibility for the debt, and they agreed on both the value of U.S. food commodities

to be purchased and the method of distribution. Continued responsibility for payments on existing CCC credit guarantees is also necessary for the disbursement of new credit guarantees.

The \$1.5 billion will be provided in three different channels:

*Credit Assistance:* An additional \$1.25 billion in credit guarantees under the Commodity Credit Corporation's GSM-102 program will be made available to the Union and Republics in tranches over the next 6 months for the purchase of critical food and feed commodities. The initial tranche of \$500 million will be immediately available with tranches of \$250 million each made available on February 1, March 1, and April 1 of 1992. These credit guarantees will provide a flow of critical supplies during the winter and spring months when Soviet food supplies will be lowest.

*Humanitarian Assistance:* Up to \$165 million in food aid will be provided to particularly hard-hit food deficit regions in the U.S.S.R. where shortages are likely to be most severe this winter. Initial discussions have been held with Union and Republic officials in an attempt to identify regions most in need. We intend to deliver food shipments first to Armenia and the Urals region of the Russian Republic and will then target additional areas over the course of the winter. To the degree practicable, this assistance will be provided through American and indigenous private voluntary organizations.

*Technical Assistance:* The President has decided to go forward with a package of five projects aimed at improving Soviet

food production and, importantly, distribution. These are: (1) a model demonstration farm in the St. Petersburg region targeted toward new private farmers; (2) assistance in developing wholesale markets in Moscow and Kiev; (3) extension service projects in the Armenian, Kazak, and Uzbek Republics; and (4) a public/private sector initiative to have U.S. private sector executives work in

processing plants and at distribution centers to improve the efficiency of key Soviet food distribution enterprises. Planning is underway on each of these projects and implementation will begin in January 1992; (5) credit guarantees for U.S./Soviet food processing and distribution on development projects.

## **Nomination of Robert Edward Grady To Be Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget** *November 20, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Robert Edward Grady, of New Jersey, to be Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget. He would succeed William M. Diefenderfer III.

Since 1989, Mr. Grady has served as Associate Director for Natural Resources, Energy and Science of the Office of Management and Budget in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he served as senior adviser for speechwriting and policy at Bush-Quayle '88 and as a speechwriter in the Office of

the Vice President, 1986. In addition, Mr. Grady served as director of communications for Gov. Thomas H. Kean of New Jersey, 1983-1986; and in the office of Congresswoman Millicent Fenwick (R-NJ), 1979-1982.

Mr. Grady graduated from Harvard College (A.B., 1979) and Stanford University Graduate School of Business (M.B.A., 1988). He was born October 22, 1957, in Orange, NJ. Mr. Grady resides in Washington, DC.

## **Nomination of James Buchanan Busey IV To Be Deputy Secretary of Transportation** *November 20, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate James Buchanan Busey IV, of Illinois, to be Deputy Secretary of Transportation. He would succeed Elaine L. Chao.

Since 1989, Admiral Busey has served as Administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration at the U.S. Department of Transportation in Washington, DC. Admiral Busey served in the U.S. Navy, 1952-1989.

From 1987 to 1989, Admiral Busey served as commander in chief of the U.S. naval forces in Europe and commander in chief of the allied forces for the southern region.

Admiral Busey graduated from the Naval Postgraduate School (B.S. and M.S., 1964). He was born October 2, 1932, in Peoria, IL. Admiral Busey is married, has three children, and resides in Fairfax, VA.

## Nomination of Henry Edward Hudson To Be Director of the United States Marshals Service

*November 20, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Henry Edward Hudson, of Virginia, to be Director of the U.S. Marshals Service at the U.S. Department of Justice. He would succeed Michael Moore.

Currently Mr. Hudson serves as Of Counsel, general litigation, with the law firm of Reed, Smith, Shaw & McClay in Alexandria, VA. Prior to this, he served as U.S. attorney for the Eastern District of Virginia, 1986–

1991; Commonwealth's attorney of Arlington County, VA, 1980–1986; and assistant U.S. attorney for the Eastern District of Virginia, Alexandria Division, Criminal Section, 1978–1980.

Mr. Hudson graduated from American University (B.A., 1969; J.D., 1974). He was born July 24, 1947, in Washington, DC. Mr. Hudson is married, has one child, and resides in Alexandria, VA.

## Remarks on Signing the Civil Rights Act of 1991

*November 21, 1991*

Welcome to the White House. And may I salute the members of the Cabinet who are here today, Members of the Congress, many Members of Congress, distinguished guests.

Today we celebrate a law that will fight the evil of discrimination while also building bridges of harmony between Americans of all races, sexes, creeds, and backgrounds. For the past few years, the issue of civil rights legislation has divided Americans. No more. From day one, I told the American people that I wanted a civil rights bill that advances the cause of equal opportunity. And I wanted a bill that advances the cause of racial harmony. And I wanted a bill that encourages people to work together. And today I am signing that bill, the Civil Rights Act of 1991.

Discrimination, whether on the basis of race, national origin, sex, religion, or disability, is worse than wrong. It's an evil that strikes at the very heart of the American ideal. This bill, building on current law, will help ensure that no American will discriminate against another.

For these reasons, this is a very good bill. Let me repeat: This is a very good bill. Last year, back in May of 1990 in the Rose Garden, right here with some of you present, I appealed for a bill I could sign. And I said that day that I cannot and will

not sign a quota bill. Instead, I said that the American people deserved a civil rights bill that, number one, insisted that employers focus on equal opportunity, not on developing strategies to avoid litigation. Number two, they deserved a bill that was based upon fundamental principles of fairness, that anyone who believes their rights have been violated is entitled to their day in court and that the accused are innocent until proved guilty. And number three, they deserved a bill that provided adequate deterrent against harassment based upon race, sex, religion, or disability.

I also said, that day back in 1990, that this administration is committed to action that is truly affirmative, positive action in every sense, to strike down all barriers to advancement of every kind for all people. And in that same spirit, I say again today: I support affirmative action. Nothing in this bill overturns the Government's affirmative action programs.

And unlike last year's bill, a bill I was forced to veto, this bill will not encourage quotas or racial preferences because this bill will not create lawsuits on the basis of numbers alone. I oppose quotas because they incite tensions between the races, between the sexes, between people who get trapped in a numbers game.

This bill contains several important innovations. For example, it contains strong new remedies for the victims of discrimination and harassment, along with provisions capping damages that are an important model to be followed in tort reform. And it encourages mediation and arbitration between parties before the last resort of litigation. Our goal and our promise is harmony, a return to civility and brotherhood, as we build a better America for ourselves and our children.

We had to work hard for this agreement. This bill passed both Houses of Congress overwhelmingly with broad support on both sides of the aisle. A tip of the hat goes to Senator Kennedy and former Congressman Hawkins, who, way back in February of 1990, got the ball rolling. And I congratulate and thank particularly Senators Dole, Danforth, and Hatch, Congressmen Michel, Goodling, and Hyde for ensuring that today's legislation fulfills those principles that I outlined in the Rose Garden last year.

No one likes to oppose a bill containing the words "civil rights," especially me. And no one in Congress likes to vote against one, either. I owe a debt of gratitude to those who stood with us against counterproductive legislation last year and again earlier this year, as well as to those who led the way toward the important agreement we've reached today. I'm talking about Democrats, I'm talking about Republicans, and those outside the Congress who played a constructive role. And to all of you, I am very, very grateful because I believe this is in the best interest of the United States.

But to the Congress I also say this: The 1991 civil rights bill is only the first step. If we seek—and I believe that every one of us does—to build a new era of harmony and shared purpose, we must make it possible for all Americans to scale the ladder of opportunity. If we seek to ease racial tensions in America, civil rights legislation is, by itself, not enough. The elimination of discrimination in the workplace is a vital ele-

ment of the American dream, but it is simply not enough.

I believe in an America free from racism, free from bigotry.

I believe in an America where anyone who wants to work has a job.

I believe in an America where every child receives a first-rate education, a place where our children have the same chance to achieve their goals as everyone else's kids do.

I believe in an America where all people enjoy equal protection under the law, where everyone can live and work in a climate free from fear and despair, where drugs and crime have been banished from our neighborhoods and from our schools.

And I believe in an America where everyone has a place to call his own, a stake in the community, the comfort of a home.

I believe in an America where we measure success not in dollars and lawsuits but in opportunity, prosperity, and harmony. I believe in the ideals we all share, ideals that made America great: Decency, fairness, faith, hard work, generosity, vigor, and vision.

The American dream rests on the vision of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. In our workplaces, in our schools, or on our streets, this dream begins with equality and opportunity. Our agenda for the next American century, whether it be guaranteeing equal protection under the law, promoting excellence in education, or creating jobs, will ensure for generations to come that America remains the beacon of opportunity in the world.

Now with great pride, and thanks to so many people here in the Rose Garden today, especially the Members of Congress with us, with great pride I will sign this good, sound legislation into law. Thank you very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 1:18 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. S. 1745, approved November 21, was assigned Public Law No. 102-166.*

## Statement on Signing the Civil Rights Act of 1991 November 21, 1991

Today I am pleased to sign into law S. 1745, the "Civil Rights Act of 1991." This historic legislation strengthens the barriers and sanctions against employment discrimination.

Employment discrimination law should seek to prevent improper conduct and foster the speedy resolution of conflicts. This Act promotes the goals of ridding the workplace of discrimination on the basis of race, color, sex, religion, national origin, and disability; ensuring that employers can hire on the basis of merit and ability without the fear of unwarranted litigation; and ensuring that aggrieved parties have effective remedies. This law will not lead to quotas, which are inconsistent with equal opportunity and merit-based hiring; nor does it create incentives for needless litigation.

Most of this Act's major provisions have been the subject of a bipartisan consensus. Along with most Members of the Congress, for example, I have favored expanding the right to challenge discriminatory seniority systems; expansion of the statutory prohibition against racial discrimination in connection with employment contracts; and the creation of meaningful monetary remedies for all forms of workplace harassment outlawed under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Similarly, my Administration has concurred in proposed changes to authorize expert witness fees in Title VII cases; to extend the statute of limitations and authorize the award of interest against the U.S. Government; and to cure technical defects with respect to providing notice of the statute of limitations under the Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967. I am happy to note that every one of these issues is addressed in the Act that becomes law today.

It is regrettable that enactment of these worthwhile measures has been substantially delayed by controversies over other proposals. S. 1745 resolves the most significant of these controversies, involving the law of "disparate impact," with provisions designed to avoid creating incentives for em-

ployers to adopt quotas or unfair preferences. It is extremely important that the statute be properly interpreted—by executive branch officials, by the courts, and by America's employers—so that no incentives to engage in such illegal conduct are created.

Until now, the law of disparate impact has been developed by the Supreme Court in a series of cases stretching from the *Griggs* decision in 1971 to the *Watson* and *Wards Cove* decisions in 1988 and 1989. Opinions by Justices Sandra Day O'Connor and Byron White have explained the safeguards against quotas and preferential treatment that have been included in the jurisprudence of disparate impact. S. 1745 codifies this theory of discrimination, while including a compromise provision that overturns *Wards Cove* by shifting to the employer the burden of persuasion on the "business necessity" defense. This change in the burden of proof means it is especially important to ensure that all the legislation's other safeguards against unfair application of disparate impact law are carefully observed. These highly technical matters are addressed in detail in the analyses of S. 1745 introduced by Senator Dole on behalf of himself and several other Senators and of the Administration (137 Cong. Rec. S15472–S15478 (daily ed. Oct. 30, 1991); 137 Cong. Rec. S15953 (daily ed. Nov. 5, 1991)). These documents will be treated as authoritative interpretive guidance by all officials in the executive branch with respect to the law of disparate impact as well as the other matters covered in the documents.

Another important source of the controversy that delayed enactment of this legislation was a proposal to authorize jury trials and punitive damages in cases arising under Title VII. S. 1745 adopts a compromise under which "caps" have been placed on the amount that juries may award in such cases. The adoption of these limits on jury awards sets an important precedent, and I hope to see this model followed as part of an initiative to reform the Nation's tort

system.

In addition to the protections provided by the "caps," section 118 of the Act encourages voluntary agreements between employers and employees to rely on alternative mechanisms such as mediation and arbitration. This provision is among the most valuable in the Act because of the important contribution that voluntary private arrangements can make in the effort to conserve the scarce resources of the Federal judiciary for those matters as to which no alternative forum would be possible or appropriate.

Finally, I note that certain provisions in Title III, involving particularly requirements that courts defer to the findings of fact of a congressional body, as well as some of the measures affecting individuals in the executive branch, raise serious constitutional questions.

Since the Civil Rights Act was enacted in 1964, our Nation has made great progress

toward the elimination of employment discrimination. I hope and expect that this legislation will carry that progress further. Even if such discrimination were totally eliminated, however, we would not have done enough to advance the American dream of equal opportunity for all. Achieving that dream will require bold action to reform our educational system, reclaim our inner cities from violence and drugs, stimulate job creation and economic growth, and nurture the American genius for voluntary community service. My Administration is strongly committed to action in all these areas, and I look forward to continuing the effort we celebrate here today.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
November 21, 1991.

*Note: S. 1745, approved November 21, was assigned Public Law No. 102-166.*

## Letter to Congressional Leaders Reporting on the Cyprus Conflict November 22, 1991

*Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. Chairman:)*

In accordance with Public Law 95-384 (22 U.S.C. 2373(c)), I am submitting to you this bimonthly report on progress toward a negotiated settlement of the Cyprus question. This report covers August, September, and the first part of October 1991. During this period the U.N. Secretary General's representatives made intense efforts to bring major points of difference on Cyprus within negotiating range. Although these efforts did not result in the high-level meeting in September envisioned in my August 2 statement on Cyprus, I believe that considerable progress was made toward an overall framework agreement, that the work done can provide the basis for a fair and permanent settlement of the Cyprus issue, and that, with a good faith effort by all the parties, a high-level meeting under U.N. auspices can still be held before the end of 1991.

As noted in my last report to you on this

issue, at the end of July and into early August 1991, the U.N. Secretary General's representatives, Ambassador Oscar Camilion and Mr. Gustave Feissel, were in the Eastern Mediterranean discussing the key outstanding issues with all the parties to the Cyprus dispute. U.S. Special Cyprus Coordinator, Ambassador Nelson Ledsky, also went to the region in an effort to contribute to their efforts. On August 2 I announced that President Ozal of Turkey and Prime Minister Mitsotakis of Greece had agreed that their countries would attend a well-prepared, high-level meeting on Cyprus.

Mr. Feissel returned to New York on August 3 to report to the U.N. Secretary General. Ambassador Ledsky stayed in the Eastern Mediterranean until August 9. Ambassador Camilion and Mr. Feissel began another round of consultations in the Eastern Mediterranean with all the parties on August 17.

During the last week in August, the Sec-

retary General informed the U.N. Security Council that he wished to delay the report, which he had promised to deliver before the end of August, until Ambassador Camilion and Mr. Feissel finished their consultations in the area.

Ambassador Camilion and Mr. Feissel held discussions in Cyprus on August 26 through 29 and returned again from September 7 through 14. In the course of these many meetings, they presented a full set of ideas on all key issues in the Cyprus dispute. Then, on September 11, Prime Minister Mitsotakis of Greece and Prime Minister Yilmaz of Turkey met in Paris. After the meeting both Prime Ministers publicly commented that differences between the two Cypriot sides still appeared to be broad and that, until those differences were eliminated, they could not attend a high-level meeting in September.

In the days immediately following, I communicated with Prime Minister Mitsotakis of Greece and Prime Minister Yilmaz and President Özal of Turkey to ask them for assurances of their continued commitment to the settlement process. Within a few days I received positive responses from both Governments.

In mid-September the focus of activity shifted to New York as Greek and Turkish Cypriot representatives and those of the Governments of Greece and Turkey began to arrive for the U.N. General Assembly session. In the week prior to the opening of the session and continuing into the first and second week of the General Assembly, the U.N. Secretary General, Mr. Feissel, and the U.S. Special Cyprus Coordinator met separately with representatives of all the parties. During the second week of the General Assembly, Secretary of State Baker met with the Foreign Ministers of Greece and Turkey and with President Vassiliou of Cyprus.

On October 9 the U.N. Secretary General

delivered to the Security Council the attached report on his mission of good offices in Cyprus. In the report, the Secretary General brings the Council members up to date on the state of negotiations for an overall framework agreement on Cyprus and outlines the work yet to be done. His concluding paragraphs urge the parties to preserve what has already been accomplished and to work toward a high-level meeting before the end of 1991. He also appeals to both sides to refrain from counterproductive statements and actions.

Security Council Resolution 716, also attached, which was sponsored by the United States, directs the U.N. Secretary General to continue his good offices mission, endorses the conclusions of his report and observations, and asks him to report again to the Security Council in November, including in that report, if conditions are not ripe for a meeting, the set of the ideas for a settlement as they have been developed by U.N. representatives by that time.

I would like to reemphasize that I believe that the work already done by the Secretary General and his representatives is substantial and extremely positive and can serve as the basis for a fair and lasting settlement to the Cyprus issue. With a good faith effort by all parties, a high-level meeting can be held under U.N. auspices and an overall framework agreement signed by the end of 1991. I urge all parties to continue their efforts toward this end. The United States, for its part, will continue to stay involved and active, serving, whenever possible, to stimulate and encourage the process. Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

*Note: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Claiborne Pell, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.*

## Nomination of Scott M. Spangler To Be an Associate Administrator of the Agency for International Development

*November 22, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Scott M. Spangler, of Arizona, to be Associate Administrator of the Agency for International Development for Operations. He would succeed C. Anson Franklin.

Since 1990 Mr. Spangler has served as Assistant Administrator of the Bureau for Africa at the Agency for International Development in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he served as president of First Phoenix Capitol, Inc., in Scottsdale, AZ, 1984–1990;

chief executive officer and director of AZL Resources, Inc., 1973–1984; president of Spangler and Co. in Houston, TX, 1970–1973; and vice president of finance for the industrial group at White Motor Co. in Houston, TX, 1968–1970.

Mr. Spangler graduated from the University of Cincinnati (B.S., 1961) and Harvard Business School (M.B.A., 1963). He was born August 4, 1938, in Toledo, OH. Mr. Spangler is married, has three children, and resides in Washington, DC.

## Nomination of Jerry Ralph Curry To Be Administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration

*November 22, 1991*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Jerry Ralph Curry, of Virginia, to be Administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration. He would succeed James Buchanan Busey IV.

Currently General Curry serves as Administrator of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration at the U.S. Department of Transportation in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he served as vice president of Systems Management America Corp., 1987, and as president and publisher of the Na-

tional Perspectives Institute, 1985–1986. From 1951 to 1984, General Curry served in the U.S. Army.

General Curry graduated from the University of Nebraska (B.G.E., 1960) and Boston University (M.A., 1970). He received a doctoral degree from Luther Rice Seminary in 1979. He was born September 7, 1932, in McKeesport, PA. General Curry is married, has four children, and resides in Arlington, VA.

## Remarks on Signing the Thanksgiving Day Proclamation

*November 25, 1991*

Good morning. I want to thank Gary Ruka and Stuart Proctor for being here and salute our other guests from the National Turkey Federation.

I remember last year's turkey celebration before I went off to the Persian Gulf to share Thanksgiving dinner with our troops out there in the desert. And for many fami-

lies, the memory of last Thanksgiving must seem very, very distant.

Thursday will be a great day, another great Thanksgiving Day, a sort of homecoming for many families this time, full of pride for our brave service men and women, happiness at having them at the table at home, some for the first time in 2



years. To each and every one of them, I say again what I said to them in the desert that day: Thank you. Thank you for standing for freedom, for our security, and for peace in the world.

To the families of those who gave their lives in the line of duty, we say thank you, too, for we will always be grateful to them and to you.

Thanksgiving is a uniquely American holiday. And as we thank the Lord for his blessings of freedom, security, and peace, we also remember those Americans who are out of work, in poor health, or just plain lonely. We seek solutions to the problems facing our Nation, most of all, the repair of hope and an end to homelessness and hunger.

Parenthetically, let me point out that since the successful conclusion of Desert Storm, more than \$161 million worth of surplus food from the war has been distrib-

uted to the homeless and other needy Americans. I want to thank Dick Austin of the GSA who is the brains behind Operation Desert Share.

And finally, let me say that I've granted the annual Presidential pardon to this particular turkey. So you can rest assured he will not be on anybody's dinner table on Thursday. Instead, he'll live out his days gobbling away at the children's petting farm.

And so with that said, I am very pleased to sign the Thanksgiving proclamation for 1991. And I'll be glad to do that right now.

*Note: The President spoke at 7:30 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his remarks, the President referred to Gary Ruka and Stuart Proctor, president and executive vice president of the National Turkey Federation. The proclamation is listed in Appendix E at the end of this volume.*

## Remarks to the Ohio Education Community in Columbus November 25, 1991

Thank you, Governor, for that warm Ohio welcome. And I'm just delighted to be here with George Voinovich, a friend of mine for many, many years. Because, you see, he is leading Ohio on a drive for better schools, clearly for a better future.

We've just heard from Lamar Alexander, who is working on an historic mission, nationally, to change American education, to help our country become all that it should be. And I'm delighted to be working with Secretary Alexander every single day there in Washington.

I want to salute Superintendent Middleton and thank him for his cordial reception. The band, you guys did pretty well on that music in there. It's not easy. And thank you very, very much for being with us here today. Well done.

I'm pleased that Lieutenant Governor Mike DeWine is with us; and of course, a pleasure to be with my old friend Ted Sanders. As Lamar or George both acknowl-

edged, he worked for our administration as Deputy Secretary of the Education Department until Ohio had the good fortune to hire him as State superintendent. And he helped back in Washington develop the America 2000 strategy to involve parents, educators, and communities in reinventing, literally reinventing American education.

And I also want to greet the members of the Committee of 100 who I had a chance to say hello to a little earlier and also the Governor's Education Management Council. They represent, you see, the community spirit for excellence that is the heart of America 2000.

And also, it's great to be with so many young Americans, high school students from Fort Hayes where I've just visited, a couple of prejudiced ones right here cheering for themselves. That's the way it ought to be. Others from the kindergarten through 12th grade, from every kind of institution, public schools, Christian schools, parochial, private

schools. And I want to greet the many students and teachers and parents throughout Ohio who are viewing us on television.

You young people are part of something special. It doesn't happen with every generation. I've lived a long time, and I'm a grandfather with a lot of grandchildren in school. In all my life, there has never before been a movement like America 2000 to change our schools. We're working for change in education because the world is changing. Our schools—you think back to your history—our schools were designed for another era. Now they must catch up with the times. And we want you to have good jobs and a good life when you become adults. To do this, our schools need to keep up with all of the exciting improvements around the world.

Making your schools better will be a family affair. When I was your age, my mom and dad would look in and make sure I did the best with my homework. And they'd visit my school and my teachers and the principal to show how much they cared. With America 2000, we want to get the parents more involved in all of our schools.

And that's one reason, if I might say with some pride, that Barbara, my wife, spends so much of her time encouraging parents to read to their kids. Read to a child at home, and watch that child get the most out of school. We want our young people to grow up with all the love and encouragement for excellence that your parents received from their parents.

One young man here is Matthew Shepard, a 10th-grader at Tiffin Columbian High School. He finished first in the Ohio Citizen Bee. The entry form for the competition asked, "If you could accomplish one thing in your life, what would it be?" Matthew's answer was, "Become President of the United States." I'd like to see Matthew after class. *[Laughter]* Don't want him peaking too early out there. *[Laughter]*

But today is a landmark on our drive for better education. Only 7 months ago, we launched America 2000. And now with Ohio's commitment, 25 States have enlisted in the revolution to reinvent American education by the dawn of the new century.

The Governors of all 50 States, Democrats and Republicans, adopted 6 goals for

the year 2000. George clicked them off; the Governor clicked them off. These goals are to have all children start school ready to learn; make the United States students first in the world in science and math and prove it in world-class competence as well in English and history and geography; achieve at least a 90-percent high school graduation rate; make all adults literate; and make our schools safe, disciplined, and drug-free.

We not only need safe schools, but our citizens deserve safe streets and safe communities. Two and a half years ago I sent to the Congress comprehensive crime legislation to strengthen and toughen our criminal justice system. The conference committee—it's the way it works back in Washington—last night reported a bill that is simply not acceptable. So let me be clear: I would have to veto this bill because it would weaken our criminal justice system. We need a stronger criminal justice system today. And I think all the communities and families across our country understand that.

The America 2000 movement is spreading like wildfire. Just since August, hundreds of communities have accepted our challenge to adopt the national goals and a strategy to reach them, to measure their progress, and to plan on creating at least one new American school.

Anyone can take the initiative. In Omaha, Nebraska, the head of the chamber of commerce got the ball rolling. He enlisted his Governor and a mayor and newspaper publisher, and now both his city and his State are America 2000 communities. In Detroit, the dynamic school board chairman and school superintendent took the lead. In September, Lamar and I kicked off the Maine 2000 effort, the State of Maine. And since then, 50 communities have signed on.

I cannot emphasize enough: It is communities, not legislatures, not bureaucratic agencies, not interest groups but communities that drive the engine for America 2000. And sure, these other institutions can help. But most of America's education revolution will be conducted, as we've heard here today, community by community. A we're seeing just the beginning of a powerful movement that will change this country, enduringly for the better.

Here in Ohio, I feel I'm preaching not just to the converted but to some of the people who started it all. Ohio's history is intertwined with our earliest decisions about what kind of Nation we would be. The first laws that charted Ohio's future, including the famous Northwest Ordinance, made education an American priority, a unifying national cause.

The Ohio Territory was an American community working to revolutionize education by the end of the 18th century. America's founders understood that public benefit did not always have to depend on government activity or government spending or government control. This was and is the proper basis for defining public education. Whether a school is organized by privately financed educators or town councils or religious orders or denominations, any school that serves the public and is held accountable by the public authority provides public education.

A key tenet of America 2000 is real reform for parents to choose their children's schools. We won't have full confidence, full choice in education until the dollar follows the scholar. And that's how it works in Federal aid programs for college students. You know that. We don't exclude students who choose private schools, including religious schools.

By unleashing market forces, we can encourage creative competition among public, private, and parochial schools. This will improve education for everyone. I congratulate Ohio on the 1989 reform legislation that takes the first steps toward parental choice. This provides choice only among public schools, that is, government-operated schools. This will help, though we know we've got to go farther.

With new leaders like Governor Voinovich and Ted Sanders, I expect Ohio to go the full distance in giving choice to parents. Choice is crucial to our other goals of holding down costs and cutting back bureaucracy and spurring quality.

I've just had a wonderful experience touring the Fort Hayes Education Center where they're breaking the mold. They're showing us the future. The old bureaucratic ways of public education are giving way to flexible programs designed to produce re-

sults for tomorrow's world.

At Fort Hayes, companies such as Battelle and Ross Labs are sponsoring science and vocational programs that result in good jobs immediately upon graduation. Fort Hayes also provides a superb 4-year high school for the fine arts.

Partnerships like these between schools and businesses make everyone a winner. Businesses can teach our schools to trim bureaucracy and replace antagonism with teamwork. They can help us meet world-class standards. We're moving ahead with those standards.

The Nation's math teachers have already led the way, and now the National Academy of Sciences and the National Endowment for the Humanities are at work on standards for science and history. States and local communities can and will put much of America 2000 into place without new Federal laws. And thank heaven for that because some of the powers that be in Congress are fighting tooth and nail against our most important reforms.

I sent Congress a package of fresh proposals for the future. Our bill offers choice for parents and a program for new American schools that will show each State and community new ways to excellence. We need to throw off past failures and fight for a future that works.

This isn't—let me emphasize this—this is not a liberal-versus-conservative fight. It's a revolution against business as usual. The American people want education that works. The Gallup survey shows overwhelming public support for the America 2000 goals and strategies. Parents support us. So do most teachers. The beltway types may be afraid of reform, but I believe they are out of touch with rank-and-file teachers who welcome reform.

After all, teachers don't want to be cogs in a bureaucratic machine. Teaching is an art, a noble profession. And thank God for the teachers of this country. I can assure you that teachers don't want to waste their time making their way through a maze of regulations, making their way through a maze of work rules. They don't like certification rules that keep good teachers out. They want to teach, and they want good

teachers all around them.

With business and church and community leaders, with parents and teachers, we'll forge a coalition that simply cannot be stopped. Hundreds of American communities in every State are deciding where they want their children to be in the year 2000. And they're getting to work right now to make that happen. Just thinking about the potential of our movement has the old thinkers rattled. You've heard of Polly Williams in Milwaukee. She's a State representative whose constituents are mostly black and poor. And she's a Democrat, a liberal Democrat. Polly Williams watched the government pour more and more tax dollars into inner-city public schools that were producing less and less. And she said, "Enough is enough."

She joined forces with Governor Tommy Thompson so that her constituents, poor working people, people on public assistance could gain power to choose where and how their children would be educated. Rich people already enjoy choice. They can afford both high taxes and private school tuition. Or they can move to a neighborhood with better schools. It's working people, it's poor and middle-income people who have the most to gain from reform.

Somebody was telling me with well-deserved pride that Fort Hayes Center is one

of a kind. I want you to know that I won't rest, we must not rest, until we have a thousand Fort Hayeses all across the country. Community by community, we must create new American schools and a whole new public attitude about education.

We need to empower teachers not to punch timeclocks, not to fend off thugs and drug leaders, but to teach. And we need to give parents real choice, and we need to give you young people out there all the knowledge, skills, and discipline that you'll need for your exciting and demanding future.

And now I would like to ask four of Ohio's young people to join me on stage: Matthew Shepard, whom I mentioned earlier, a sophomore at Tiffin Columbian High School; Sandra Oh, a junior from Fairfield High School in Fairfield; Louie Hendon, a senior at John Adams High School in Cleveland; and Melissa Bostrom, a senior from Princeton High School in Sharonville. Welcome.

*Note: The President spoke at 11:58 a.m. in Veterans Memorial Auditorium. In his remarks, he referred to John A. Middleton, superintendent of the Columbus City School District. The President's remarks were broadcast live on local television stations.*

## Interview With Bob Orr of WBNS-TV in Columbus, Ohio November 25, 1991

### *The Economy*

**Q.** Mr. President, thanks for seeing us today. I want to ask you about the economy, sir. Americans say, almost across the board, it's the one issue they care most about going into 1992. Yet, their perception is that you haven't paid much attention to it. Is that a fair criticism?

**The President.** No, it's not a fair criticism. But I recognize that's the perception of some. I think we're getting caught up a little in the political polemics for 1992. I think the political opposition is the game plan, that's to convince the American

people that I haven't and I'm not concerned about that. I am. We put forward a really good growth package, again, in my State of the Union Message. We've been plugging for certain parts of it. But it's difficult when you don't control the Congress, when you've got ideas different than those who control the Congress.

So, I don't think it's a fair perception. But much more important than that perception is for me to identify to the American people with the concept: I do care. I am concerned about it. Some things are pretty fair; a lot of things are not right. And then make propos-

als, and try to get them enacted, that will help people. This is a people problem. Some people are hurting, and I want to try to help.

*Q.* Two-thirds of the Americans questioned in a new CBS-New York Times poll say they don't approve of the way you're handling the economy. What do you think that means? What do they want to hear from you?

*The President.* I think it means when times are tough on people that the President has to take some heat. I think it also shows that, quite a bigger percentage, they don't approve of what Congress is doing. My view of it, though, it isn't time for blame. It's a time to try to get things done. And we have been trying.

As I say, if Congress had enacted my growth proposal some time ago, I think we could have avoided, if not all the grief that we're in, a lot of it. So I've got to now take the ideas I've got, add to them, take a look, a hard look, at this economy as soon as Congress—just before Congress comes back. And we'll have a big event, the State of the Union Message, and then propose: Here's what we must do now. Let's put politics aside, and let's get it done.

I think it's going to require that, because we've tried going up there with sound ideas and getting overwhelmed by the numbers of the opposition in the Congress.

*Q.* Could you give me an example, sir, of some of the ideas that you've put forth and they've turned down?

*The President.* Yes. IRA's, for example, that would help on first-time homebuyers; capital gains that I really believe would help get people to work and create new businesses. We've got a good transportation bill. Parts of that may pass today. But that's job-intensive. That's something that would really help.

I'll tell you another one that I feel strongly about that's just been stonewalled, and that is banking reform. You see, I think we need to make our banking institutions not only more sound but more competitive so we can get out and loan more money. So there's four of the ideas that I think would be very helpful had the Congress enacted them.

*Q.* You mentioned the capital gains tax

cut that you've been proposing for some time. Some people see that as a rich man's tax cut, and they're saying, "Why doesn't the President do something for the middle class?"

*The President.* You see, I think it would do something for the middle class. I think it would do in 1992, 1991, that which it did in '78 and '79: stimulate the creation of new businesses and new jobs. It's not these big companies that are the major employers; it's smaller business. And so I think it would help.

Incidentally, I notice that several of the Democratic challengers are now talking about capital gains. I wish they'd use their influence with those who control the Congress to get them in. But maybe they will during the campaign season.

But see, I don't accept that it's a tax cut for the rich, divide class, divide American society into classes. I think it's good, sound tax policy for entrepreneurs, for those who want to take risks, good for homebuyers. I'll tell you what it would do, raise the value of homes, as a matter of fact. So we'll keep plugging away on it. But maybe I have to do better in getting people to understand that the political charge that it's a tax cut for the rich is just wrong.

*Q.* You mentioned that in the State of the Union we'll hear some specifics about what you're going to do to get the economy going again. The guy who's unemployed and whose benefits might be running out says, "That's going to be in January. What can he do for me now?" What would you tell that person?

*The President.* I would tell him we may still be able to get things done now. Congress is still there. I'd like to say that in the last few days we might get a transportation bill that would help. It would be job-intensive. I think on a broader scale a lot of the things we're talking about longer run, education and these things, will help. I think that the unemployment compensation benefits is of immediate help. And we did that one, incidentally, by not busting the budget and putting further tax burden on all the Americans that are working. We beat back a bad idea to get a good one. So, I think that's the most immediate to people that

are out of work, would be these unemployment compensation benefits. I think that will help.

#### *President's Approval Rating*

*Q.* You brought up the campaign. We haven't heard an official announcement from the Bush-Quayle team yet, but we know that's forthcoming. Your approval rating after the Persian Gulf war was an astronomical 88 to 90 percent. Yet, the new survey says it's down to 51 percent, and it's dropped something like 37 points in 8 months. Do you think you are politically vulnerable?

*The President.* No.

*Q.* Do you think the American public feels that you might be? Because fewer than 50 percent of the people in this survey asked—this is the New York Times-CBS poll—fewer than 50 percent believe that you will be reelected.

*The President.* I don't believe these polls. I didn't believe them when they were 86 percent, either. That was euphorically high, and that was because people saw this Desert Storm reawakening the pride of America. I think you've got to look at the conditions at the time. I think people, when they are worried about the economy, and then they got a lot of political record to add to those worries, of course, I think there's some concerns. I've learned, though, not to comment on individual polls. I didn't get into the euphoria of 86 percent. And I would simply cite that that is not too bad, given the economic problems we're facing.

*Q.* You would agree that the numbers would indicate that there are a number of people that are concerned about the direction of your domestic policy.

*The President.* Well, I'm concerned about the economy. You don't have to go any further than me. And I wish that many of the ideas we've put forward had been enacted. But I'm going to keep fighting for them.

#### *War on Drugs*

*Q.* I want to talk about crime for a minute. It's a big problem in our town. Columbus is on a record murder pace like many other cities. And the police tell us a lot of it can be traced right back to the prevalence of drugs in the community.

Some people are hopeless about this, saying we cannot win this war on drugs and, therefore, the war on crime. What is your personal view of that?

*The President.* Mine is that we can't be hopeless about it. We've got a good national drug strategy that's beginning to work. I don't know if you've seen the numbers on use of narcotics. It's going down. The interdiction problem is better. But there's two things that we've got to do. One of them is continue on education. I'm talking in addition to rehabilitation. But education is very important. Then we've got to pass legislation that will be stronger in support of our police officers, tougher on the criminal, more sympathetic to the victim of crime.

And there's another area where we have been fighting diligently in the Congress, trying to get that done. And the American people there want it overwhelmingly. But it doesn't seem to be happening. So I've got to keep pounding on the Congress, taking my case to the American people and saying, "Don't despair. We're making some progress here." But we've got to win this war. And I'm not going to give up until we do win the war.

#### *John Sununu*

*Q.* And I want to ask you about your inner circle of advisers. There's been quite a bit of speculation over the weekend about the status of your Chief of Staff John Sununu. How does he stand with George Bush today?

*The President.* He stands fine. You know something, I've been in Columbus for a few hours, had a chance to visit with some people, the Committee of 100 and students and some teachers. This is the first question I've got on that. And I think people are more interested about the first of this—what can you do to help people that are hurting, what's your program on crime or transportation—rather than the inside, what I call the inside-the-beltway belief in going—chase, running down all these rumors. But I think we've got a good team. What I want to do is see us make more headway with the Congress in getting our sound legislative proposals through.

*Q.* Let me just follow up quickly on the

John Sununu question. Are you saying then when "He stands fine," that he is a firm member of the Bush-Quayle in '92?

*The President.* Sure. And I'm saying, look, how I organize the White House in terms of people, we'll sort that out. And I've got a lot of confidence in him. But we've been blessed actually, when you look over your shoulder at previous administrations, about not having too much what I call internecine warfare. And I've also learned when there's kind of a firestorm out there of the nature there may be swirling around, it's better just to calm things down, get on about the Nation's business—how do you help them.

#### *Columbus Anniversary Celebration*

*Q.* And in the 15 seconds I have left, we're going to host an international floral festival in 1992 called AmeriFlora. We have the *Santa Maria* downtown. Can we expect to see the President here as one of our guests?

*The President.* Is this a firm invitation? I mean, I don't know what—

*Q.* I guess I can put it out there as an invitation.

*The President.* Listen, I love this town. A lot of people don't—they think of me as an Easterner or a Texan. My father was born in Columbus, Ohio, and grew up here. So we have some distant roots. And we'll just have to wait and see. But I wish the city well. I wish the State well. It's going to be marvelous, the celebration, 500-year celebration. Whether I come or not, it will be a great success because I know the spirit of Columbus.

*Q.* Mr. President, thank you.

*The President.* Thank you very much for coming.

*Note: The interview began at 12:35 p.m. in the chorus room of Veterans Memorial Auditorium. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this interview.*

## Interview With Doug Adair of WCMH-TV in Columbus, Ohio November 25, 1991

#### *Columbus Anniversary Celebration*

*Q.* Mr. President, I wondered if you had a chance to see our replica of Columbus' ship, the *Santa Maria*.

*The President.* Not yet, I haven't, but I expect that that commemoration next year is going to be fantastic, knowing the spirit of this place.

*Q.* Have you been invited to come, and do you plan to come?

*The President.* Well, I'm not sure I've had a formal invitation. I'll have to check with the schedulers. But obviously, I'd like to come. I am going to be participating in many events because this is American. This is Columbus, Ohio, but it's American. It's broad, and it's big. And it will be wonderfully exciting, the various events. So I hope I get a chance to come here.

#### *AIDS*

*Q.* We're right now planning a special program on AIDS aimed at teenagers. I

know you were in Europe when Magic Johnson made his announcement. I wondered if there was anything more you wanted to say about him or that you would say to teenagers.

*The President.* Well, simply that Magic is coming onto the National AIDS Commission. And I believe, from what I've heard him say, that because of his fame he'll be a marvelous advocate for education, helping teenagers understand how to avoid getting AIDS. You can't do it in every instance, but AIDS is one disease where behavior has a lot to do, a lot to do with whether you get it or not, shooting dope or promiscuous sex. Those are areas where we need more education to the teenagers. And I think that that Commission and I think that that individual can be extraordinarily helpful, saying, "Here's what I've learned. Here's what I believe."

In the meantime, we're going forward with a vigorous and large funding in re-

search. And we've got some great research that's hopeful research going on at NIH, National Institutes of Health, in Washington.

### *Saddam Hussein*

*Q.* Headlines all across the country today are talking about "President Bush Reviews Plans for Saddam's Ouster" and "Move Would Counter Democratic Critics", like Mario Cuomo, who says you waged the war well enough but lost the objective in that you did not get Saddam Hussein. Is there an effort now, an increased effort, to overthrow him?

*The President.* If I could, without being argumentative: That wasn't an objective. You remember the U.N. resolutions. It was to kick Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait and teach the aggressor a lesson. And that was a lesson that he got loud and clear. So we've got to be careful about redefining objectives for the American people. But if your question is would I like to see him out of there and would we like to help in some way or another, the answer is yes. But I did see that story. It's a little speculative. We never comment on anything that we're doing of a clandestine or covert nature and never should because people's lives, if they were doing this, and I'm not confirming or denying anything, could be put in danger by this. But I'd like to see him out.

I'll tell you what there is—this is the first time I've said this—there's some interesting information coming out of Iraq of increasing dissent. People are tired of this man. They're tired of seeing food and medicines go in only to have them ripped off and be sent to the Republican Guard or to the people in Tikrit. And so I think we're watching a situation with growing dissent, growing discouragement about this brutal dictator, regret at being isolated by the world community. And who knows what the dynamics inside Iraq will eventually be when that move that I mentioned now just becomes paramount, when everybody feels that way?

### *President's Approval Rating*

*Q.* Is it difficult having been such a hero of the Gulf war and to see the popularity polls reflecting that and then to see the

popularity rating come down with the economy? Do people expect too much of a President that way?

*The President.* No, I think a President has to—I think people, when they are frustrated on an economic sense, they'll blame Congress; they'll blame the President; they'll blame the Governor. They'll blame anybody. But people are hurting, and so I can understand it. I would like to say, without being rancorous about it, that if Congress has passed some of the economic growth package that I put forward in the State of the Union and the programs that I've put forward since then, I think we'd be much further along in terms of a boisterous recovery, a robust recovery.

But look, I don't think the American people want blame. I'm going to try to constrain myself a little. I'll go to some political events, and I'll hammer away at the Democrats as they're doing on me right now. But more important is, what can we do to help people? And I am going to continue to fight for the programs that I think will help the American people. And we can take care of the politics later on. And you can't live or die by polls. I didn't live euphorically at 86 percent, nor am I wringing my hands now.

### *The Economy*

*Q.* You try to assure everyone that the economy is doing well enough, and yet 69 percent of the people, according to the Associated Press, say that the economy is not doing well.

*The President.* It's not, and I don't try to assure them it's doing well enough. Please, that is not what I try to do. I try to put things in perspective. When people talk about Herbert Hoover depressions, they simply don't know what they're talking about. When you see interest rates where they are and you see inflation under control, these are good fundamentals. But still people are hurting.

So I think you need to—I think a President owes the American people his judgment. And I don't think that we ought to try to talk ourselves, as seems to be happening by some, into worse times. You see, I have this funny feeling that some of the political opponents think that the only way



they can propel themselves to victory is to make America think that everything is wrong. Things are wrong; they can be corrected.

I'm in Ohio talking about a revolutionary new education program, America 2000. That will help enormously. And it will help fairly short run. We moved forward on unemployment benefits. That's helping those now who are hurting. So, we've got some programs that can be short run and some much longer run.

#### *President's Safety*

*Q.* Interesting in "Reader's Digest" this month, a little quote that says you were asked one time what was your favorite Presidential speech, the one you admire the most. And you said it was one that Teddy Roosevelt had carried in his pocket that helped to deflect an assassin's bullet. And I wondered, is that something that concerns a President a great deal all the time, the concern about yourself or about your family being in a position like that?

*The President.* Not really. Not in terms of security. We have the best Secret Service and dedicated young men and women that really go the extra mile for protection. So I don't wake up worrying about that kind of threat. On the family side, I worry more about what you put your kids through, what you put your family through by just being in the arena. It's a little ugly out there, charge and countercharge. And what troubles me is it might get a little worse as the political season goes on. There's a certain ugliness, and I'd like to try to avoid that. But that's on the family side what concerns me, not personal security. I honestly don't think about that.

#### *Interest Rates*

*Q.* Your call for reducing credit card interest rates got part of the blame for the plunge 120 points on the stock market. Is that fair?

*The President.* I don't think so because I've also jawboned the Fed, saying wouldn't it be nice to have lower interest rates. And no Congressman went out and tried to pass usury laws and put them on the Fed. And yes, I'd love to see all interest rates as low as possible. But here, where I differ with

what Congress did, I don't think we can go in and legislate that kind of cap that they tried to do. Because I honestly would like to see these rates lower. And indeed, some have come down since I said that. But capping it and putting Federal legislation on that was passed by overwhelming Democrat and Republican support, I don't think is the answer. So whether I should be accorded some of the blame, I don't know. I didn't get the blame when I urged that the Fed lower the interest rates, and indeed, they did lower.

#### *Ohio State University Football Coach*

*Q.* I know you're a sports fan. I wonder if there's anything you want to say to Ohio State fans who are feeling badly about having lost to Michigan for the fourth straight time, and the coach gets a renewal on his contract. Anything that you—

*The President.* No, other than that I saw the game. It was a tough game. Michigan was tough. We all know that. I saw some of it, a lot of it. And I'm not a guy that bashes the coach. I knew Woody Hayes pretty well. Indeed, not only knew him as a political supporter but as a friend. And I learned from Woody, stay in there and drive, and so I wish the coach well. I don't know enough about it to get involved in Ohio State politics and all. But he's a good man. We have ups and downs in the world of politics like he does on the gridiron.

#### *Interest Rates*

*Q.* Finally, with interest rates coming down as they have, have you given any thought to refinancing the White House? *[Laughter]*

*The President.* I'd like to refinance—actually, we're refinancing the Federal deficit, the Federal debt as these rates are lower. And that's not a bad thing. So I'm glad the rates are down. And at some point they'll kick in. Housing rates are down. And sometime when confidence gets restored, people will say, this is a good time to buy a house. In the meantime, we've got to help those people who don't have the money to buy a house and are trying to make ends meet.

*Q.* Mr. President, thank you very much. It was a privilege for me. Thank you.

*The President.* Thanks for coming over. *the chorus room of Veterans Memorial Auditorium. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this interview.*

*Note: The interview began at 12:45 p.m. in*

## Interview With Lou Forrest of WSYX-TV in Columbus, Ohio November 25, 1991

### Education

*Q.* Essentially, the America 2000 program, the criticisms that I've heard of—and this comes from a sixth-grade teacher here in the central Ohio area here, Jerry Wilson, who said that he thinks it relies really too much on testing, on memorizing things rather than teaching or learning.

*The President.* I don't think it does rely that heavily on it. I think parents and educators would like to see some yardstick. So, we're talking about voluntary testing to show people where they stand. Is your school measuring up to this school over here? Is this school better in math and science than this school? So to reach our national education goals—one of which is, incidentally, math and science proficiency—I think we need a testing program. I don't think all the emphasis ought to be on testing, however.

*Q.* But are you requiring the testing? Is that just by rote? Our students really—

*The President.* Well, I don't think it's been designed. I don't think that the tests have even been designed yet. I think they can be flexible, but what they've got to do is show how a school compares with another one in this city or another State. And the idea that, this kind of naive view that you don't need any testing I think is ridiculous. I think we kind of went through that approach a while back, kind of a goo-goo approach that we don't need tests; we don't need anybody to know where they stand; we'll just throw something out there at them. And I think you do need certain standards.

One of the things I'm excited about is trying to meet our national education standards—first time we've ever had—and it's not Republican or Democrat. It's all the Governors getting together. And Ohio now

is getting out in the forefront of all of this.

*Q.* You like the Ohio 2000 program?

*The President.* I think it's off to a good start. Governor Voinovich has put together what they call a Team of 100, and they come from all walks of life, and they come from different parties. And I think what he wants to do is get down into the communities to reinvent the school. I don't know, some teachers might wonder about what this does to the status quo, but most of them, I think, feel inhibited by a lot of bureaucracy and certification and regulations. And I think most recognize, no matter how hard they're trying, that we're not as competitive in education for the future as we should be. So, we're getting good, broad support, not just from the business community and the local communities but from the education community as well. That's not to say we don't have any critics.

*Q.* Right. Well, let me ask you, then, about being inhibited by regulations. There also is a lot of criticism that the Federal Government has too many regulations.

*The President.* Yes.

*Q.* For example, there is one program that, if you buy computers under this program, you can't use those to teach disadvantaged students in the day and use it to teach adult literacy at night. Do you have any ideas on getting rid of some of these—

*The President.* Yes, I do. And I think a lot of the education 2000 strategy tries to address itself to that, fights against mandated programs from Washington, DC. A big argument that I have with many of the entrenched committee chairmen in Congress is, we've got to do it differently. Don't tell Columbus, Ohio that they've got to do a formula like you've just mentioned, the same as a formula from Brooklyn or Bee-

ville, Texas. It doesn't lend itself to this kind of rote or mandate.

So when a person expresses frustration like that, there's two things: One, we've got to avoid legislative mandates. Secondly, if the Federal Government, just by rulemaking and regulation, is burdening these communities, then I've got to do better in getting rid of those regulations that just tie the hands of innovative superintendents or teachers or shopworkers or whatever it is.

*Q.* California had a very good idea when they started reform in that State, was that any school district could apply for an exemption if they found a rule or a law that roadblocked them, and they would handle that.

*The President.* There are exemptions that can be applied for to the departments in Washington, and I think we've been able to handle some by exemption. But the big answer is to redo it, to start from scratch. And therein, we may run into problems at local levels, State levels. But so far, the receptivity is strong in the 25 States, Ohio being the 25th, that have adopted the America 2000 education strategy.

*Q.* One of the things I did in preparation for this interview, Mr. President, was ask a number of teachers and principals, "If you could ask the President any question, what would it be?" And the very first answer I got from Carol Price, who is a principal at an elementary school, was, "What about funding?" Obviously the bulk of funding for education comes from the States, but how are you going to pay for America 2000?

*The President.* States and local. Let me put funding in a broad perspective. And don't hold me within a billion to the month. In the early eighties, we were spending \$160 billion on education. Now it's \$400 billion—\$400 billion. And we're still not of proficient rank internationally to say that in the future we can compete or say to a parent, "Your kid's getting the very best." I don't think it is a question of funding. America 2000 is not trying to tell the States how much money they have to put into each program.

And our budget, of course, for the Department of Education is up. But I don't think that the answer to education, if this is what Carol was saying, lies in vast increases

in Federal funding. Federal funding is 6 percent, I believe, of the total education budget. She ought to look at, how can we revolutionize this education to make ourselves be more efficient? How can we get the parents involved more? How can we stop getting too many mandates telling me, Carol Price, how I ought to run my classroom, for example?

So I don't think it's funding. I mean, in some areas I wish there was more money brought to bear on a specific problem. But I don't think we can say, "Well, we're failing because we're not getting enough money from the taxpayers."

*Q.* I think, she's operating on a day-to-day basis where she sees how much she has for supplies and how much she has to buy new textbooks and then the available Federal monies that she can get that—that was her concern.

*The President.* Well, she may be right, because in this instance she may be speaking right there from the heart with fact on her side. Because in some areas, some States and some communities, as they assign priorities in tough economic times, have had to cut back on things. But I would be surprised if she's saying, "Hey, they're not letting me get the diversity of classroom implements I need; Federal Government, please send it." I think she's probably saying, "Look, we're getting hurt here. The economy is down. People are hurting. And some of it's coming out of education. And I'm a teacher, and I don't want to see it cut here. I want to see us go forward." So maybe it's something like that, that motivated her comment.

*Q.* One of the goals of America 2000 is a skilled, literate workforce. Are you proposing anything with vocational training?

*The President.* Yes. Adult education. Adult literacy. Adult literacy is a key, incidentally; the concept, nobody's too old to learn. I'm sitting down, as kind of admittedly with some show business, but now fascination, learning to do a computer. By doing that, I've started to do that to show nobody's too old to be taught. And now I find I'm using that thing for all the memos I send out—they've taken my typewriter away from me—and it works. And so we're

talking here about more adult literacy programs, more adult education programs, but with flexible styling. Style them so they suit the needs of the communities, not back again to mandates, to be mandated from some subcommittee chairman in Washington, DC.

#### *Anticrime Legislation*

*Q.* Let me switch gears here for just a moment: the crime bill. I get the impression from the reports that you do not like the crime bill.

*The President.* I'm very disappointed. We fought hard for anticrime legislation that will support the police officer, a little less concern about the criminal himself. We've got good provisions in there for the victims of crime. And then it gets technical: habeas corpus reform, exclusionary rule reform. All of that's moved the wrong way in this midnight conference, or conference that broke up last night in the Senate and House, and looks like we're getting back to party politics. So I do worry that we're not going to

be able to get for the American people the kind of tough anticrime legislation they want. And I'll keep fighting Congress until I get it.

*Q.* And if it comes to you, you would veto it?

*The President.* Well, I have to know exactly what's in it. But from what I understand the conference did, I'd have to. I'd have to. And there are some things in there we want. But you know, that's a problem with divided Government. I have to stand up and beat back things that I think are against the interest for the American people in order to get good legislation. So, let's see how it actually comes down to the White House. It may not even get there. It may not even get there this session. They may turn it over until next session.

*Q.* Okay. Thank you, sir.

*The President.* Thank you very much.

*Note: The interview began at 12:56 p.m. in the chorus room of Veterans Memorial Auditorium. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this interview.*

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Ratification of the Conventional Weapons Treaty

*November 25, 1991*

The President is extremely pleased by the Senate's resolution of advice and consent to ratification of the CFE Treaty.

This action could not be more timely. The CFE Treaty is the cornerstone of the new security structure we have been working to construct in Europe. Its full implementation will put in place a system of

equipment limits and verification provisions that will help provide a stable and secure framework for future European political development.

We call upon all other signatories to ratify the treaty promptly so that it can be implemented as soon as possible.

## Letter to Congressional Leaders on Anticrime Legislation November 25, 1991

*Dear Bob:*

Since March, I have been calling on the Congress to pass a tough crime bill that will remove the handcuffs from law enforcement and end needless delays in the criminal justice system. For too long, the scales of justice have been tipped in favor of criminals instead of law-abiding Americans. The American people want a crime bill that will make the system tougher on criminals than it is on law enforcement and crime victims.

After months of delay, the Congress is now presented with a conference report drafted in the last hours of this session. Once again, just as they did last year, Democrat conferees from the Senate and House have demonstrated that they are willing to overlook the will of their colleagues and the American people. Clearly, the American people deserve better.

The crime bill produced by the Democrat-controlled conference is unacceptable. The bill rejects many of the primary goals the Administration set forth as necessary for an acceptable crime bill. One essential goal of our proposal is to end frivolous post-appeal challenges brought by convicted criminals, particularly death row inmates, through meaningful habeas corpus reform. By overturning critical Supreme Court de-

cisions that have reduced the abuse of habeas corpus, the conference bill actually weakens current law by expanding a criminal's ability to frustrate the system.

Another goal of the Administration's bill is to ensure that criminals do not go free on legal technicalities when a police officer is acting in good faith. This conference report does just the opposite. Again, it retreats from current law by throwing out court decisions that recognize the legitimacy of such a good faith exception to the exclusionary rule.

Finally, although this bill purports to permit imposition of the death penalty for several new Federal offenses, it adopts procedures that virtually ensure the death penalty will never be imposed.

I will not accept any effort by the Congress to turn the clock back on the progress we have made in the courts on criminal justice reform. If this bill is presented to me, I will veto it and insist that Congress pass a crime bill that will strengthen our criminal justice system.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

*Note: Identical letters were sent to Robert H. Michel, House Republican Leader, and Robert Dole, Senate Republican Leader.*

## Message to the Senate Transmitting the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty November 25, 1991

*To the Senate of the United States:*

I am transmitting herewith, for the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, the Treaty Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms (the START Treaty) signed at Moscow on July 31, 1991. The START Treaty includes the following

documents, which are integral parts thereof:

- the Annex on Agreed Statements ("Agreed Statements Annex");
- the Annex on Terms and Their Definitions ("Definitions Annex");
- the Protocol on Procedures Governing the Conversion or Elimination of the Items Subject to the Treaty Between

the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms ("Conversion or Elimination Protocol");

- the Protocol on Inspections and Continuous Monitoring Activities Related to the Treaty Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, with 12 annexes ("Inspection Protocol");
- the Protocol on Notifications Relating to the Treaty Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms ("Notification Protocol");
- the Protocol on ICBM and SLBM Throw-weight Relating to the Treaty Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms ("Throw-weight Protocol");
- the Protocol on Telemetric Information Relating to the Treaty Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms ("Telemetry Protocol");
- the Protocol on the Joint Compliance and Inspection Commission Relating to the Treaty Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms ("Joint Compliance and Inspection Commission Protocol"); and
- the Memorandum of Understanding on the Establishment of the Data Base Relating to the Treaty Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, with 10 annexes ("Memorandum of Understanding").

In addition, I transmit herewith, for the information of the Senate, the Report of the Department of State and documents associated with, but not integral parts of, the START Treaty. These documents are of

four types: separate executive agreements related to the Treaty; letters embodying executive agreements on various aspects of the Treaty; declarations regarding specific systems that do not fall within the scope of the Treaty; and a variety of statements and correspondence concerning aspects of the negotiation of the Treaty. Although not submitted for the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, these documents are relevant to the consideration of the Treaty by the Senate.

The START Treaty represents a nearly decade-long effort by the United States and the Soviet Union to address the nature and magnitude of the threat that strategic nuclear weapons pose to both countries and to the world in general. The fundamental premise of START is that, despite significant political differences, the United States and the Soviet Union have a common interest in reducing the risk of nuclear war and enhancing strategic stability.

The United States had several objectives in the START negotiations. First, we consistently held the view that the START Treaty must enhance stability in times of crisis. The strategic nuclear forces remaining after implementation of START—as well as during the period when weapons are reduced—should be such as to reduce Soviet incentives to provoke a crisis or to strike first during a crisis. Stability in times of crisis will remain important even in the post-Cold War era; no one can predict the future, and the purpose of this Treaty is to regulate the strategic threat for many years to come. Among the many measures we sought to fulfill this objective, the most important were the preferential treatment given to stabilizing systems, such as bombers and cruise missiles, the stringent limits on deployed ballistic missiles and their re-entry vehicles, and the special, restrictive limits on heavy ICBM's, the most destabilizing weapons in existence.

Second, we sought an agreement that did not simply limit strategic arms, but that reduced them significantly below current levels. A successful combination of this objective with that of a stabilizing force structure can serve for many years as a linch-pin in shaping our strategic posture, and, if ap-

appropriate, can serve as a basis for future agreements that will lead to further reductions. Moreover, in order for the Treaty to work smoothly over many years, its terms must be as precise and unambiguous as possible. Neither Party should have any doubt as to the limitations and obligations that are imposed by the terms of the Treaty.

Third, we sought a Treaty that would allow equality of U.S. forces relative to those of the Soviet Union. Again, the emphasis is to reach equality in order that the resulting levels will be stabilizing. Equality does not require identical force structures; rather, it demands limits that allow the Parties to have equivalent capabilities.

Fourth, we sought an agreement that is effectively verifiable. Effective verification is necessary to ensure that U.S. national security is not jeopardized under the Treaty. Effective verification also acts as an inducement to the Soviets to comply because they are aware that their behavior will be closely monitored.

Finally, the United States placed great emphasis during the negotiations in seeking an agreement that would be supported by the American and allied publics. This objective means that U.S. policies regarding strategic forces must not only sustain deterrence, but will also serve to assure the American people and allied publics that the risk of war and crisis instability is low and is being further reduced.

I am fully convinced that the START Treaty achieves these objectives.

START will be the first Treaty that actually reduces strategic offensive arms. START will lead to stabilizing changes to the composition of, and reductions in, the deployed strategic offensive nuclear forces of both countries. The overall strategic nuclear forces of both countries will be reduced by 30–40 percent, with a reduction of as much as 50 percent in the most threatening systems. The Treaty will have a 15-year duration, and can be extended for successive 5-year periods through the agreement of the Parties.

Force reductions under START will be asymmetrical due to currently higher Soviet levels, and will result in equal limits on deployed strategic offensive arms at the end of each of three phases over the first 7

years that the Treaty is in force. Moreover, I believe that the reduction of ICBMs should be accomplished even more rapidly than the Treaty would require. On September 27, as a part of my statement on the future of U.S. nuclear weapons, I said that those ICBMs that the United States would reduce pursuant to START would be eliminated more rapidly than required by the Treaty. Today, I reiterate that pledge.

More specifically, the central limits of START require reductions down to ceilings of 1600 on deployed strategic nuclear delivery systems (i.e., deployed ICBMs, deployed SLBMs, and deployed heavy bombers), 6000 accountable nuclear warheads that those missiles and bombers would carry, and 3600 metric tons of aggregate ballistic missile throw-weight. Aggregate throw-weight—a measure of the total weight of weapons and related objects that a ballistic missile can deliver—is limited to approximately 54 percent of the current aggregate Soviet throw-weight level.

Within these aggregate limits, the United States and Soviet Union have agreed to observe certain subceilings in specific weapon categories. Reductions and limitations on those weapon systems that could most threaten crisis stability are emphasized in these subceilings. Under START, neither Party may have more than 4900 deployed ballistic missile warheads of which no more than 1100 warheads can be on deployed mobile ICBMs. Moreover, the Soviet Union is required to reduce by 50 percent their heavy ICBM force. The Soviet Union will eliminate no fewer than 22 SS-18 launchers every year during the 7-year reduction period to a ceiling of 1540 warheads on 154 heavy ICBMs.

To assist in verifying compliance with these limits, START incorporates the most extensive verification regime in history, which includes the exchange of ballistic missile telemetry tapes, the permanent monitoring of mobile ICBM assembly facilities, 12 kinds of on-site inspections, special access visits, cooperative measures, and data exchanges to complement our national technical means of verification. Moreover, many of the Treaty provisions, such as its definitions, counting rules, conversion or

elimination procedures, notifications, and numerous data exchanges, will help to verify whether the Soviet Union is in compliance with the central limitations. Thus, I am convinced START is effectively verifiable.

START represents a critical watershed in our long-term effort to stabilize the strategic balance through arms control. Stabilization of the strategic balance will help cement one of the most fundamental tenets of our preferred world order—that conflict must not and shall not be resolved through the use of nuclear weapons. Moreover, recent events underscore the need to ensure stability and to broaden the dialogue

between our countries. Implementation of START would reinforce these efforts.

In sum, the START Treaty is in the interest of the United States and represents an important step in the stabilization of the strategic nuclear balance. I therefore urge the Senate to give prompt and favorable consideration to the Treaty, including its Annexes, Protocols, and Memorandum of Understanding, and to give advice and consent to its ratification.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
November 25, 1991.

## Exchange With Reporters November 26, 1991

### *Economic Growth Legislation*

Q. Mr. President, what do you really think about the economic package that was presented to you yesterday?

*The President.* I'm for it.

Q. You're for it?

*The President.* Yes.

Q. How strongly?

*The President.* That's what I've said.

Q. Enough to keep Congress in session?

*The President.* Listen, Congress has been here all year long. If they want to pass this, let them pass it today.

Q. You're not going to ask them to stay in?

*The President.* I want the package passed, and I want to see it done fast. And I've wanted a lot of legislation that they've had all year to pass. And this kind of ploy at the end is just that; it's a ploy. We've got a good package up there. I've had one up there all year long. Now there's another good one. Let's see them vote on it. They can vote if they want to. This idea of dancing around, that's not good enough for the American people.

Q. The Republicans—

*The President.* Look, we've got to get on with our business here. Put me down as enthusiastically for it.

Q. You were misinterpreted, weren't you?

*The President.* Misinterpreted. If they just print what I say, what our statements say, then we would avoid some of this interpretation. I am for this, would like to see it voted on today. And there's no point in Congress sticking around, in my view.

Q. Sir, the economy-troubled ordinary Americans wonder, why not keep them in?

*The President.* Because they've been here all year long, and the economy's in trouble. That's the answer. Okay.

Q. Are you blaming them?

*The President.* You heard what I said. Just print it as I said it without interpretation.

Q. I promise you a verbatim report.

*The President.* That's good. It's all we can ask.

### *Soviet Union*

Q. Mr. President, coming back to Soviet Union, I'm Pravda correspondent. Our country is living through very difficult times now. How can the United States help us to live through it?

*The President.* We're going to talk about it today. We're trying to help with our agricultural program. We're trying to help in many other ways. In fact, we just finished a



long meeting. We're very interested in helping the people, particularly the people that are hurting right now, and then facilitating this move to a market economy which will eventually mean prosperity for all. So, that's what we're going to be discussing right now. Thank you.

*Note: The exchange began at 11:35 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House prior to a meeting with Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev of the Russian Republic. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.*

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Meeting With Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev of the Russian Republic *November 26, 1991*

The President met with Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev today. Today's Oval Office visit follows a series of meetings held yesterday between the Foreign Minister and Secretaries Baker, Cheney, and Mosbacher and the congressional leadership.

Today's meeting was very useful and provided the Foreign Minister and the President an opportunity to exchange views on

developments in the Russian Republic.

The President stressed our continued interest in building strong political and economic ties to Russia and assisting the Republic in establishing a viable and flourishing market economy.

Following the Oval Office meeting, General Scowcroft held a brief follow-on meeting with the Foreign Minister in the National Security Adviser's office.

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on Economic Growth Legislation *November 26, 1991*

Congress has had many months to pass our economic growth package. The President regrets Congress' inaction. He is enthusiastic about the House Republicans' efforts to advance a responsible growth pack-

age. As we said last night, the President reviewed the package with Bob Michel and Newt Gingrich and told them unequivocally that he liked the package and supports their efforts to advance the growth agenda.

## Remarks at the Swearing-In Ceremony for William Barr as Attorney General *November 26, 1991*

Thank you all. And thank you, George, and Mr. Attorney General; distinguished members of the Cabinet; Members of Congress who are with us here today—I spot Senator Thurmond, Senator Hatch; members of the White House staff; and Bishop

Daily, to you, sir; ladies and gentlemen. Let me offer congratulations to Bill Barr and a warm welcome and best wishes to his wife, Chris, and to these three wonderful daughters here, with whom I had the pleasure to visit just a few minutes ago. May I salute

Mr. and Mrs. Barr, Bill's parents, here in the front row and many, many other family and friends that are here for this happy occasion. This is my kind of Barr association. [Laughter] I knew it. [Applause] I knew it. I debated—and there's Senator Kennedy. Ted, I didn't see you earlier. Welcome, sir. I debated whether to try that one; I'd like to take it over. [Laughter] Like a replay. Time out.

Today America gives new responsibilities to a young man of outstanding character and achievement. As always, Shakespeare's words help us sum up the man: "Young in limb, in judgments old." The newspapers report Bill Barr was giving Eisenhower for President speeches when he was in kindergarten. And his parents pass along the word that young Bill was discoursing about separation of powers before he gave up his pacifier. [Laughter]

So, I am proud to welcome Bill Barr to this Cabinet. And he will make our country proud of his work as Attorney General of the United States. He offers a model of thoughtfulness and hard work for all young Americans. And when I first met him, Bill was holding down a demanding job in the legislative affairs office at CIA, and at night he was going to law school. As a lawyer in private practice and in Government service, he has shown unstinting commitment to excellence and to fairness.

As the head of the Justice Department's Office of Legal Counsel and as a key participant in our National Security Council deliberations, he has never hesitated, Bill Barr has never hesitated to speak his mind and to offer honest, solid legal advice. As Deputy Attorney General and then Acting Attorney General, he has fostered a strong sense of teamwork that draws the best out of our professionals at the Justice Department. Bill's leadership has brought about recent successes in prosecuting savings and loan fraud, in resolving the Talladega hostage crisis, and indicting the terrorists who plotted the Pan Am bombing.

Under our new Attorney General, the Justice Department has four major priorities: First, keep on with the fight against drugs. We're winning some battles. There are some encouraging statistics out there. But we haven't won this war, not yet. We'll

keep putting our best efforts into the fight for the lives and well-being of our young people. That's what's at stake here.

Second, we are continuing and we'll intensify our efforts against violent crime. In the Federal Government, we're determined to help State and local authorities combat violent criminals. Bill Barr's leadership in particular will help us with a new crack-down against career criminals who use firearms, and he'll redouble our efforts to help victims and witnesses.

Third, our administration will work vigorously to enforce civil rights laws. We will support our fellow Americans' efforts to promote fairness and harmony, and we will join forces to fight the cancer of discrimination.

And finally, Bill Barr and his team will roll up their sleeves to heighten the attack against white-collar crime. We're determined to strengthen the people's protections against fraud in financial institutions, insurance, and Government procurement. We'll turn the full force of the law against con artists who steal people's savings. And we'll do the same to anyone from abroad who tries to rob our inventors and our investors of what is rightfully theirs.

We won't relax until Congress gives us the tools we need to fight crime. I asked for an end to frivolous habeas corpus appeals that waste time prosecutors should be spending on new cases. Congress, in my view, has ignored that urgent need. I asked for legislation assuring that needless technicalities will not cause evidence to be thrown out when police officers act in good faith. And Congress has ignored us on this one, too.

I asked Congress to make it easier to prosecute rapists and child molesters, and again, failure to act. And I asked for meaningful Federal death penalty authority, and, once again, I am not satisfied. Congress has failed to deliver. The conference committee's bill that's up there now, in my view, is so weak and so soft on criminals that I'll have to veto it if it reaches my desk.

This isn't a partisan issue; it's a matter of common sense. And it's a question of who is in touch with our State and local law enforcement authorities out there on the front

lines. And at last count, I've heard from 31 of our States' attorneys general, Democrats and Republicans, who say they will stand by me in the position I have taken.

Beyond the critical issues of crime and drugs and civil rights enforcement, we need civil justice reform. Bill Barr will help us straighten out a civil litigation system that has spun out of control. We've become the most litigious society in the world. And that causes a painful, costly drain on our economy, on our professions, and ultimately on the civility we need to hold society together. Bill has been and will remain a stalwart in our efforts for civil justice reform.

I am confident that Bill Barr possesses an abundance of every quality that makes a great Attorney General. He is tough; he is fairminded, a man of integrity, of intense dedication. It's true that I've ordered Bill to go all out in fighting crime. But I've left the details to him. It's altogether his idea to try

to drive drug dealers out of our neighborhoods by playing his bagpipe. [Laughter] A constitutional question has been raised on that one, violating the eighth amendment, cruel and unusual punishment. [Laughter]

But for 15 years, I've been honored to know this good man. And I've been deeply impressed by his ability, by his love of country and of his profession.

And now it is my honor to present Judge Laurence Silberman, who will administer the oath of office to the 77th Attorney General of the United States.

*Note: The President spoke at 3:42 p.m. in the Great Hall at the Department of Justice. In his remarks, the President referred to: George J. Terwilliger III, Acting Deputy Attorney General; Bishop Thomas Daily, Roman Catholic Diocese of Brooklyn, NY; and Judge Laurence J. Silberman, U.S. Circuit Court for the District of Columbia.*

## Remarks on Signing the National Adoption Week Proclamation November 27, 1991

Excuse the little slight delay here, but may I welcome Chris Smith and others and certainly Lou Sullivan, who's doing a superb job for this country as Secretary of HHS; Assistant Secretary Barnhart; and I mentioned Representative Smith. And I would consider, looking around, this crowd as all distinguished guests. And welcome especially to those here who truly know the meaning of the holiday we celebrate tomorrow, for those of us whose lives have been touched by adoption realize, I think, quite profoundly what Thanksgiving is all about.

It gives me particular pleasure to proclaim this our 28th National Adoption Week. Each year more than 50,000 children join new families here in America. Each year tens of thousands of lives are enriched by this act of faith, courage, and generosity. That means not only the lives of children who have finally found the security and belonging they desire but also the lives of their families and friends, their new families and friends.

During this week we have the chance, the privilege to recognize those who have joined in the effort to find permanent homes for waiting children: The counselors, the social workers, the physicians, the attorneys, the legislators, the volunteers, the employers, media professionals, members of the clergy, and families. During National Adoption Week, perhaps most important of all, we also have the chance to express our admiration for the women who chose life for their unborn child.

Our family knows the value of that choice. Among our 12 grandchildren, as many of you know, are two very special little ones who were adopted. Whenever I see these miracles, if you will, I thank God for the joy that each of them brings to our family every single day.

We must make adoption a higher priority in this Nation. And every level of government and every part of society must promote policies that encourage adoption and make it easier for families who want chil-

dren and who will give them loving homes.

Right now, over 30,000 children are waiting. They're legally available for adoption, just waiting for homes and hearts to welcome them. Many of them have special needs, but they all have special love to receive and to give.

This week, during the holiday season, and throughout the year, let everyone in this country remember those precious youngsters who wait. Let us renew our determination to help them, to help the American family, to help the strength of this Nation.

So thank you all very much for coming

here today. Have a wonderful Thanksgiving with your families. And may God bless you all. And now I'm going to sign this proclamation.

*Note: The President spoke at 11:57 a.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. In his remarks, the President referred to Jo Anne B. Barnhart, Assistant Secretary, Administration for Children and Families, Department of Health and Human Services. The proclamation is listed in Appendix E at the end of this volume.*

## Message to the Congress on Reductions in Travel, Transportation, and Subsistence

November 27, 1991

*To The Congress of The United States:*

In accordance with section 523A of the Treasury, Postal Service and General Government Appropriations Act, 1992, I transmit herewith a report specifying my determination of the uniform percentage necessary to reduce outlays for travel, transportation, and subsistence by \$15.7 million. As required by law, this reduction will be applied to all accounts within this appropriation

act in FY 1992 with the exception of the Committee for Purchase from the Blind and Other Severely Handicapped. Federal agencies covered by this appropriations act have been instructed to make the required reductions.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
November 27, 1991.

## Statement Announcing Joint Declarations on the Libyan Indictments

November 27, 1991

STATEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES REGARDING THE BOMBING OF PAN AM 103

After the indictments were handed down on November 14 we conveyed them to the Libyan regime. We have also consulted closely with the governments of France and the United Kingdom and in concert with those two governments we have the following two declarations to present publicly today.

JOINT DECLARATION OF THE UNITED STATES AND UNITED KINGDOM

The British and American governments today declare that the Government of Libya must:

- surrender for trial all those charged with the crime; and accept responsibility for the actions of Libyan officials;
- disclose all it knows of this crime, including the names of all those responsible, and allow full access to all wit-

nesses, documents and other material evidence, including all the remaining timers;

—pay appropriate compensation.

We expect Libya to comply promptly and in full.

#### DECLARATION OF THE UNITED STATES, FRANCE, AND THE UNITED KINGDOM ON TERRORISM

The three states reaffirm their complete condemnation of terrorism in all its forms and denounce any complicity of states in terrorist acts. The three states reaffirm their commitment to put an end to terrorism.

They consider that the responsibility of states begins whenever they take part directly in terrorist actions or indirectly through harboring, training, providing facilities, arming, or providing financial sup-

port or any form of protection, and that they are responsible for their actions before individual states and the United Nations.

In this connection, following the investigations carried out into the bombings of Pan Am 103 and UTA 772, the three states have presented specific demands to Libyan authorities related to the judicial procedures that are underway. They require that Libya comply with all these demands, and, in addition, that Libya commit itself concretely and definitively to cease all forms of terrorist action and all assistance to terrorist groups. Libya must promptly, by concrete actions, prove its renunciation of terrorism.

*Note: The Office of the Press Secretary released the text of the joint declarations on November 27.*

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Adjournment of Congress

*November 27, 1991*

Congress has adjourned for the Thanksgiving holiday after making progress in several important areas, but much remains to be done. We still must be sensitive to the need for economic improvement in this country.

When the Congress returns next year, we will engage these issues. The American people deserve a Government that responds to the need for jobs and economic opportunities.

## Text of the Thanksgiving Address to the Nation

*November 27, 1991*

From Camp David, Barbara and I would like to wish all Americans a joyous Thanksgiving. This holiday has always had a special meaning for the Bush family, as it does for most Americans. Thanksgiving captures our spirit as a people: Our determination, our generosity, our industry, and our faith.

Thanksgiving brings to mind the joys of plenty and the anguish of want. As Americans celebrated Thanksgiving in 1777, George Washington and his troops huddled along the banks of the Delaware River. Buffeted by the brutal cold, haunted by British

troops massed over the horizon, they stopped to offer humble words of thanks and praise, and to dedicate themselves to the cause of building a land of prosperous liberty. That simple moment helped establish the American character. Our founders' faith and determination transformed this land from a patchwork of colonies into a republic of ideals.

This Thanksgiving, many of us join friends and family around the table; others share time by phoning loved ones far away; and all of us will think of others. In places

of worship across the land, people contribute canned goods or turkeys or clothing. They share their blessings with people suffering through tough times. And that's as it should be. Americans always have expressed their thanks by serving others.

Many people wonder how a President understands what goes on outside Washington, especially to people struggling to make ends meet. Of course, statistics paint a sobering picture: Unemployment, tight credit, lower home values, sluggish job growth. But real life speaks far more eloquently than bare numbers. I have traveled to 48 States since becoming President: Talking, meeting people, listening, learning. I will continue traveling around our great country because that's one way a President stays in touch with people.

Recently, many Americans have written me, saying they want me to know and understand that hard times have hurt them. They don't pull any punches. One man, who lost his job in September, described how he and his wife struggle to support two children at home, pay the bills, and keep up their property while he seeks work. "Mr. President," he wrote, "now is the time to come to the aid of the American people. The American people need to know that you mean what you say." A woman, who typed beneath her signature the words, "Average Middle American," was just as blunt. Her husband recently lost his job, and she wrote that "it's pretty thorny out there."

Well, I do understand. I am concerned. And I want to help. I know that for a person out of a job, the unemployment rate is 100 percent.

As a Nation, we need to address today's problems and tomorrow's promise in a new world united in economic competition, not frozen in nuclear conflict.

Over the years we have built a strong foundation for progress in this new, revitalized world. Inflation is down. Interest rates have fallen to the lowest level in years. This year we will export billions of dollars more in goods and services than ever before, and that means good jobs for American men and women.

This doesn't mean that we ought to sit back and hope for the best. We must take

strong steps to move ahead. I have asked Congress to pass an important series of initiatives to boost our economy. These include tax incentives to unleash investment, reforms to help our banks do their job, proposals to set loose a revolution in American education, initiatives to keep health care costs down. Taken together, these proposals would let Americans do more, produce more, dream more, dare more. They would create more jobs, good jobs, for American workers.

Unfortunately, Congress did not send me a comprehensive package of economic growth measures. But we can't take "no" for an answer.

Now, I know we're about to enter an election year. And I know that both parties will spend a lot of time taking tough shots at one another. In our system of government, the opposition will attack the President aggressively. There is nothing new about this. But when people are hurting, a President cannot accept politics as usual.

Congress left town after a particularly bitter session. We now have a few weeks in which elected officials can cool off and hear from the people they serve. In this time we can build a foundation for greater prosperity. I will continue taking what independent steps I can to help the economy, like fighting to create opportunities in foreign markets for American workers. I'll make sure that administration agencies do everything they can to help the people, from getting unemployment checks out to easing the credit crunch. And I will insist that we get the money in our transportation bill out right away to build roads, fix bridges, and create jobs.

When I give the State of the Union speech in January, I will ask Congress to lay aside election-year politics at least long enough to enact a commonsense series of economic growth measures. I will ask politicians to restrain their personal ambitions at least long enough to get the job done. Afterward, the normal election-year battling can resume.

Politicians should remember that hot rhetoric won't fill an empty stomach. It won't create a job. It won't get the people's business done. Americans don't care about

finger pointing in Washington, and they certainly have no tolerance for politicians who use tough times for political advantage. So, I will continue to place top priority on the issues you care about: Building a growing economy, world-class schools, and what our founders called "public tranquility," a kinder, gentler Nation rid of crime and united by bonds of brotherhood and service.

Every day, as I confront the tasks ahead of us, I think of the people we serve: The family struggling to make ends meet; police risking everything to keep peace on the streets. I thank God for our teachers, who must serve as psychologists, doctors, social workers, and peacekeepers before getting a chance to teach the three R's. And I do care about the people who write me letters, especially people in trouble, people out of work.

Finally, I also remember the American people I have seen in every State and on virtually every continent: People who will not take no for an answer, people with a zest for life, people who love their country.

Americans don't ignore tough realities; we tackle them. We don't wallow in self-pity or despair. We shove obstacles aside and make life better. Optimism, opportunity, realism, determination: These are oxygen to us; they let our society live and breathe. America grew strong with the help of the greatest resource on Earth, the American people. As we look ahead, we should be as realistic about our strengths as we are about our problems. Every time I talk with Americans, I see our strength, and I feel all the more determined to do what you elected me to do: Foster growth, keep the peace, and maintain our stature as the world's greatest Nation, the standard by which all other countries measure themselves.

Two years ago, I talked to the Nation on the eve of Thanksgiving about the chal-

lenges posed by the collapse of communism. We met those challenges.

One year ago today, Barbara and I stood in the sands of Saudi Arabia, looking into the eyes of the finest men and women this country has ever known. I wondered whether I would have to send those young people into battle. We were a Nation on edge, anxious about what lay ahead in the Persian Gulf. No one knew how it would work out.

But look at what they did, what we did. We pulled together. We fought for principle. We stood up to aggression. And when our men and women returned home, remember how we felt: Proud, excited, confident, even relieved, all because we knew that we did the right thing.

Today, democracy is on the march around the globe. Nations long enslaved have begun experimenting with liberty, exploring their own promise as free people. America led the way to this new world. We met the test of world leadership.

Just as we've met every challenge in the past, we will meet those that confront us today. As we do, let us remember who we are and what we've done. Let's give thanks for our blessings, for our families, and our faith. Let's dedicate ourselves to the hard work this moment demands. Let's pledge to join hands in common purpose.

That's the Thanksgiving spirit, and it has lifted us since the Pilgrims first celebrated it more than three centuries ago. Now let's call upon that spirit today to help those in need. Let's call upon that spirit as we move toward a new year and look forward to a new century.

Thank you. May God bless all of you and our great land, the United States of America.

*Note: The text of the address was issued by the Office of the Press Secretary on November 27 for release on November 28.*

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Release of American Hostage Joseph Cicippio

*December 2, 1991*

We join the family of Joseph Cicippio in their happiness for his release after these many years of unjust captivity in Lebanon.

For their assistance in the release, we wish to thank the United Nations and the Governments of Iran, Syria, and Lebanon.

Our joy is tempered, however, with deep concern for those who remain in captivity. We call once again for the immediate and unconditional release of all those who are held hostage outside the process of law. The

two remaining American hostages and the other hostages held in Lebanon must be freed at once and reunited with their loved ones. We call also for a full accounting of those who have died in captivity and the return of their remains. We support the initiative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and rejoice in the progress that he has made towards ending this tragedy.

## Message on the Observance of Hanukkah

*December 2, 1991*

I am delighted to send greetings to Jews in the United States and throughout the world as you celebrate Hanukkah.

This holiday of renewal and dedication is a tribute to the enduring values of faith and freedom. For more than 2,000 years, Jews have kindled the lights of the menorah to celebrate the victory of the Maccabees over religious tyranny. However, the real miracle of Hanukkah is much more profound. When Judah Maccabee and his followers prepared to rededicate the Temple in Jerusalem, they found only a small cruse of oil that had not been defiled, and it contained only enough oil to light the menorah for one night. Miraculously, it lasted for eight

days and nights until more oil could be secured. Thus, Hanukkah is as much a festival of spiritual freedom as it is a commemoration of the Jewish people's struggle against political oppression.

As you gather with family and friends during Hanukkah, I know that you will be offering special prayers for a lasting peace for Israel, the Middle East and the world. Today, many people—people of all faiths and all walks of life—share in that great hope.

Barbara joins me in sending best wishes for a joyous Hanukkah.

GEORGE BUSH

## Remarks to Tropicana Employees in Bradenton, Florida

*December 3, 1991*

Thank you, Feng, and thank you, Alton, and all of you. I'm sure you all were dunned for your participation in that present. But it's a beauty. And I see the medical department RN's instructing me to say hello to Barbara Bush, which I will be happy—and she will be thrilled to see this,

I'll tell you. And thank you all for the warm welcome. And Barry Brinson, thanks for the introduction. And I'm just pleased to be with you all. I'm glad to see my old friend Edgar Bronfman, who just spoke to you; William Pietersen, Tropicana's able president; and to be here with my good friend



Senator Connie Mack and then the two Congressmen from right in here, Andy Ireland and Porter Goss, both good men too. And to all the men and women who work here at this exciting and productive facility, thank you for your warm hospitality.

And I wish that each of you could have been with me. You've seen it a thousand times, but I love that infectious enthusiasm of the men and women that were showing me parts of this wonderful operation. They made me feel right at home, and so do all of you. Thank you very, very much.

I promise you—please be seated out there. No, I'm going to be brief. I came here really, I mean this, to look and to listen and to learn. I'm delighted with what I've seen, a successful American company with a great work force in a fiercely competitive industry. In our household, where we have grandchildren coming and going all the time, sometimes we feel as though we're keeping both the fruit juice industry and the soft drink industry in business all by ourselves. So, I'm glad to see where it's coming from.

American consumers are big winners because of the robust competition in this business. You and your competitors have taken up the challenge to create an appetizing array of new products. Here and on other travels to workplaces around the country, I see an accelerating commitment to quality, to world-class performance. I've seen firsthand the revolution in organization and management: Companies are getting the lead out and cutting the bureaucracy and making sustainable gains in productivity, gains that will be sustained, I might add.

American companies have made an unprecedented commitment to education, to training, an effort that fits well with our America 2000 education strategy to revolutionize American education by the dawn of the new century so that your kids are going to be able to compete with any kids anywhere in the world in terms of brainpower, in terms of education.

And I wanted to especially single this country out because, you see, our businesses are taking tough, effective measures to fight drug abuse in the workplace. They know that a drug-free workplace is another essential requirement for a competitive industry.

I have the highest praise for Tropicana's antidrug program, and I'm deeply grateful to your former president, Bob Soran, and vice president, Martin Gutfreund, for their hard work with my Presidential Drug Advisory Council.

Just a couple of weeks ago, Bob came up to Camp David, along with some other business and labor people, and came up there to Camp David to brief me on this comprehensive nationwide program to make the workplace drug-free. And you can be proud that your company is out front setting an example for companies around the world especially in this country.

You know, American companies are expanding, working hard to expand exports. And we're succeeding. American firms are muscling their way into world markets with success and with skill and with drive. And with every billion dollars, a lot of Americans don't understand this, with every billion dollars of manufactured exports they're creating 20,000 more jobs for Americans.

In some cases the Government plays a vital role in helping companies export. The trade negotiators in our administration have worked intensely to open up, for example Japan's consumer markets. Thanks to these free and fair trade policies and to the skill of our agriculture and trade officials, Japan will drop its prohibitive quota system on orange juice and throw its market wide open to American orange juice, effective next April. And we will be able to compete in that market. And believe me, it's going to mean more jobs right here.

I've just mentioned some of the top-priority economic business issues: The quality revolution, the educational excellence, the drug-free workplaces, successful positioning in foreign markets. And each of these does play a profoundly important role in our Nation's long-term economic well-being. Each of these stems not so much from Government machination as from private initiative from Main Street America's sweat and muscle and brainpower and will, and from the excellence of the people that are out there on the lines doing the work.

In my younger years I was an entrepreneur. That's a big word for meaning a small business guy. And just out of college, my

partners and I started a couple of really small companies, and we worked hard to help them survive and grow and create jobs in our community way out there in Odessa and Midland, Texas, in West Texas. That helped me a lot in life because I want to take my stand with the millions of entrepreneurs, small businessmen, working people who live in the real world and understand what makes this country work.

On fiscal and monetary policy, we have some good fundamentals in place. Interest rates, fortunately, are down. And I'm going to work hard to try to keep them down. Inflation seems to be under control right now, and that's good. But much more needs to be done. I'm talking now about the economy nationwide. We can't sit back and hope for the best. We all know that too many people are having a tough time right now.

And I'm hearing about it in conversations with working people. And I'm reading hardship stories in letters people write. I can't tell you I read every letter I get up there; it's a tremendous volume. But I got to see a lot of them. And I do understand. And I am concerned. And I really want to help. And I know that for a person out of a job, for that person, the unemployment rate is a hurtful 100 percent.

So, we've got to do more to get this economy on the move. And I think you probably know, I hope you do at least, that I've been fighting since 1989 for a cut in the capital gains to stimulate investment which creates new jobs. And I'm going to keep on fighting for it. This is one of the most productive tax changes one could devise. And the beneficiaries of this will be the people that are out of work looking for jobs and these small business people. And yes, a cut in that capital gains tax will also mean more money in the pocket for Americans who sell their homes.

So capital gains relief is only part of our program. This coming week, I believe it will be this coming week, I'm going to be signing a very important transportation bill that creates new jobs while helping to rebuild the infrastructure in our country. I'm working for a research tax credit to help these new technologies create more jobs. And I believe Mr. Pietersen could assert to

the importance of our staying out front, whether it's in this industry or others, on research and development.

We're working for new IRA's. I imagine a lot of you have IRA's when you try to save. We're trying to get them—that will help the first-time homebuyer—and bank reform legislation to help America enjoy diversified financial services designed for the next century, help out there in the future as well as now. And I'm determined to leave no stone unturned in an effort to promote economic growth.

I have enjoyed this chance to see what you're doing. I admit it's just a bird's-eye view out there, if you'll excuse the expression. But I really believe that I've learned a lot from listening to the people working in this marvelous facility, getting their thoughts about where the country is headed. Quite frankly, being with you here today refreshes me. And I am proud of your hard work, of your management skill, of your commitment to fight the drug scourge. I like the hand that the previous speaker got in terms of this, fighting these drugs. This is, oh, it's so important to the families in this country that we succeed. And when I say we, I don't mean just Washington. I mean the communities, families, Points of Light all across our country. We have got to beat back this scourge of drugs that are poisoning the young people in this country.

And so I am proud of your hard work and your skills, as I say, and what I mentioned earlier on, the passion and the genius that I felt from the individual workers I met and all of you for getting ever more attractive products into a demanding market.

This is an exciting, tough time, but an exciting time to be President of the United States. We're moving towards a much more peaceful world. And I take some pride that we've got a good team that have been working for that. We set back aggression halfway around the world less than a year ago when we taught Saddam Hussein a real lesson.

Now what I want to take is this newfound credibility of the United States—and believe me, it is strong around the world—and use it to get into these foreign markets which means more jobs for American work-

ers, more jobs for the people of Florida. So, I'm going to keep on trying my hardest. I've learned from you.

Thank you, and may God bless the United States of America, the greatest country on the face of the Earth. Thank you so much.

*Note: The President spoke at 11 a.m. at Tropicana Products, Inc. In his remarks, the President referred to Edgar M. Bronfman, chairman and chief executive officer of the Seagram Co., Ltd.; and Tropicana employees Feng Woods, Alton Perkins, and Barry Brinson, who presented the President with a ship's wheel.*

## Remarks to Peavey Electronics Employees in Meridian, Mississippi December 3, 1991

Thank you all very, very much for this welcome. I'll tell you, this is a great day for me, a wonderful day for me. And I just can't tell you how much I appreciate your warm welcome. I have only one regret, and that is that Barbara's not here to join in this. Frankly, I think she's doing a great job for our country, and this would be wonderful for her morale. But I'll tell you—[*ap-  
pause*].

The other day, we presented the Medal of Freedom to one of the great athletes of our time, Ted Williams, former slugger, you know, for the Boston Red Sox. And he did something he's never done before. He wore a necktie. And Hartley—[*laughter*—I understand that. Regardless of what you had to wear and how uncomfortable you might be, you and Melia have got this wonderful way of making me feel at home. And everybody that's worked on this visit and to all of those here who are responsible for the arrangements and the advance and the communications and all of that, I promise you we will leave on time and not hang out here so to burden you further. But for us it's been a wonderful visit, and all of our people have enjoyed working with you all.

I want to salute, of course, my closest friend in the United States Congress, Sonny Montgomery, who represents Meridian here, and just say how pleased I am to be with him. And I want to tell you how proud I am of your new Governor-elect, Kirk Fordice, who is with us today sitting right over here. You do a great job for our State. Mayor Jimmy Kemp, thank you, sir, for greeting us at the airport and being with us.

And I want to thank Meridian's High School Marching Band; single out, of course, the Restless Heart. They're good anyway, but when you give them a good sound system, look what they can do. I mean, it's fantastic.

I also want to thank Reverend Followell for his invocation and Gil Carmichael, who is serving in Washington, DC, a longtime Meridian who flew down with me today on Air Force One, and all the rest of you.

I think best of all for me on this day, though, it is to see the people behind the power of Peavey. I sensed it when I walked in here, the feeling of this company, the pride in what you have accomplished. It is a true American story, and each and every one of you is a part of it.

Someone once told me that Hartley Peavey wanted to be a rock star but found out he was better at making amplifiers. That's okay. I always wanted to be number one at the White House, but you know Barbara. [*Laughter*] So, you all have got to do what you do, you know.

But it is great to be back in your Magnolia State, in the birthplace of so much great American music. And it's great to meet the people who've made Peavey the largest amplifier manufacturer in the world. Looking around, I'm beginning to understand this motto, "People Growing Together."

Whether it's employees like Sallie Weathers, still part of the Peavey family at 71; or like Susan Roddy, with achievements in lifelong learning; or people like Belinda Bates, David McCarty, and other Peavey heroes who helped win the Gulf war—we're grateful to them—I think you've really clearly

demonstrated, and I hope this visit amplifies this around the country, that quality people do mean quality products.

Hartley once remarked that "Fat cats don't hunt." Well, Peavey's been prowling the global marketplace with a hunger that won't quit. You export, I'm told, to 103 countries, accounting for more than 40 percent of your sales. Two amplifiers are top sellers in Japan. Peavey proves that more foreign exports means more American jobs. Ask the man, ask Hartley; by playing a critical role in our Secretary of Commerce's Japan Corporate Program, he knows what I'm talking about. Cracking foreign markets, that means creating more economic growth and more American jobs.

Some in the Congress have tried to set up a false division between foreign policy and domestic priorities. But I think they're wrong. Anyone who's on the frontlines of foreign competition knows that fighting the battles against foreign protectionism means a winning war on the homefront. These things are related. And with a level playing field, I am absolutely convinced that American workers can outinnovate, outperform, and outproduce any competition on Earth.

You're doing your part, and I'm going to keep on trying to do mine. I'll soon be going over to Asia, where Hartley has just been, pushing to open the markets of South Korea and Japan to American products and services. Asia is one of the fastest growing export markets, and exports are the strongest sector, in tough times, the strongest sector of our economy. Right here in this great State, more than 43,000 jobs are export driven. And overall, every billion dollars in manufacturers' exports means 20,000 jobs.

As a Nation, we must address today's problems and tomorrow's promise in a world united in strong economic competition, not frozen, thank God, anymore in nuclear conflict. Over the years we have built a foundation in this new, revitalized world. And there are some tough things out there, but some encouraging things. Inflation is down. Interest rates have fallen to the lowest level in years. Our exports have skyrocketed, as I said, 80 percent in the last 5 years. And again, that does mean good jobs across the country for men and women.

But this is no time—I'm not here to sing some Pollyanna-ish view—this is no time to sit back and hope for the best. Too many Americans are having a tough time making ends meet. And many people wonder, and I can understand this, how a President in that magnificent White House that I'm honored to live in, wonder how a President understands what goes on outside Washington, living there, especially the people that are struggling across our country to make ends meet. Well, here's how, at least part of it: I've traveled to 48 States since I've been President, talking and meeting with people and listening and learning. And then, of course, you do still get mail. I can't say I get it all. Don't write in necessarily, but—[laughter]—no, but do, because we learn from that. And I see the mail, and I'm concerned, and I want to help. I do know that for a person out of a job, that for him or her, that unemployment rate is 100 percent.

So over in Bradenton today, I was over there, and earlier I received a letter from someone who lived there, Bradenton, Florida, who told me that he was concerned with what was happening in our country. And sadly, he told me about being out of work for almost 3 years. Well, you know, these are touching things; reading letters like this are disheartening. But a President needs to know that people out there are feeling the pinch of hard times, who aren't looking for just another handout, but who need a hand up. And I'm determined to leave no stone unturned in our efforts to get this national economy on the move.

I think, and I think Congressman Montgomery would agree with this, I think the Governor-elect would agree that this new transportation bill that has just passed is good. I intend to sign it soon. It means growth, and again, for those out of work, it does mean jobs, getting some of this construction underway. There's something the Federal Government has a responsibility for. Congress lived up to that responsibility. And I think that will help soon.

I've also asked Congress to pass an important series of initiatives that would help put Americans back to work and set us on a long-term economic growth track: Tax in-

centives, for example, to unleash investment; reforms to reform the banking system. It hasn't been reformed at all since the mid-thirties. So, we've got to compete: Our banks are uncompetitive; reforms to strengthen our educational system; initiatives to keep the health care costs that are driving families into real trouble, keep those down. And together, I believe that these measures would help the American economy.

I didn't come down here to talk politics, but unfortunately—I will say this—the Congress did not act on the economic growth program that I sent to the Hill 9 months ago, nor did they send me its own package of growth measures.

So I know, I'm well aware of this, and I expect everybody around here is, you've just been through an election cycle. And now we're fixin' to go into another, a national one, and I know we're about to enter that. And I know that both parties will spend a lot of time shooting at each other. That's already started. You can see it every night on television. And I haven't gotten warmed up yet, incidentally, on that. *[Laughter]* But this is where we are. And in our system of government, it's understandable that the opposition will attack the President aggressively. There's nothing new about this.

But when people are hurting—here's the point I wanted to make to you all and through you by word of mouth to your neighbors and friends, maybe some who aren't lucky enough to have a job here—I think when people are hurting, a President has got to find ways to set this aside and to get the job done. And Congress now has left town. It was a tough and bitter session up there, as Sonny knows very well. And while many people, including me, would have liked to see some of the action taken, constructive action on the economy, we now have a few weeks, very few, in which elected officials can cool off, hear from their constituents, and hopefully come back in January ready to act on an effective plan of action that I'm going to send out there to the American people in the State of the Union Message.

And when I give that address, I'm going to ask Congress to do what I'm talking

about here: Set aside briefly, and it can only be briefly because of the year, '92, set aside election-year politics at least long enough to enact a commonsense set of economic reforms. And then afterward, as the election season unfolds, let the partisan politics flair up again. But every once in a while, it is a President's responsibility to try to get the political climate set aside and get something done to help the American people. And I want you to know I'm going to try to do just that.

Sonny and I had a colleague—I don't think he ever voted with me when he was alive, side by side on some of the issues, but he was a good man—Claude Pepper from Florida, a venerable Democrat, kind of a legend in his time. And he said, "If more politicians in this country were thinking about the next generation instead of the next election, it might be better for the United States and the world." Well, the guy was talking some real truth there.

And if we can come together now as a country, as legislators and as the President—I'll take my share—long enough to put principle and programs before partisanship and pride, it is my belief that America, as Faulkner might have put it, "will not merely endure; it will prevail."

And I will go back to Washington reinvigorated by what I've seen here, this kind of can-do spirit. I will go back with my renewed sense of pride. I wish some of you could have seen the wonderful reception at the airport, some of the kids that served us so admirably in Desert Storm out there to say hello when this marvelous Air Force One taxied up. And I might say to those here that were involved in it, it is my firm belief that what our young men and women did in Desert Storm has given the United States of America a new-found respect and credibility all around the world. There is no question about that.

So, what I want to do as we work for peace and work to handle the changes that are happening in the Soviet Union and bring parties together for peace in the Middle East, what I also want to do is to take that new-found credibility, use it to hammer our way into these markets of Europe, these markets of Asia so we will

have more access, we will have more ready access to those markets. And that means more products like the ones you make, other products being made for export across this country, going into these foreign markets.

The world is small. Foreign policy and domestic, they interact today. And this is an exciting and wonderful time to be President of the United States. I can't tell you how emotional and strong I feel about what I've seen right here today. This is the American dream in action.

Thank you all, and may God bless our country. Thank you very, very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 2:45 p.m. In his remarks, the President referred to Hartley D. Peavey, chairman and chief executive officer, and Melia Peavey, president, Peavey Electronics; Restless Heart, a country music group who performed the national anthem; Reverend Bob Followell, pastor of Carmel Baptist Church in Meridian; and Gilbert E. Carmichael, Federal Railroad Administrator.*

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Release of American Hostage Alann Steen

*December 3, 1991*

With great pleasure we received the news of Alann Steen's release after nearly 5 years of unjust captivity in Lebanon. We join his friends and family in relief at his safe return.

We are grateful for the successful efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations in this endeavor and for their contributions, thank also the Governments of Iran, Syria, and Lebanon.

The task is not completed, however. We remember Terry Anderson and the other hostages still held outside the process of law in the region. Once again, we call for their immediate and unconditional release, for a full accounting of those who have died in captivity, and for a return of their remains. They must be returned to their loved ones, and this tragic practice of hostage taking must cease.

## Letter Accepting the Resignation of John H. Sununu as Chief of Staff to the President

*December 3, 1991*

*Dear John,*

I now have your letter resigning as Chief of Staff effective December 15th. It is with reluctance, regret and a sense of personal loss that I accept your resignation as Chief of Staff.

I am very pleased, however, that you have agreed to remain as a Counsellor to the President, with Cabinet rank, through March 1, 1992.

During the period, December 15th to March 1, you will be an official member of my administration and I will continue to seek your counsel on the important issues

facing our country.

John, I find it very difficult to write this letter both for professional reasons and for personal reasons.

On the professional side, thanks to your leadership we have made significant accomplishments for which you deserve great credit.

Working with others here in the White House, throughout the administration, and on Capitol Hill, you have played a major role in achieving some of our significant goals.

I will not attempt to list each legislative achievement for which you deserve an awful lot of personal credit. Having said that, your adherence to principle and your endless hours at the negotiating table were clearly instrumental in achieving good Clean Air Legislation; the ADA Bill and the Civil Rights Act of 91, both of which moved this country forward in a sensible way; groundbreaking Child Care legislation that strengthened the principle of family choice; and a budget agreement that for the first time in history put real enforceable caps on discretionary government spending. For all of this and much, much more, I am very grateful to you.

In your letter, you generously mention my family and our personal relationship. The longer I serve as President the more importance I place on true friendships—friendships tested by fire and time. Ours is such a friendship. Barbara feels this way. Our four sons feel this way and so of course does Dorothy.

You have never wavered in your loyalty to us and more importantly, your loyalty to the principles and goals of this administration. You have indeed helped with the issues and you have intercepted many of the “arrows” aimed my way.

Thank you from the bottom of my grateful heart for your distinguished service. I look forward to working with you in the future, first as Counsellor inside government and then as a trusted advisor outside government.

And, yes, from my vantage point and our families as well, the friendship we treasure is stronger than ever.

I hope you and Nancy, free of the enormous pressures of the office you have served so well, will enjoy life to its fullest. You deserve the best.

Most sincerely from this grateful President,

GEORGE BUSH

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*Dear Mr. President,*

A little over three years ago you asked me to be your Chief of Staff. I eagerly and appreciatively accepted.

Over these years it has been one of the most gratifying and satisfying experiences of my life to serve a President whom I admire, respect and will always consider a dear friend.

These have been amazing times for the world and the nation; they have been exciting and thrilling times for me. I am truly grateful for the opportunity to have been a part of it.

But most of all, from a purely personal perspective, I want to thank you for the fun we have had these last three years. In a way that will be very difficult for historians to capture, this White House was an unbelievably “fun place” to work. You, the Vice President, Scowcroft, Gates and I proved we could do very serious things well without taking the process or ourselves too seriously. I believe that chemistry, friendship, caring and irreverence was a singularly unique period for the Oval office, probably impossible ever to replicate. You were just great to let us do it that way.

I must also take this opportunity to tell you again how proud I am of the White House staff you allowed me to put together. They will eventually be recognized as the most talented, mutually supportive, cooperative team ever to serve a President. In fact, one of the challenges ahead of us will be to make very clear the significance of all you and they have accomplished in the domestic area as well as in foreign policy.

I have always said I wanted to serve as Chief of Staff as long as I could contribute to your success and help deal effectively with both the issues and the arrows. Until recently I was convinced that even with the distorted perceptions being created, I could be a strong contributor to your efforts and success.

But in politics, especially during the seasons of a political campaign, perceptions that can be effectively dealt with at other times, can be—and will be—converted into real political negatives. And I would never want to not be contributing positively, much less be a drag on your success. Therefore, as we enter the contentious climate of a political campaign, I believe it is in your best interest for me to resign as Chief of Staff to the President of the United States

effective December 15, 1991.

As much as I will truly miss the opportunity to continue to work in the West Wing with you and my other friends there, I want you to know how strong and positive and upbeat I feel about doing this. I think you know that the responsibility and authority (contrary to the legends out there) never meant as much to me as the chance to assist you to be (and to be recognized) a great President. I intend to continue that effort as an ordinary citizen, with all the benefits that accrue to man and family in the private sector of our magnificent system.

I assure you that in pit bull mode or pussey cat mode (your choice, as always) I am ready to help.

I also want to thank Barbara and all the Bush clan for being such wonderful friends and strong supporters even during the toughest of days. Nancy and I and our family will always remember and cherish that kindness and friendship. I hope we will all have a chance to share a few laughs over the holidays.

Thanks again for the privilege of serving you and this wonderful country. It really has been great!!!

Sincerely and respectfully,

JOHN H. SUNUNU

*Note: These letters were made available by the Office of the Press Secretary but were not issued as White House press releases.*

## Remarks to the American Enterprise Institute December 4, 1991

Thank you all very, very much. And, Chris, thank you for that warm introduction. And let me also single out my tennis opponent the other day, Paul Orrefice, your chairman, and thank him for his service to this outstanding institution, which I was privileged to serve in a brief period of time back in the seventies. And I want to say how pleased I am that Nick Brady, our Secretary of the Treasury, is with us today.

And then finally, to salute Irving Kristol, honored by AEI with this year's Francis Boyer Award. He's out here somewhere, and it hasn't been actually handed to him. But I'm told I'm not blowing the cover by—here he is over here. Irving, congratulations, sir. And our gratitude for the abundance of insight that you bring to the study of American politics, the American system, and indeed, American society. Irving has devoted so much of his effort the past three decades to making the world safe for democratic capitalism. That message now opens new worlds from Moscow to Warsaw. And I just wish we could say the same thing of Washington, DC. [Laughter]

Irving also runs one of America's most formidable one-man talent agencies. Not only his own son, Bill, who so ably serves

this administration, but legions of proteges in every corner of the political and intellectual worlds open doors by saying, "Irving sent me." [Laughter]

And I am pleased to, very pleased when Chris invited me over here, to have this chance to speak to all of you today. For me, AEI epitomizes something quintessentially American, the engaged intellectual. And Chris referred to this, but many of you have served in government and lived to tell about it. [Laughter]

AEI encourages the ideal of the citizen-scholar, a kind of modern-day Cincinnatus: ready to answer your country's call, and when your work is done, content to return to your word processors.

For the past 3 years you have been, and again, Chris alluded to this, very gracious in offering me advice on all manners of issues. And I thank you for your support and, yes, for what I'll call your constructive criticism.

In the short space of those 3 years, we've seen our world literally transformed: The collapse of communism, the cold war's end, the triumph of the democratic idea. Each epoch-making event swept away the challenges, the conflicts that defined the world we knew. Each opened up a new era, a



new world of possibilities.

And as I've said before, the cold war was, in its decisive aspect, a war of ideas, a clash between two systems speaking to the deepest dreams and desires of man. And that battle was won by Western ideals. And the fact that in the nations of the old Warsaw Pact and even within the Soviet Union, free governments and free markets are now taking root, stands as a tribute to the ideas and ideals that guide this institution, guide AEI.

Our new era brings with it a need for new guideposts for solutions and approaches that keep pace with the times. The fact that at long last we celebrate a world transformed inevitably means change here at home.

Right now, the focus here in Washington and across our country is on the economy. Yesterday I was in Bradenton, Florida, and then we flew over to Meridian, Mississippi, meeting with working Americans, listening to what's on their minds, the same way I've tried to listen to people across America, 48 States, as a matter of fact. I've been to 48 States, to be exact, over the 3 years. And these are tough times we're in. And many Americans are worried. And they're looking for a sign from Washington that someone cares, understands what's happening. And I hope I've made clear that I do.

These people won't feel comforted by a weighty discourse on the difficulties of divided government. They know that whatever the leading economic indicators might say, for a person who's lost the job, the unemployment rate is 100 percent. And they are impatient, tired of excuses. They want action, and they can't understand the political gridlock that too often paralyzes Washington, DC.

But government and governing requires more than action for action's sake. You see, too many in Congress make the easy assumption that when polls tell us about dissatisfaction with Washington, it means they want Government to do more, take more power to itself. But that notion simply does not square with my sense of what people want. Yes, the American people want Government to act, but not to build new centralized bureaucracies or create more red tape. Across America, we see a demand for

greater freedom of action. A public weary of mandates, regulations, and taxes, that public wants to reverse the flow of Government power, to restore authority to the people.

In the political and social sphere, this new demand for freedom of action means policies that enhance the power of the individual and strengthen the family. You can see those ideas translated into action in this administration's stand against quotas and for real equality of opportunity; in our child-care bill, a victory against the forces that saw this issue as a chance to build a brave new child-care bureaucracy. You can see it in our HOPE program's emphasis on turning tenants into homeowners and, indeed, in education where choice is an essential part of our America 2000 strategy.

Take a look at that strategy. What worries our critics, the defenders of the status quo in the education establishment, isn't that our plan won't work. They worry that it will work. They know that choice, competition, and community involvement are revolutionary concepts capable of literally reinventing the American school. But that's what we want to do. That's what we're trying to do. That's what we must do.

In the economic sphere, the demand for freedom of action means policies that promote market-based solutions, the kind we fought for in the amendments to the Clean Air Act and built into our energy strategy.

Let me focus in more detail about what this means given our current economic situation. No one should be complacent about the sluggish economy or stubborn unemployment rates. But we must not discount the fundamentals, the underlying factors that propel our economy toward growth.

From the first, we've built our long-term growth strategy on several key elements: unleashing capital and reducing tax burdens, keeping inflation in check and interests rates down.

Second, we recognize the need to keep American business competitive, to slash red tape and regulations wherever possible, draw the line against Government mandates that handcuff the American entrepreneur.

Chris DeMuth and Irving's son Bill, Bill

Kristol, with his involvement in the Competitiveness Council and Chris' past experience in doing a superb job on deregulation, they both can tell you stories that will make your hair curl. True competitiveness includes also real tort reform, capping these crippling sky's-the-limit liability awards which exert such a strong chilling effect on entrepreneurs ready to bring new products to market.

Third, as a Nation, we've got to make good on our commitment to quality education and job training to ensure a work force ready for the challenges a new century will bring.

Fourth, we've got to control the deficit. The American people need to understand that right now we spend \$286 billion a year, that's three-quarters of a billion dollars a day, just to pay interest on the national debt. We've got to try to hold spending down and avoid driving interest rates up again.

And finally, we've got to make certain American businesses compete on an equal footing, and that means a Government committed to the principles of free and fair trade. We've fought to advance those principles from the EC to East Asia, in the Uruguay round, and with our promising Enterprise for the Americas Initiatives.

We feel the benefits of foreign trade right here at home. Each additional billion dollars in manufactured goods and trade means another 20,000 American jobs. And yet in spite of the fact that, last year alone, total gross exports accounted for virtually all of this Nation's economic growth, a new breed of isolationists seem to think domestic policy ends at the water's edge.

Well, thank God they weren't around back in 1492. Imagine the hard time they'd have given Columbus. Voices on the right and left are working right now to breathe life into those old flat-Earth theories of protectionism, of isolationism. But there is no going back. Our new world is far smaller, communications far more instant. Our horizons stretch much farther with each generation. This is 1991, not 1791; a horse-and-buggy attitude won't carry us into the next century.

On certain issues, many in the foreign policy sphere, the President possesses all

the authority he needs to advance an ambitious agenda. But there are things no President can do unilaterally, times when the need for action finds the President and Congress pulling in different directions. I don't approach the problem of divided government as a political scientist. The ideal solution, in my view, to divided government remains a government united in pursuit of the public good. In other words, to be candid, my preferred solution to divided government is a Republican Congress. In the meanwhile, I'm going to keep pushing Congress—and I mean this; it is important because of what I told you I feel about this economy—reaching out when I can, giving a kinder and gentler poke now and again when necessary, to get up with Congress to work with me to get the job done.

I called on Congress to join me in responsible action—I think history will show this to be an accurate statement—long before our economy began to struggle. I said back in 1989, during the longest peacetime recovery on record, that America could not rest easy, that we needed to look to the long term, put in place policies that would sustain growth and would create jobs. And I offered then the first of three economic growth packages. Three sessions of Congress have come and gone, and everyone knows the result: precious little action.

Every one of the economic proposals that I've sent up to Capitol Hill serves the single standard of generating growth, and that includes, yes, the capital gains tax cut that my opponents have labeled as controversial. My opponents like to treat capital gains as a code word for class warfare, even at the very same time they're learning to pay lip service to a concept called competitiveness. And I wonder seriously whether they realize the United States is saddled with capital gains tax rates far higher than our key international competitors? Germany, take a look at Germany: zero percent. No capital gains tax at all on assets held longer than 6 months. Or Japan: An entrepreneur who sells the company he's built from scratch pays a tax of 1 percent. And it's time we see and understand that higher costs for capital cripple competitiveness and cost American jobs.

When I deliver the next State of the Union Message, when I deliver my State of the Union Message in January, I will go to Congress with a new action program, and I'll call on Congress to set aside politics—I know we're in an election year then—and focus on the public interest. And I'll challenge them to enact a commonsense set of economic reforms. And if we do our work promptly—and we can; Congress can act fast when they want to—we'll still have plenty of time left in 1992 for partisan politics.

In the meantime, there is a great deal we can do in the executive branch to foster economic growth without waiting for Congress to act. And we're going to continue doing all we can to drive down barriers to trade, open foreign markets to American goods. We will seek ways to lift the burden of Federal regulation without compromising public health or safety. And as I said Monday, we will move quickly to implement the job-intensive transportation bill that has just been passed. And I have ordered Federal agencies to review the effectiveness of a full range of programs from small business loans to job placement, job training to the process for getting unemployment checks out to the workers and families waiting for them. None of these actions can substitute for effective congressional action, but each can help move the economy along.

So let me repeat. We have had a comprehensive economic growth strategy from the beginning, encompassing every aspect of policy: Deficit reduction to lower interest rates; tax incentives to spur saving and entrepreneurship; regulatory reform; increased and more efficient investment in our public infrastructure; education reform to enhance America's human capital; tort reform to ease the costly litigation that saps the very productivity of this country; and

banking reform to make our financial system safer and more internationally competitive; and a trade policy aimed at opening the new markets that mean more American jobs.

I'm confident that we can act to advance America's interests, and I'm absolutely certain we must because our world demands it. I'm confident because I remain convinced America's fundamentals are sound, not just the economic indicators that I mentioned a few moments ago but the broad fundamentals that sustain American society: Faith and family; the feeling of fellowship that leads millions of Americans to help neighbors in need without looking to Washington for guidance; and of course, the cornerstone of our American idea, the bedrock belief in freedom that led us from Valley Forge to Desert Storm to the new world now unfolding around us.

Look out on the horizon to the America the entire world now looks to for leadership. It is our country. To the America that exalts enterprise and sweat, the hands that work and the unlimited power of the human mind; to the America whose very name means freedom for millions around the world. That America possesses a power that does not owe its strength to Government. Its power begins and ends in the living example of its people.

Once again, I thank all of you for this opportunity to speak before your most prestigious board, your wonderful organization, and may God bless the United States of America. Thank you very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 12:53 p.m. the institute's annual policy conference meeting in the Willard Hotel. In his remarks, the President referred to Christopher C. DeMuth, president of the American Enterprise Institute, and Irving Kristol, a John M. Olin distinguished fellow at the institute.*

## Letter to Congressional Leaders on Extending Generalized System of Preferences Benefits to Bulgaria

December 4, 1991

*Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)*

I am writing to inform you of my intent to add Bulgaria to the list of beneficiary developing countries under the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP). The GSP program offers duty-free access to the U.S. market and is authorized by the Trade Act of 1974, as amended ("the 1974 Act").

The Government of Bulgaria has requested designation as a GSP beneficiary country. The decision to extend GSP treatment to Bulgaria was made in light of the continuing changes in Eastern Europe, and in the spirit of the Trade Enhancement Initiative for Central and Eastern Europe. I have carefully considered the criteria identified in sections 501 and 502 of the Trade Act of

1974, as amended. In light of these criteria, and particularly Bulgaria's ongoing political and economic reforms, I have determined that it is appropriate to extend GSP benefits to Bulgaria.

This notice is submitted in accordance with section 502(a)(1) of the Trade Act of 1974, as amended.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

*Note: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Dan Quayle, President of the Senate. The proclamation is listed in Appendix E at the end of this volume.*

## Statement on Signing Legislation on Trade and Unemployment Benefits

December 4, 1991

Today I am pleased to sign into law H.R. 1724. This legislation authorizes the President to terminate the application of Title IV of the Trade Act of 1974 to the Republic of Hungary and the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. It would permit the President to accord permanent most-favored-nation (MFN) status and to normalize our relations in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade with these countries. The passage of this legislation is a tribute to the enormous progress made in both countries toward building free markets and stable democracy on the ruins of Communist rule, and a further important step on their way to full integration into the global market. It also serves to reaffirm America's sustained commitment to Hungary and the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic as they continue their historic and unprecedented democratic transformations.

I am also gratified that this legislation removes Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania from

the provisions of Title IV of the Trade Act and grants MFN status to these countries. Title IV had only applied to the Baltic nations because of their forced incorporation into the Soviet Union. Now that they have regained their independence, it is appropriate to terminate application of Title IV. MFN status will help normalize our economic relations with these nations and assist them as they are integrated into the world economy.

H.R. 1724 includes the "Andean Trade Preference Act of 1991," which implements an important initiative I requested last year. This legislation, which authorizes the President to provide duty-free treatment to products from Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia, and Peru, will expand economic alternatives for these countries and help halt the production, processing, and shipment of illegal drugs. It also will help cement our trade relationship with these Andean na-

tions and show our commitment to economic growth through trade liberalization. I note, however, that a provision of this Act purports to specify the effect of a recommendation to me by the Secretary of Agriculture. I will interpret this provision in a manner consistent with my constitutional authority to supervise the operation of the unitary executive branch.

H.R. 1724 repeals the statutory prohibition on imports of gold coins from the Soviet Union. The lifting of the ban on imports represents another important step in the normalization of our economic relationship with the Soviet Union and fulfills an obligation related to the U.S.-Soviet Trade Agreement that I signed on June 1, 1990. Resumption of Soviet gold coin exports to the United States should help the Soviet Union and the republics earn hard currency.

H.R. 1724 includes the "Chemical and Biological Weapons Control and Warfare Elimination Act of 1991." This Act is virtually identical to Title V of Public Law 102-138, which I signed into law on October 28, 1991. The only significant difference is the addition of import sanctions to the list of sanctions that are to be imposed and corresponding additions to the Presidential waiver provisions. Certain provisions of this

legislation, however, raise concerns with respect to the President's control over negotiations with foreign governments and the possible disclosure of sensitive information. I will interpret these provisions in a manner consistent with my constitutional responsibility to conduct the foreign relations of the United States. The observations regarding Title V of Public Law 102-138 that I made upon signing that bill into law are equally applicable to the Act I am signing today.

The legislation contains modifications to the temporary extended unemployment benefits program that I signed into law on November 15. These modifications would extend this important assistance to an additional 200,000 jobless Americans while continuing to maintain the budget discipline that is essential to future economic and employment growth. It is my hope that the Congress will take additional action to ensure that the economy strengthens, thereby creating new employment opportunities.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
December 4, 1991.

*Note: H.R. 1724, approved December 4, was assigned Public Law No. 102-182.*

## Statement on Signing the Intelligence Authorization Act, Fiscal Year 1992

*December 4, 1991*

Today I have signed H.R. 2038, the "Intelligence Authorization Act, Fiscal Year 1992." The Act authorizes appropriations for the intelligence and intelligence-related activities of the United States Government during fiscal year 1992. Because secrecy is indispensable if intelligence activities are to succeed, the funding levels authorized by this Act are classified and should remain so.

I am concerned that the authorizations for appropriations below my request do not adequately provide for today's intelligence challenges. I note that the Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 1992, does not

include similar reductions, and the Administration will explore with the Congress means by which these appropriated funds may be utilized.

Insofar as H.R. 2038 could be construed to incorporate a provision conditioning my authority to expend appropriated funds on action by committees of the Congress, I shall consider that provision to be of no effect because it is unconstitutional under the Supreme Court decision in *INS v. Chadha*, 462 U.S. 919 (1983). I also note that Section 803(b)(7) of H.R. 2038 purports to limit my discretion in the selection of

nominees to the National Security Education Board. I do not believe that the Congress may impose such limitations as a matter of law in light of the nomination power afforded to me by the Appointments Clause of the Constitution. Article II, Section 2, Clause 2. I shall regard the language of Section 803(b)(7) as advisory, but shall, however, endeavor to follow such advice in my selection of nominees.

Finally, this Act would require the Intelligence Community to maximize procurement of products in the United States, in a manner that is consistent with our national

security concerns and that is fiscally sound. My interpretation of the Act will be guided by the fact that the procurement of products in the United States will be maximized by adherence to U.S. international obligations regarding Government procurement.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
December 4, 1991.

*Note: H.R. 2038, approved December 4, was assigned Public Law No. 102-183.*

## Statement on Signing the Tribal Self-Governance Demonstration Project Act

*December 4, 1991*

Today I am signing into law H.R. 3394, the "Tribal Self-Governance Demonstration Project Act." This bill extends the duration of, and expands the number of tribes participating in, a demonstration project under which tribes plan, consolidate, conduct, and administer certain programs, services, and functions previously provided by the Department of the Interior. This demonstration project has been an important step in Indian self-determination, in improving the government-to-government relationship between tribes and the United States, and in helping Indian tribes develop independence.

I am signing H.R. 3394 notwithstanding those provisions that purport to require cabinet secretaries to report the results of certain studies together with their "recom-

mendations" to the Congress. Were these provisions construed to require executive branch officers to submit legislative recommendations to the Congress, they would be constitutionally objectionable. Because Article II, section 3 of the Constitution vests the President with exclusive authority to decide whether and when the executive branch should propose legislation, these provisions must and will be construed not to require any legislative proposals or recommendations.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
December 4, 1991.

*Note: H.R. 3394, approved December 4, was assigned Public Law No. 102-184.*

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Telephone Conversation With Former Hostage Terry Anderson

*December 4, 1991*

President Bush called Terry Anderson at approximately 4:45 p.m. this afternoon in Damascus to express the love and admiration that all Americans have for Terry. The

President told Terry that people from all over our country have great respect for him and have expressed that in many ways over the years. He welcomed Terry home and

wished him well in the days ahead.

The President also said that he had just talked to Peggy Say, who has committed incredible time and energy to seeking Terry's safe return.

Terry had great praise for United Nations Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar and his personal representative, Mr. Picco. Terry

was excited and upbeat about his return to freedom.

*Note: The statement referred to Peggy Say, Mr. Anderson's sister, and Giandomenico Picco, Assistant to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for Special Assignments.*

## Statement on the Release of American Hostages in Lebanon *December 4, 1991*

I join Terry Anderson's family and friends in their happiness for his return to freedom after six and a half years in captivity. Speaking to Peggy Say, Terry's sister, this afternoon, I felt the joy and the tears that marked this occasion for her. Peggy and the families of the other hostages have known the tragedy and the loneliness of the captives themselves over these many years. And similarly, all Americans have shared the emotional trauma associated with hostage taking, terrorist kidnapping, and the personal tragedies that each of these hostages has experienced.

I remember meeting some of the hostages personally upon their return to Germany in those difficult hours immediately after their release. And all Americans have joined in the happiness exhibited by the hostages when they have returned to America. Those feelings are etched in our consciousness forever.

While the American hostages have now been released, we cannot say the ordeal is over. We call for the immediate, safe, and unconditional release of all those held outside the legal system in the region, includ-

ing the two remaining German hostages. There are also hostages who are believed to have died while in captivity. We call for a full accounting of all these individuals, including the return of their remains to their families and loved ones. Here I would single out Colonel Richard Higgins and Mr. William Buckley, two men who gave their lives for what they believed in.

We are grateful to those whose efforts are making possible releases such as that of Terry Anderson today, and we wish them well as they continue those efforts. We thank particularly United Nations Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar and his personal representative, Mr. Picco. In addition, we thank the Governments of Iran, Syria, and Lebanon for the role that each has played in the safe and unconditional release of these hostages held in Lebanon. This is a positive development which we welcome.

We must dedicate ourselves to ensuring that hostage taking is not resumed. Indeed, the time has come to eradicate all forms of terrorism in the region and the world. Lebanon should once more become a place where people can travel and live their lives free of the fear of violence in all its forms.

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Meeting With Nelson Mandela of South Africa

*December 5, 1991*

The President and Nelson Mandela, President of the African National Congress, met for approximately 30 minutes in the Oval Office. They had a very good meeting, during which they discussed recent developments in South Africa. The President said that the announcement that the Convention for a Democratic South Africa would begin on December 20 is very promising

news. He noted that South Africa's political parties appear to be finding common ground and share many principles and objectives. The President also emphasized that the South African economy will be a key factor in a successful transition to democracy and that a growing economy that can attract investment will be crucial in the months ahead.

## Remarks Prior to a Meeting With United Nations Secretary-General-Elect Boutros Boutros-Ghali

*December 5, 1991*

*The President.* We certainly wish you well, and we're proud of the way you've been received by the General Assembly and the Security Council. And we wish you all the best in the future. And the U.N. is so much more relevant now given its leadership and whole peacekeeping and peace-making field. And I just think you're coming in at a most interesting time. The U.N. is very fortunate you are there.

*Mr. Boutros-Ghali.* Thank you, Mr. Presi-

dent.

*Q.* Mr. President, some of the figures out for the fourth quarter aren't looking so great.

*The President.* You missed what I said earlier. I know you did because I said we're having a press conference at 2 p.m. Nice try, though. [*Laughter*]

*Note: The President spoke at 1:02 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House.*

## The President's News Conference

*December 5, 1991*

### *Appointments*

*The President.* Good afternoon. I first want to introduce my new team of advisers that will help lead the White House and the Presidential campaign in the months ahead. First, my new Chief of Staff for the White House will be Sam Skinner. As a member of our Cabinet, he's demonstrated the leadership skills necessary to guide our staff, work with the Congress, coordinate my activities with the new campaign organization. And I know he'll do an outstanding job for me

and the country.

The others with me today form the nucleus of a political advisory group that I have worked with in the past. They are people—in my view, they're the best—they are the people of talent and creativity and energy. And I expect to put every bit of that to use.

Bob Mosbacher, an old friend who's been at my side in campaigns for over 20 years, is best known here as the very able Secretary of Commerce. And he will be the general chairman of our campaign.



Bob Teeter, who's worked with me in the trenches for many years, will be the chairman and chief political strategist with the overall authority and responsibility for the day-to-day operational decisions.

Fred Malek, a very successful businessman and political associate, will direct administrative functions as the campaign manager.

Charlie Black, a friend and party spokesman, will serve as the senior adviser on all aspects of the campaign effort. And in the last year Charlie has picked up, relating to me, many of the things that Lee Atwater used to do, my old friend whom we miss.

I've asked this team of campaign leaders to begin putting together an organization to begin the consultation process with the many supporters I've been privileged to have in the past and develop a campaign plan, an overall plan, that will guide my personal activities in the weeks and months ahead.

And they'll be working closely with the Vice President, Dan Quayle, several other close associates who will have key roles in the reelection effort, some of whom are here. Certain key ones here with us today: Mary Matalin, over here; Rich Bond, back here; and my oldest son, George, who had a function in the last campaign. And of course, I will be looking to my old friend and the current chairman of the RNC, a former member of our Cabinet, Clayton Yeutter, for advice. There he is, back here.

Once this group has developed a plan for my review in January, I expect to make a formal announcement of my candidacy.

The Chief of Staff's position, back to that for a minute, is a very personal one. And again, I want to thank John Sununu for his service to this administration, to me, and to the country. I tried to express, right from the bottom of my heart, how strongly I feel about him in a letter that I gave a little while ago. He's a friend, and I'm glad that he's agreed to stay on as a counselor, participating in our Cabinet until March 1st.

Sam Skinner takes over as a firm right hand at a time when the Nation's economy presents a difficult challenge. Economic growth is sluggish at best. And yes, people are out of work, and we need to get this country back on its feet, people back on the

job.

Right now we have a number of economic forces that are at work to bring about a recovery. And we've taken steps to help those in need as quickly as possible, and in fact we've been accelerating a number of Government payments that will accelerate the spending of \$9.7 billion into the economy during the first and second quarters of the fiscal year. This shot in the arm includes Government programs in agriculture, in housing, defense, transportation, commerce, and general services.

These are programs for which funds have already been appropriated and where we can spend the money now instead of later while preserving the spirit and the integrity of the funding process. We're also considering additional spending accelerations that may be possible. We cannot be complacent about people's hardships. We have good proposals outstanding on which the Congress has yet to act. But clearly we must do more.

And so I intend to propose a new package of programs that will stimulate growth in the economy for both the short and the long terms. And we will announce them in the State of the Union Message. A good deal of my time and of our top advisers' between now and then will be spent finalizing this, talking to people. And indeed, I am anxious to see what ideas come out of the hearings up on the Hill this week and next week.

So, thank you all very much. And to all of you, let me simply say I am getting fired up about all of this. I'm looking forward to it and looking forward to working with you.

### *American Hostages*

*Q.* Mr. President, I'd like to ask you about the hostages. Now that all of the hostages are out, how will you redeem your pledge that good will begets good will? For example, is the United States any closer to restoring ties with Iran?

*The President.* Not closer at this moment. I don't consider the chapter closed because I think of Robin Higgins, a young Marine whose husband was apparently killed. And I'd like to see the remains of Colonel Higgins, who was serving under the U.N.

banner, returned. I think of Mr. Buckley. I'd like to see his remains returned. And so the chapter, this ugly chapter, albeit nearly closed, is not closed. And so we'll wait and see when that is all finalized. However, yesterday we did thank various countries for their role in it. We certainly thank the United Nations Secretary-General Cuellar and Mr. Picco for their active roles. I think we thanked Syria and Iran as well.

*Q.* How about the hostage-takers, Mr. President? Do they get off scot-free, or will the United States try to track them down as it has with other terrorists?

*The President.* Well, I think everybody who violates international law should feel that they'll eventually be brought to justice. But I want to see this chapter closed before we go further along those lines.

#### *President's Approval Rating*

*Q.* Mr. President, why do you think the American public has lost so much confidence in you? And do you think—we're assuming you're going to run for reelection, that's correct isn't it? And do you think you could—[laughter].

*The President.* Why do you jump to conclusions all the time?

*Q.* Do you think you could get reelected unless this faith is restored and your polls go up again and the economy is turned around?

*The President.* The answer to your two questions are "the economy" and "yes." [Laughter]

*Q.* Can you amplify?

*The President.* No. No, look, when the economy goes down, the President takes the hits. There's no question about that. And this economy is not going to stay down forever. And we're going to do our level best to help people that are hurting. And I've not lived or died by polls. I said to Marlin and these guys in here before we came in, "Thank heavens I said, when polls were sky high, that I don't believe in polls." And I'm not going to dwell on polls. The main thing is to help the American people and try to solve the problems.

But the answer to the first question is the economy.

The answer to the second, you said, "If the economy is bad, can I get reelected?"

And the answer is "yes."

*Q.* Why do you think you can?

*The President.* Because I'm a good President.

#### *John Sununu*

*Q.* Mr. President, Governor Sununu, in a couple of valedictory interviews and comments, has indicated that not only did the policies and courses of action that he chose reflect your wishes, but also the manner in which he went about that, whether pit bull or pussycat mode. Is that in fact the case, sir?

*The President.* A Chief of Staff ends up absorbing a lot of the shots that are aimed at the President. I think everybody knows that, and certainly everybody in this room knows that. And we Bushes, and I say this as a family because I've talked to my kids about this, have been grateful to John for his willingness to stand in the face of fire that is aimed directly at the President. Was there another part to that?

*Q.* What I was really trying to get at, sir, is his indication that whatever he did both generally and specifically and the way he went about doing it, he did at your behest and with your knowledge and with your acceptance. Is that correct, sir?

*The President.* Well, all I know is that I've been very happy with him as Chief of Staff, and I think he's done an outstanding job. Everybody has his own style. I think he's conducted himself in a fine way, I really think that, in an extraordinarily difficult circumstance, I might add. I will repeat what I said: I think he's demonstrated an awful lot of class in the way he's handled this matter.

#### *The Economy*

*Q.* Mr. President, you said the economy was the reason for your current political problems. What is your reading of it at this point? The GNP revised figures for the third quarter showed a decline. Are we sliding back into recession at this point?

*The President.* The GNP showed what?

*Q.* The third quarter GNP figures were revised downward from 2.4 percent—

*The President.* There's a whole complicated way of refiguring GNP. Please do not give me a quiz on it because it is an ex-

traordinarily complex formulation. I won't do this to the Secretary of Commerce, but perhaps he could explain it. But nevertheless, there was growth. It was extraordinarily sluggish; it wasn't good enough. And so I think there are some reasonably good signs. And I cite inflation. And I cite the fact that interest rates are low enough so that when this recovery starts it could be very, very good. The inventories are low, and we've been able to cap a lot of the otherwise wild discretionary spending that would have been inflicted upon the taxpayer.

So, there's some economic forces at work that are positive. Having said that, there's no question that this economy is sluggish at best. And we want to see it turn around. I hope these steps today might have some effect on it. I'm looking forward to signing the transportation bill, job-intensive. I will urge the Governors to get those funds out into the mix as soon as possible, out into the field.

And so we'll just have to see how we go from here. But there are certain economic factors in effect, certain things we're doing to try to help people that I think will make a difference.

*Q.* In the economic package that you will unveil in your State of the Union Address, what do you have in mind beyond the capital gains tax reduction and other steps you've proposed?

*The President.* I will not have anything to say about the specifics of that until I give the address.

*Q.* Without going into the specifics, sir, do you think the middle class deserves a tax cut?

*The President.* Listen, I think every American deserves to pay less taxes.

*Q.* Do you think, though, that the need is such that that is an area where you would consider breaking the budget agreement in order to provide middle-income tax relief?

*The President.* I don't want interest rates to go sky-high. I noticed that when one proposal was proposed, long-term interest rates, just on the proposal, went out through the roof. So, whatever we do has got to be economically sound. But if your answer is, do I think the middle class are paying a very heavy tax burden, the answer to the question is "absolutely."

*Q.* It's a question of balancing the two—

*The President.* Yes, it is, exactly.

*Q.* So the question is—

*The President.* It is totally that.

*Q.* Is tax relief for the middle class less important than maintaining this budget agreement which hasn't kept the deficit down?

*The President.* I don't think it's that. I don't think that's the choice.

*Q.* Down in Mississippi the other day, you indicated you were going to hold off until you got the fourth quarter economic statistics to see just how bad things were before deciding on what to do. You probably won't get those statistics until you come back from Asia in January, right, maybe the middle of January? Does that mean you really aren't going to make up your mind until, say, mid-January?

*The President.* No, we're going forward, John [John Cochran, NBC News], right now with some very active planning, active consultation with business groups, with labor, with others. I just had a good talk down there with some of the labor guys, as a matter of fact, at Tropicana, and workers in the plant. I can learn from that kind of thing. But we're not going to hold back awaiting a release of figures before we formulate a plan.

Now, whether it requires fine-tuning between that period of time and the time of the State of the Union, that's something I'll have to wait and see.

*Q.* But basically are you really saying you'll decide whether to take drastic action in the third or fourth week of January?

*The President.* No, I'm waiting—I'm saying what we're doing is, we've got a lot of economic growth elements out there right now that make sense. And now we want to build on that, work with the economic leaders whose advice I respect, and get a package which I will take directly to the American people, over the heads of the subcommittees in the Congress, and say, "Please support us in helping this economy." For 3 straight years, I have had economic growth proposals put before the Congress. And for 3 straight years, the ideas we've put forward have not been enacted

by Congress. Now, I think there is enough urgency out there that I think this could well be the catalytic event that leads to action. And so, that's the way we're approaching it. But many of the ingredients, I know already what I want involved.

#### '92 Election

*Q.* Mr. President, you face not only the Democrats next November but a challenge particularly from the conservative right of your party—Pat Buchanan, David Duke, and a lot of conservatives who seem to be unhappy with you. What do you and this team have to do in the weeks and months ahead to respond to that challenge?

*The President.* Get our message out. Help turn this economy around. Help people. And get our record through a very active campaign organization out to the American people. The playing field has had a handful of people out there who don't think, don't see things the way I do, this campaign field. And they've been dominating because there has been nobody out there shooting back. Now we've got some people to say, "Here's the way; here's what the truth is," and take this case in 50 States to the American people.

So, I think that will help get the truth out there, and then I'll be doing my best to do the same.

*Q.* Why is it, do you think, that you've let the conservatives down?

*The President.* I don't think I have, to be very candid with you.

*Q.* Well, they seem to think—

*The President.* Well, maybe they do. Maybe they believe what some Democrats say, for example, on some of these issues. I don't agree with that. See, I refer to some of the experts here. There is a handful of people out there that are critical, but you'd expect that. But I don't feel there is a major problem with conservatives. I think of myself as conservative. I think when we have family-oriented legislation, like our child care, it's good. I think it's sound, strong, forward-looking conservative legislation. I think the same thing is true in other areas. So choice in education is a good example. Our education 2000 doesn't rely on a big bureaucracy in Washington. This is sound, forward-looking, you might say in

this instance, revolutionary conservative legislation that we're proposing and certainly a conservative approach to education because it will work.

And so I can go right down the fields. I think our approach to clean air had that same thing, getting the market forces involved.

So, I don't agree that because some people jump up on one side or another of the spectrum that this means there's an enormous problem out there. If there is, though, I want to work to correct it.

#### Health Care

*Q.* Mr. President, a question on another issue, health care. Let me put it to you this way, sir. Do you see any Federal role—rather, any role for the Federal Government as a guarantor of last resort for health care?

*The President.* I think there is a role for the Federal Government in health care, and it's one of the largest spending items in the Federal budget. So, the answer to your question is yes.

*Q.* Could you be a little more specific, sir?

*The President.* No. We're going to be, though, later on.

#### '92 Election

*Q.* Mr. President, there is a lot said about the negativity and ugliness of the 1988 campaign. And now that you're facing challengers on the right as well as on the left with the Democrats, some of your own strategists have predicted that the '92 campaign will be by far uglier, especially with the racial issue. Is this what you're expecting, sir?

*The President.* I hope not. I've noticed a little ugliness coming our way already in the primaries out there, but this doesn't bother me too much.

*Q.* What about your own role in terms of how you plan to conduct your campaign?

*The President.* Well, we've got some good advisers here. Advisers are there to advise, so we'll wait and see what they recommend. It's a little early for that.

*Q.* Well, hasn't the race issue already come up, sir?

*The President.* Well, if you'd like me to

elaborate, ask a question on that, and I'll try to be more specific for you.

*Q.* Well, I'm just wondering since there's one candidate, Duke, who's already making race an issue and since he's positioned to take votes away from you, how you plan to handle this?

*The President.* In the first place, I'm not sure. I haven't analyzed it enough to know where David Duke takes votes away from, when you look across the spectrum in Louisiana and who voted for what candidates before and what parishes the votes came from, and you know, we'll wait and see on that. But I don't care whether it's good politics or not, I condemn bigotry, and I condemn racism. And this man is a racist, and he is a bigot. I don't believe that costs votes anywhere for me to take that position in opposition to an extreme.

We've got a good record on civil rights, and yet it is not one that can be condemned by thoughtful, thinking conservatives because we avoided the trap, the pitfall of quotas, for examples, in our legislation. And yet I hear some on the left trying to make me a racist because I stand up against quotas. Well, that's absolutely ridiculous. So, just take the fact, take your case out there and make it factually, point to a record that I'm proud of in this area and then denounce bigotry and racism, and let the chips fall where they may.

#### *Domestic Policy*

*Q.* Mr. President, a number of Democrats and other critics are coming up with a charge about your administration being the status quo administration. President Reagan ran on the notion that you were "the change" some time ago. I wonder how that theme would work this time and how you would address the point of, say, you're a status quo President who's not interested in change anymore?

*The President.* I think you have to just look around the world and see that there's been an awful lot of change. And I think there's going to be a lot of change in this country, and I want to lead in the forefront for competitiveness through education. I don't know whether you consider it change or not, but we want to win this war against drugs. And we've made a good start. We've

got a lot of social issues out there upon which I think the American people agree with me. And so I would like to, if we had gotten our programs through, I think we would see a lot more change right now. And we'll continue to work for that.

So I don't view this as status quo and I think you can start by looking around the world.

#### *The Economy*

*Q.* Mr. President, Democrats have been criticizing you for not acting on the economy. I'd like to ask your core belief on this, leaving aside the question of whether or not you can help stimulate the economy by your growth package, whether or not you believe that Government intervention is necessary to help the economy recover at this—

*The President.* Some Government help is necessary. The passing of sound legislation is necessary; that's Government intervention. And the Government takes out from the taxpayer's wallet. And I'd like to see the Government now, through some fundamental reforms, create more, help create more jobs. That's done in the private sector—but help create more jobs by lifting the burden from some of these people and by having forward-looking growth policies in effect.

*Q.* If you feel that way, sir, then why do you feel you can wait until the end of January to propose things that probably won't even be passed for several months after that?

*The President.* I don't think it's a question of proposing, I think it's a question of getting it done. Congress is not in session. We've tried very hard when Congress was in session. And I think the way to do it now is to go forward and get this package I'm talking about together and move forward. And that's exactly what we plan to do.

*Q.* The Democrats say they will come back.

*The President.* I know what the Democrats say, but they're not responsible for anything except criticizing the President. They control both Houses of the Congress. If they felt so strongly, why didn't they pass something over the past 3 years? I have had economic growth programs before Congress

3 years in a row, and they have not acted on them. And so that's my reply to this negative criticism from those who control the United States Congress.

But the people, I think, are getting less interested in that. I think they want something done. I don't think they care whether it's the President or the Congress. They say, "Look, enough of this Washington stuff, let's get something done." And that's why I say, "All right, I'm going to try again." I'm going to put this all in a package, and it's going to be a very good one. And yes, some of the ingredients will be the same as ones we've proposed, and there will be new things in it. And take it right to the American people and say to Congress now, "Look, let's just get this done fast. And then you can keep on attacking me, and you can bet your neck I'll be out there attacking you."

But the American people deserve this kind of approach. But if they hear every single night some Democratic leader up there just trying to assign blame, they get a little discouraged by the system itself.

#### *Hispanic Voters*

*Q.* Mr. President, the majority of the Hispanics are Democrats, and they have been beaten very badly by the economy. What is your message to them? How are you going to capture their votes?

*The President.* My message to them is better education. And we've got a great program that will help minority education in this country. My message to them is let's pass the Mexican free trade agreement, North American free trade agreement. That, I believe, would create jobs that would benefit these minorities and also instill a certain sense of cultural pride, because we are not going to forget our neighbors to the south, and help in many, many ways. And so I think they have been, a lot of the Hispanic voters in this country have been captured and taken for granted by a party that's done very little for them. And now I think the time has come to try the Republican side.

#### *Personal Contacts with Unemployed Individuals*

*Q.* Mr. President, you've been talking with people who are out of work, people

whose stories you've read in the paper, people who have written you. Tell us what you told them. Is it true that you have found jobs for some? And what have you learned—

*The President.* No, Marlin handled that very well yesterday—[laughter]—I thought because I am not going to go into commenting—it's one little vestige of privacy I have. And I don't want to take advantage of what people tell me. And if I decide to, the letter will be released, and you'll all know the name. But I don't plan to do that.

*Q.* I ask not for their names, sir—

*The President.* Yes, I understand. But I've just—

*Q.* I ask what you've learned from them.

*The President.* Oh, what I've learned from them.

*Q.* And have you found jobs for some of them?

*The President.* Learned that a lot of people are hurting.

And I hope so. I hope so.

*Q.* You hope that you've found jobs—

#### *Chief of Staff Skinner*

*Q.* Can you tell us what orders you've given to Sam Skinner, what changes you want to see in the operation of the White House?

*The President.* No. I don't think—well, Sam and I had a long talk last night. He's going to visit with John. He's going to talk to other Chiefs of Staff. And then before he actually takes over a week from Monday, I'll have a chance to visit with him in more—

#### *John Sununu*

*Q.* And also, sir, can you explain how John Sununu lost faith with you? What changed there, that relationship?

*The President.* That's all been explained ad nauseam, and let's shift gears now and go forward. And once again, I compliment John Sununu for the way he's handled all this.

*Q.* Mr. President, would you encourage Republicans—

*The President.* Two more after this. Okay, is that a deal, Marlin? Is that fair?

*Q.* No.

*The President.* Will it be said that we've exhausted our welcome?

*Q.* Never.

*The President.* Cragg [Cragg Hines, Houston Chronicle], and Ellen [Ellen Warren, Knight Ridder], and then I've got to go.

*David Duke*

*Q.* Mr. President, would you encourage Republican Party officials around the country to work at keeping David Duke off the ballots in their States and out of the convention as a delegate?

*The President.* Yes, I'd encourage anything to help David Duke go away. His message of bigotry and his racism is bad. It's bad for this country—transcends politics. And it's so thinly veiled as to be really deeply ugly. And so I don't know what—individuals have their rights in this country. I guess we'd have to allege that he has a right to get out and speak as he does. But I have every right to condemn it. And to the degree I have anything to say about the machinery of the Republican Party, I will see that it is fairly used to negate the influence of somebody who brings this kind of race prejudice and bigotry to the political scene.

*Q.* That would extend to keeping him from being a delegate?

*The President.* Well, again, you know I want to be very careful. People have rights. I don't know how that all works in what individual State. But if you get the idea here I'm unenthusiastic about the man, why, that's because it's bad. It's bad for our country. There's too much ugliness as it is. And I think that we've just got to denounce it at every turn.

Ellen, and then Cragg Hines, and then I really do have to run.

*'92 Election*

*Q.* Mr. President, one of your successors very effectively used the question in the campaign, "Are you better off today than you were 4 years ago?" Sir, are you willing to run on that question?

*The President.* I'm ready to run on a wide array of questions. And I hope that by the time this election is held, and I'm quite confident by the time this election is held, this economy will be much, much better.

And in many ways I could answer that affirmatively right now because of world peace and because of a lot of things. But in terms of—while this economy is down, we've got to all work to get it back, to get people back to work.

And for the person, I keep repeating it, for the person out of work, unemployment is 100 percent. So, we keep changing it. But I'm prepared to take my whole record to the American people. And I believe that the American people will support me. And I will work hard to earn their support. And part of the way I will continue to work hard is to try to help those who are hurting out there. And in the meantime, we're going to try to push for these forward-looking programs on competitiveness, on education, on anti-narcotics, and whatever else the field is.

*Q.* And so, sir, when your opponents ask that question, do you expect the American people to respond affirmatively?

*The President.* Yes.

*Q.* Even though polls show right now that the vast majority of people believe we're going in the wrong direction?

*The President.* Well, I think they do because of the economic situation. But by the time this campaign is through and by the time the economy improves when I get through some of the things I want, and I'm confident I will, not only will that be—they'd be able to ask that, answer affirmatively there in that regard, but clearly they'll be able to answer affirmatively in that regard in terms of whether they wake up worrying about nuclear weapons and all of these kinds of things.

So, one looks at the whole record. And right now, I can understand people saying that. But this campaign hasn't started. You listen, you turn on the television every night, and you get 3 minutes of gloom and doom out of people to open the news every single night. And that turns around, things are a little more cheerful, and people begin to get the feeling that things are moving in the economy, that's going to change. And I want to be sure it changes, and that means I'm going to continue to work to get the best kind of economic growth package I can, based on sound economics, through

this Congress that up until now has been highly partisan.

But I don't think they will be. I think when they go home for a couple of weeks now, several weeks, I think they'll come back saying, "Hey, we've got to do something." Less posturing. Let's get something done for this country.

Cragg, and then I do go.

Q. Mr. President, two questions about your challengers in the Republican Party. Number one, do you want Pat Buchanan in the same bag with David Duke? And number two, even if they get delegates, will you work to deny them any role at the Republican National Convention, including television time?

*The President.* I don't put them in the same category at all.

Q. How do you separate them? [*Laughter*]

*The President.* I don't think Pat Buchanan is a bigot. And I don't think Pat Buchanan is a racist.

Q. But he still doesn't represent a strong challenge to you?

*The President.* Well, let's wait and let the voters decide all that, Cragg.

Q. And on the question on the national convention—

*The President.* What was that one?

Q. If they have delegates, either one of them have delegates, would you work to deny them a role, including, say, national television time?

*The President.* No. I think you've got to be fair. I believe in fairplay, and that's too hypothetical because I don't want that to happen. I'd like to have all the delegates.

Q. You could envision David Duke appearing at the Republican National Convention?

*The President.* I envision even somebody as obnoxious as that having certain rights. And I'm determined that whatever, people have certain rights. He would not be well-received at the Republican convention, I can tell you that. And I don't know what the rules are, but we will play by the rules. And I hope there's something in the rules that would make his participation limited at best.

Q. So you would not rule out David Duke appearing at the Republican National Con-

vention?

*The President.* I what?

Q. You would not rule out David Duke appearing at the Republican National Convention?

*The President.* Cragg, I don't know what the ground rules are. You're going to have all kinds of weird groups down there at the Republican convention—[*laughter*—and they'll have just been then, to the Democratic convention. [*Laughter*] They travel. They're convention-goers. [*Laughter*] I can't speak for all these crazy people that show up.

Q. Inside or outside?

*The President.* They'll be swarming all around the outside, I'll guarantee you. But you've got certain ground rules. You play by the ground rules. And we're not going to deny a person a fundamental right. I don't know what that right is, but there are rules that apply to delegates. And I can't frankly conceive of any Republican State—any State Republican delegation at a convention wanting David Duke to have anything to do with the process. I just can't see it. So, I hope that's the way it will work out. Having said that, a person is entitled, no matter how obnoxious, to certain standing. And we'll just see how it goes. But I will now rush out and talk to Clayton Yeutter to see what the rules are on this.

#### *Soviet Union*

Q. Foreign policy—

*The President.* Foreign policy? Wait a minute, I didn't come here to talk about foreign policy. Just a minute, I don't want to—what is it?

Q. Does the Soviet Union still exist in your mind? And if so, in its current state, how do you deal with it?

*The President.* The Soviet Union certainly still exists, and this is all in the throes of evolution now. The process is evolving, and you see an overwhelming vote for independence on the part of Ukraine. You see the reforms going forward in Russia. You see Gorbachev in the center committed to reform. And we are working with who's there to facilitate the peaceful evolution here. And I say peaceful because you've got some big problems of weapons and destruc-



tion of nuclear weapons and things that are very, very important. So, we're going to stay engaged and deal with what's there. So, it's changing, and nobody can predict with any degree of accuracy where it's all going to be the day after tomorrow.

Thank you all.

*Note: The President's 112th news conference began at 2:02 p.m. in the Briefing Room at*

*the White House. During the news conference, the following persons were referred to: Patrick J. Buchanan, columnist and television commentator; David Duke, newly declared candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination; Robin Higgins, whose husband, Col. William R. Higgins, died while held hostage in Beirut, Lebanon; and William Buckley, who also died as a hostage in Beirut.*

## Statement on Signing the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1992 and 1993

*December 5, 1991*

Today I have signed into law H.R. 2100, the "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1992 and 1993," notwithstanding the reservations that I have regarding certain of its provisions. H.R. 2100 authorizes appropriations that provide for a national defense sufficient to meet foreseeable threats to the national security. It conforms to the Bipartisan Budget Agreement and generally supports the Administration's major defense priorities, including key elements of the Strategic Defense Initiative.

Several provisions raise serious constitutional issues. I am particularly concerned about a provision that derogates from the President's authority under the Constitution to conduct U.S. foreign policy. Section 1046 purports to require the President to begin negotiations with specified foreign nations to enter into agreements regarding defense cost-sharing. Consistent with my responsibility under the Constitution for the conduct of such negotiations, I will construe that provision to be precatory rather than mandatory. Section 1046 also purports to require that I report to the Congress concerning any such negotiations. I sign this bill with the understanding that this provision does not require the reporting of the details of diplomatic negotiations with foreign nations or other privileged information or detract from my constitutional authority to protect sensitive national security information.

Section 153 purports to restrict deploy-

ment and redeployment of certain intercontinental ballistic missiles. Section 2851 undermines arrangements with our NATO allies to establish facilities and deploy forces at Crotone, Italy. Section 1042 purports to impose a limit on the number of military personnel stationed in Europe. While I will respect the intent of these and similar provisions as far as possible, I sign the bill with the understanding that such provisions do not constrain my constitutional authority to deploy military resources to safeguard the security of the Nation.

Section 213 purports to restrict the authority of the Secretary of Defense to classify certain information regarding the A-(X) aircraft, and various other provisions of the Act require that specified reports or information be provided to the Congress. I shall construe all these provisions consistent with my constitutional authority to protect information that is privileged or that bears on the national security.

Sections 921 and 922 could be construed to restrict the flexibility of the Secretary of Defense to direct the management of the Defense Intelligence Agency, to dictate how intelligence information is to be processed, and to require intra-government consultations prior to nomination of officials to head the Defense Intelligence Agency and the National Security Agency. These are unneeded and constitutionally questionable intrusions into the management of the executive branch. I will construe these provisions

consistent with the Constitution.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
December 5, 1991.

*Note: H.R. 2100, approved December 5, was assigned Public Law No. 102-190. This statement was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on December 6.*

## Exchange With Reporters on the South Lawn December 6, 1991

### *Visit to Pearl Harbor*

*The President.* I do want to say that I'm looking forward to going to Pearl Harbor. I think for me and a lot of other Americans of my generation this is a very emotional time. And this will be a very emotional day tomorrow. But I also approach it as a day of healing, appropriately honoring those who died at Pearl Harbor and those who were killed in World War II after Pearl Harbor.

But also what I want to do is put the focus on the fact that yesterday's enemies in Europe and in Asia are now our friends. And a lot of healing has taken place. I take great pride in the fact that the United States reached out the minute the war was over to both Japan and Germany.

So in terms of my emphasis, I'll be honoring those who made this era of peace possible. And it was that big of an event. But also trying to keep the country's focus on the fact that those former enemies are now friends. And we're working with them under a democratic system to make this world better and really, in terms of the economic side of things, to work together for an increased global economy, a bigger global economy which will serve the needs of all people including workers in this country and in Japan and in Germany.

So, it's an exciting time. As I say, in a sense for me it will be emotional because like a lot of those veterans out there I lost friends, my roommates, two roommates killed in action off our carrier. And yet, I go there with no rancor but with the wonderful feeling that things have moved dramatically forward in a very positive way. So, this is what this trip is about, and we'll be back here early Sunday morning.

*Q.* Will you at Pearl Harbor be apologiz-

ing in any way for the U.S. internment of Japanese-American citizens who were—

*The President.* I will acknowledge that as an era of a tragic thing, loyal Americans put into camps because of race. Congress took appropriate action last year. But yes, I will point out that was one of, on our side, one of the tragic things that happened. And of course, it will never happen again. But it was a very shameful chapter in an otherwise glorious achievement, you might say, the total victory over imperialism and totalitarianism.

*Q.* Mr. President do you think Japan should apologize for—

### *Unemployment*

*Q.* Mr. President, the unemployment figures are up again. Do you think something should be—

*The President.* No, I thought I saw that the unemployment numbers were about the same.

*Q.* Well, according to the morning shows, the number of new people that signed up for unemployment—

*The President.* Yes, but what I'm talking about is what we always go by, which is the unemployment total numbers. And the economy is far too slow, but a lot of news media yesterday were predicting an increase in unemployment. And to me it looked like it was 6.8, which is too high. And I think we ought to put the focus on that and try to at least, you know, report it as it is. I think that's what it said, and I'm glad because I think many were predicting—

*Q.* Seven.

*The President.* —raising, 7 or something like that. So, please, don't go into these

little details. Let's look at the big picture is what I'm trying to do.

*The Economy*

*Q.* My question is whether or not you should—can we wait until the State of the Union for you to unveil your new economic plan?

*The President.* Well, we've already accelerated \$9.7 billion worth of spending yesterday. Nobody can wait in terms of the hardship of somebody that's unemployed. But you want to be able, that when you do something, to get it done through Congress in a way that doesn't set things back and moves the employment figures up and the unemployment figures down. And I want to keep interest rates reasonably well.

So these hearings will help us. I talked to Rostenkowski this morning. I thought Darman, Brady and Boskin did a good job yesterday. There may be other things.

We're looking all the time for things we can do before we get Congress back here to take a major step forward, but I think we can do that.

*Q.* Can you absolutely rule out seeking to break the budget agreement?

*The President.* I would leave the testimony the way it was yesterday. It was handled beautifully by our people.

Thank you all very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 8:41 a.m. prior to his departure for Ontario, CA. In his remarks, the President referred to Dan Rostenkowski, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee; Richard Darman, Director of the Office of Management and Budget; Secretary of the Treasury Nicholas F. Brady; and Michael Boskin, Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers.*

## Remarks to Mag Instrument Employees in Ontario, California December 6, 1991

Well, thank you, Tony and Claire, and thank all of you for the tour we just went on. It's nice to see both Tony and Claire. I saw them a couple of weeks ago back in Washington. The Maglicas are doing a great job. And I also am pleased to see Senator Seymour, one of California's two Senators, with us here today, sitting up here with me.

And we brought another person along, but I don't see her—Pat Saiki over here, who is with me on our way out to Pearl Harbor. And she is the head of the Small Business Administration back in Washington. Pat, welcome.

There was a bit of confusion on the way in today. I arrived at the factory; one of my aides handed me a beer. And I said to them, "Look, I said I wanted a Maglite." *[Laughter]*

I got to know Tony and Claire during the inauguration, when they sent 40,000 Points of Light, these mini-Maglites that you all make, as symbolic, what we call Points of Light, to demonstrate their faith in the power volunteers have to build a better

America. And Mag Instrument represents the spirit of enterprise, the devotion to quality, the principle of hands-on leadership that will carry us into the next American century. Let me tell you why.

Tony Maglica's story, in essence, is the story of the American dream, a tale of opportunity that began in a Los Angeles garage in 1955. And later, in his job shop, he invented a superior quality flashlight for use by police and firemen whose lives might depend on the quality of the light. Let me add, in fact, Mag Instrument showed its ongoing commitment to these heroes with very generous support for the National Law Enforcement Memorial which we dedicated in October.

Over the last 10 years, your company has led the way for American competitiveness and excellence, growing from that small shop I talked about to one of the largest flashlight manufacturers in the entire world.

Mag Instrument products are made in

America, made with American parts, and they're made by the best. They're made by American workers. And the commitment to American quality, from raw materials to design to production, has put your company, has put Mag Instrument right up at the top. And that's what will put our country right up at the top, too.

Tony is living proof: When the fight is fair, American manufacturers can outproduce, outsell, and outcompete any other nation on Earth.

And that's why we're striving hard in the administration to open foreign markets to American goods and services, to continue solid, job-creating export growth. We want companies to follow Mag Instrument's lead in building export business. Their exports comprised over a quarter of their total sales this year. And that's good business, because last year alone total gross exports accounted for virtually all of this Nation's economic growth.

We want to keep inflation low, interest rates down, productivity high so that American business can stay competitive. And to do it, we've proposed initiatives to cut senseless Government regulation, to improve education. And Barbara's working very hard in her way on helping people learn to read. Improve education; improve job training; and here's one Tony will like, reform our civil justice system so that employers can stay on the factory floors and out of the courtrooms. And we're going to continue to work on that one, too. I won't tell you the figure Tony told me that he had to spend in protecting patent rights of the products that you all develop here, but it is mind-boggling.

All of this is part of our strategy then for long-term economic growth in this country particularly as it relates to exports, a strategy I laid out from day one of my Presidency. Since then, frankly, I've called on the Congress to act on our capital gains tax cut to stimulate investment. But more important, it would stimulate job creation all across the State of California. And we need more jobs in the State of California. I've called on Congress to act on our R&D tax credit, to create new technologies and new jobs; to act on IRA's, these retirement accounts, you know, for first-time homebuy-

ers. That would stimulate the housing market. And to enact banking reform legislation to make our banks more competitive and to make that capital flow to entrepreneurs like Tony that have created so many jobs right here.

People are hurting. And I hear it from just plain everyday Americans, and the letters I read back in Washington, conversations on the shop floor in places like this and just before this, down in Florida and over in the State of Mississippi.

And while Congress is home for the holidays, I hope that they're getting the message, too. Then, when they come back in January, what I plan to do is to ask them to put politics aside—it's going to be an election year—but lay the politics aside just long enough to take some important steps to get this economy on the move again.

And I'm going to hold out my hand, extend it; I promise you that. And that's because I believe we can create more hope for the future. We can build greater prosperity. We can bring the American dream to life for all Americans. You give America the tools, and they'll get the job done. And you give me a Congress I can work with and more businessmen like Tony and Claire here, more companies like this one in America, and we all together will get the job done.

So I really wanted to come by and learn, and I have. I've watched how this all works in there. I've heard the enthusiasm of Tony Maglica. It's contagious. It's an infectious feeling. He says anybody can get this job done, and I believe we can. I am absolutely confident that things are going to be better, and I'm going to keep right on working hard in Washington and then when Congress comes back, to do my part.

Thank you for a very inspiring day. And you might be interested in this. Barbara and I, when we leave here, we go to a lunch downtown, a Kiwanis lunch, and then we're heading out to Pearl Harbor for the commemoration of Pearl Harbor Day, which will be tomorrow—turning point really in terms of peace and freedom in the world; certainly a memorable time in the history of our great country. But as I conclude, I think it's also a blessing that it looks

like, because of the leadership of the United States of America, your kids and our grand-kids can grow up in a much more peaceful world. And that's something to say our thanks to God for.

Thank you all and God bless our country.

*Note: The President spoke at 11:51 a.m. at the Mag Instrument, Inc., factory.*

## Remarks to the Kiwanis and Rotary Clubs in Ontario, California December 6, 1991

Thank you, Nancy DeDeimar, and thank you for that introduction, and thank you for your indulgence of all the detail that has to go into a visit of this nature. But I am delighted to be with you all here.

I've been to several Kiwanis events over quite a few years, so as an outsider, let me start by saying: I'm George Bush, from Washington, DC, President of the United States of America.

And Nancy graciously introduced my friend, our Senator, Senator Seymour, who is with us today. And she also introduced Pat Saiki. Pat is now the head of the SBA, the Small Business Administration, was a Member of Congress and now the head of SBA. And she is doing a superb job in very difficult circumstances. And she and I and Barbara and a group of others are on our way out to her home State for what I know will be a very memorable salutation of history tomorrow. It's going to be a very emotional time out there, but I'm just privileged to represent the United States of America at Pearl Harbor Day at that wonderful place.

Let me just say that Jim Brulte, down here, who is your State rep, he and I have served together, and he was on the receiving end of one of these introductions a few minutes ago, the announcements. And he said, "Well, I think I'd rather be out there doing the advance work," which he did so ably and many other things for the White House. But anyway, you've got a very good man representing you in the assembly.

And I might say to the Kiwanians here that just a couple of days ago—several days ago; I believe it was 3—I received a thorough briefing in the Oval Office from Gayle Beyers of Kiwanis International, who filled

me in—he's the international president—filled me in on the inspiring worldwide efforts that you have undertaken. I also had listened as the heads of Circle K and the Key Club, bright young people who were with him, told me about the next generation of Kiwanis. So it was a good Kiwanis day there in the historic Oval Office 3 days ago.

As I mentioned, I go on to Pearl Harbor to take part in these commemorations tomorrow. And right now I want to salute a man who was there, Jay Holmes. I don't know if he's here today or not. Jay, right there. You know him as the former general manager of the Daily Report, but history knows him and says that 50 years ago he was a 19-year-old Marine aboard the U.S.S. *West Virginia*. And we know the history, and men like Jay know the human terms. What it meant to stand for a moment at the very center of history; what it meant to pick up and then battle back from that shattering moment on the morning of December 7th to victory, come back from that moment to victory 4 years later.

Let me just say to Jim Brulte, as a Rotarian who helped the Kiwanis Club put together today's event—[laughter]—Jim is going to be fined for fraternizing with the enemy, but nevertheless—[laughter].

Surrounded by so many Points of Light, and your president referred to that, I can't let this opportunity go by without recognizing you for your good works. First, on behalf of Barbara, let me salute the Kiwanis Club for its leading role in that Reading Is Fundamental program. Going into that classroom, sharing a child's first experience learning how to read, is as simple as it is rewarding. If you're concerned about our

future, then you care about our kids, and certainly Kiwanis does.

With the holidays fast upon us, I want to recognize Rotary Santa Claus Incorporated for its work repairing and recycling used toys. Thanks to you, children who far too often have to go without can look forward to finding something special under the Christmas tree. And then I also want to salute the Ontario Police Department—led by Lowell Stark, the police chief here, but even more important, Rotarian—for their award-winning gang control program. Your slogan says it all: “Gangs plus dope equal no hope.” Your success has won admirers not just statewide but wherever communities are plagued by gang violence.

We can help in Washington. I want to get our national drug-fighting program fully implemented. And they’re doing pretty well. There are some encouraging notes there. I want to get our crime bill passed by the Congress. And one of my big regrets was they didn’t pass a strong crime bill that has a little more sympathy for the people out there on patrol and a little less for the victims [perpetrators] of crime. I want that passed. And we’re going to keep working to get it done, but I just want to salute those who are going forward with this good work for fighting against these gangs and offering alternatives to the young people in this country.

To prove just how far Ontario has come in promoting peace among the warring factions, we do indeed have the Kiwanians and the Rotarians sitting together in this room. [Laughter]

I thank you for inviting us here, giving me this opportunity to spend some time in the community. And great things are happening. I wish all—maybe some of you have been there; I’m sure you have—but just a few minutes ago I toured the Mag Instrument plant here in Ontario. Yes, I’ve seen the light. [Laughter] And I met the people who have turned a one-man, one-room operation into an industry leader, worldwide, 10 short years. And I came away proud, impressed once more with this American energy and American ingenuity.

I have visited since I’ve been President 48 States in 3 years, a little less than 3 years. And everywhere I visit gives you a

chance to talk to people and to listen and, as was true of today, to learn.

And Ontario’s a long way from Washington. You’re not caught up in the beltway blame game that dominates so much of the coverage that I’m sure you see every night. You’re not so much caught up in the finger-pointing and the posturing, the battle for that 9-second sound bite out there on the evening news that all of us politicians compete so vigorously for. What matters to you are real-world concerns: The quality of our schools, a good job with a future, safe streets, clean air, neighborhoods where people look out for one another. And all the squabbling in Washington is background noise as you pay the bills and raise your kids with a sense of right and wrong, and plan for the future.

Each community faces these real-world challenges in its own way. Take the way your community has coped with change. Not long ago, Ontario and the area around it was little more than a point on the map from Los Angeles to Las Vegas. And today, your city is part of California’s Inland Empire, the fastest growing region in one of America’s fastest growing States.

The Inland Empire stands alone in California as the only region to report uninterrupted job growth every month during the national economic downturn. And yet, because the population grew faster than the jobs, even here you’ve seen an increase in unemployment. And even your enviable growth record offers cold comfort to those people that are out there that are caught in the downturn. And I know this, that for a person out of a job, the unemployment rate is 100 percent.

Yes, times are tough across this country. The local construction industry lost 10,000 jobs in the past year alone. The manufacturing sector and aerospace industry have been hit hard. The pressure to sustain growth won’t let up. According to projections, the population of San Bernardino County will more than double from 1980 just to the year 2000.

Today, the single largest export from the Inland Empire remains commuters: Three to four hundred thousand make the trip each day to jobs in greater Los Angeles.

And yet, increasingly, Ontario finds itself pulled into the global marketplace by virtue of its place on the Pacific Rim. Warehousing jobs are up nearly 20 percent in 2 years due to increased exports. UPS has made Ontario one of its three domestic airline hubs, well-positioned to serve the western United States and in the international markets across the Pacific. This new addition to Ontario's corporate community will pump half a billion a year into this county's economy.

The people of the Inland Empire are building this future for themselves, and the growth that results will be the sweat of your hard work, not the gift of Government. And what you want from Government is the good sense to know when to step in and help, and then when to step out of the way.

But we can help, and we're trying to help. Government can help by fighting to open new markets to American goods. When trade is free and fair, I am absolutely convinced that American workers can out-think, outproduce, and outdistance any foreign competitor. Our administration has made free trade a key element in our foreign policy, from Fast Track authority with Mexico—and that is going to mean more jobs here—to the talks we're going to hold not long from now when I travel to Korea and Japan.

Here at home, we have pushed for the kind of economic growth initiatives that will encourage growth, that will create jobs. And from day one as President, I've argued that we can never stand pat and simply assume endless economic prosperity. In 1989, in the midst of the longest peacetime expansion in American history, I called on the Congress to pass a series of growth initiatives, 1989 incentives to spur saving and investment, to support aggressive R&D, research and development, to reduce the cost of capital. You all know the story: Three years later, we're still waiting for Congress to lay aside politics and pick up the challenge.

I am not about to let Congress off the hook. Next month, in my State of the Union Message, I'll challenge Congress to work with me at long last to get the job done, to take action to get this economy growing again, generating good jobs for working men and women all across this country.

For all the economic dislocations, for all the real hurt people are suffering through today, I am confident, confident that here in California and across this country our recovery will gain speed. And I look back to the early eighties when the economy went through a tough period of wheel-spinning before it set out on the path of sustained growth. Back then I think unemployment reached up in the double-digit range, 10-point-something percent. A recovery now that, as we look back on it, meant better lives for millions of American families. Years from now, we may well look back on the early nineties the same way, as the moment the American economy moved forward toward a new century, confident, certain, and full of hope.

I will be glad to respond to questions on this subject or anything else. But I want to make another point. There has been some suggestion that you should lay aside interest in foreign affairs and concentrate solely on domestic. It's not easy. The world is small. Our future here in Ontario, California, is interacting with world markets abroad, and well it should. And so when I go to Japan, is that foreign or domestic? As I go there to try to get them to do more about opening up their markets to goods from California and my State of Texas and from the East and wherever, they interact.

When we do something that works for peace in the world, whether it's a Middle East peace conference or whether it's whipping aggression halfway around the world in Kuwait by a brutal dictator, Saddam Hussein, trying to take over another country by force, is that purely foreign policy or does it relate to the national security of the United States and the safety and tranquility of society here and the fact that your kids and my grandkids can grow up in a more peaceful world? It's interacting, is my point.

And so, I'm not going to let these political critics keep me from doing my job as President of the United States when it comes to the national security and the economic interests of the United States of America.

It's a great pleasure to be with you today. And I don't know how this—I'll turn to the boss here and see. Oh, here he is. *[Laughter]* Rotary takes over. *[Laughter]* And let

him go. Let's proceed with a few questions.

Mr. Brulte. Thank you, Mr. President. Before we proceed with a few questions, to my Rotary brothers and sisters, I'm sorry this is a Kiwanis meeting, but I want you to notice the President is sitting on the Rotary side of the table. [Laughter]

In the interest of fairness, we decided that the first four questions would come from Rotary and the first four questions would come from Kiwanis. We would combine them, intersperse them, allowing the presidents and the leadership of the organizations to choose the method of selecting those questioners. The Kiwanis Club called all their members, invited them to ask questions. They then selected the names of those individuals, and we have those questions up here.

George Chalfant, the Rotary president, was a little more creative. He took a computer list of all the members of Rotary, pinned it to his wall, and threw his red felt pen at it—[laughter]—I think five times. The first one missed. And we have those. Those have been submitted. And if we get through those, we'll then take some that were written by the audience.

### Education

Q. You have stated that education is a major priority in your administration, but it seems there's difficulty in funding it in light of many other priorities.

The President. Education, is that the question? I was listening to Marlin Fitzwater over here, the household word on television that you sometimes see.

Well, education is a major priority. Six percent of education money is Federal; 94 percent of it comes from other sources. Federal money has gone up for education in our administration and will probably do the same next year. I don't think it's a question of funding alone; certainly it's not a question of funding alone at the Federal level.

We have a new education program called America 2000. And what we did was, we went down and met with the Governors, Republican and Democrat alike, in Charlottesville a couple of years ago, came together setting out six national education goals. Then we've got a Secretary of Educa-

tion, Lamar Alexander, who is taking this America 2000 program all across the country.

It encompasses things like choice. It encompasses things like revolutionizing schools where you go to the communities and have a contest or have rewards for who prevails on this to come out with a whole new concept of schools. Maybe some will want a longer school year; maybe some will want to radically alter the curriculum. But instead of letting the bureaucracy in Washington mandate to the schools how Federal money—that's yours, incidentally—gets spent, this is a whole new approach that puts the control, the innovation, the revolution right into the communities itself. And that isn't a function of money.

We're spending more per capita on kids than almost any other country in the world, and we still rank 13th in math and science. So our education goals that include things like ready to learn, that means more for Head Start, which we can help at the Federal level; more in math and science. "You're never too old to learn" is one of the goals, and we're talking there, of course, about adult education. All of these goals can be implemented without seriously raising taxes, raising taxes at all, or seriously increasing spending for a specific program.

So my answer to you is, we will continue. We will be able at the Federal level to continue to increase the Federal role. But I would say to the communities—and if there ever was a group that understands this, that I'm singing to the choir about and that understands this, it is this one because you know. You serve on the school boards. You know how control should stay close to the community. We need more parental involvement.

And very candidly, and I say this not just because she's here, but the work that the Points of Light, one of the brightest one of which is a Barbara Bush function, has a lot to do with it. She spends almost all her time out there, extracurricular time, helping people, inspiring people to read, teaching parents to read to their kids. The Federal Government can't do that.

So we've got a good education program. Whoever sent the question up, Frank,



you're right on target that we've got to do better. But I believe we can, and I believe this is one area that we're on the way to radical change, and it's change for the better for the American society.

#### *Health Care*

*Q.* The rapid increase in medical knowledge has been fantastic, but people are unhappy with the delivery of medical care. Redtape, bureaucracy, regulations, and costs are of great concern. Millions of people are unable to obtain even basic medical care. What studies or programs are you setting up to improve this?

*The President.* I will have a proposal in the State of the Union Message. There are about 31 programs on Capitol Hill for medical care. So far we've been concentrating on prevention, we've been concentrating with limited success, I would say, on cost control which is a part of Dr. Malone's question.

But I do think the time has come for the administration to come forward with a comprehensive program. I hope it's one, and I'm confident that it will be, at least the way it comes from us to the Congress, that does not call for increasing taxes on the working men and women of this country. I think it will be a good program. We will capitalize on and learn from some of these programs that are floating around up there.

When I hear people say what we ought to do is put the Canadian system into effect, I think they're wrong. I think we've got the best quality education in the world, and I don't want to see that diluted by going to socializing our medical treatment and diminishing the choice for individuals about going to their own doctor. We'll have a good program. I believe the country by then will be receptive. I will have the benefit of a study that Dr. Louis Sullivan, our head of HHS, will have completed before the end of this month, actually before Christmas. And I hope it's one that you can give your full support to.

#### *Federal Government Cost Control*

*Q.* What's being done about the rest of the Grace commission reports? Can we not still eliminate much, much waste in Government?

*The President.* Fortunately, many of the Grace recommendations have been implemented. There is plenty more to do. The Vice President's Competitiveness Council has the ball on some of the major regulatory deficiencies that the Grace commission very properly put up. So I believe the answer is, we will continue to work on that problem. It is extraordinarily complicated.

Part of it is that you have Congress—I don't say it to be bashing them—but you have a tendency there to put a lot of mandates, a lot of detail on these programs, and that makes for much less efficiency. So we'll continue it. And I think the vehicle for that right now is the Vice President's Competitiveness Council, which does consider these efficiency recommendations, many of which, as I say, have been implemented; more of which must be.

#### *Nuclear Weapons Proliferation*

*Q.* Are you concerned about the independent Republics of the Soviet Union regarding their possession of nuclear weapons and conventional weapons and troops? And what steps are you taking to allay those concerns, if you have any?

*The President.* Well, I certainly do have concerns. One of the hallmarks of our administration in this whole area of foreign policy is to guard against nuclear proliferation. We don't need any more nuclear powers. And as the Soviet Union, as these independent Republics come forward—and we salute those who decide on their own, exercising their right of self-determination to be free, to be independents—this problem of nuclear proliferation must concern us.

For example, in the Ukraine the other day there was an overwhelming vote of support for Kravchuk and an even more overwhelming vote of support for independence. But the United States has a key role now in seeing that as that new state emerges, that it safely disposes of its nuclear weapons. Here's a case where I talked to President Kravchuk right after he was elected, and we both agreed that this is a priority.

We've been in very close touch with Boris Yeltsin of the Russian Republic, and

he shares our concern, the concern of everybody in this room, about nuclear proliferation. It's much more complicated now. You can't just work out an arms control agreement, as we have done on START or CFE, with the center. You have to also be sure that the Republics are involved. But it is a problem. It is not going to go away. And it's one more reason why we must use everything at our disposal to see that these weapons are not only accounted for but that they are also safely, and I use that word advisedly, destroyed.

There's a lot of high technology that goes into the destruction of nuclear weapons. So far, I can tell you, we're getting good soundings of support from Gorbachev, from Yeltsin, from Kravchuk, and from others as well. So it is a problem that we're going to stay on top of; it is one where I can assert with some optimism that we will succeed.

I worry more, in this field of nuclear proliferation, about renegade transfers of technology. And that's something that's very hard to guard against. It's something where intelligence is less than perfect. But again, we have as a major instruction to our new Director of Central Intelligence, Bob Gates, nuclear weapon proliferation. It would be a shame to win the peace, having beaten back aggression, and then have this insidious threat of nuclear weapons crop up in the hands of some renegade dictator around the world.

So, it again is one that you finger as a very, very important problem. It's one where we will stay fully and actively involved. And so far, though, with the Soviet Union and Republics, I'm a little optimistic because they're saying and doing the right things.

And incidentally, when I made that sweeping proposal on nuclear weapons a while back that was so well-received around the world, that one, Gorbachev came back, accepted that fully, and is prepared to go further. And along with him, the Republics weigh in, Kravchuk in the Ukraine, Nazarbayev, Yeltsin. And so the mood in that part of the world now is for cooperating fully with us in this terribly important area of arms control, as well as guarding against nuclear proliferation.

### *Family Values*

*Q.* I understand you and Barbara were married on the same date in 1945 that Helen and I were married. Will you join us in our backyard on our mutual anniversary? [*Laughter*] We'll fix shish kebabs. [*Laughter*]

*The President.* Were you married January 2d? Well, if I can remember it. I'm the guy that couldn't remember when Pearl Harbor is. [*Laughter*] Jerry, that's a wonderful invitation, and I'll leave that one to Barbara. [*Laughter*] But thank you for the thought.

And you know, let me tell something to you newlyweds out there. And let me be sure I get the number of years right. [*Laughter*] It doesn't hurt a bit. I'll just make this one serious observation. Barbara and I do talk about this because we're blessed with a lot of grandkids and sons and a daughter. I've got to tell you I worry about the diminution of family in this country. And I know Barbara worries about it. I know everybody out here worries about it. I hope that while I'm President I will continue to be able to find ways to strengthen family, guard against legislation that might encourage families to live apart so they can get a little more Federal largesse out of the benefit system. And I worry about it. And yet when you get out around the country and away from some of the most troubled areas, I am inclined to feel that this concept of family values and faith and this kind of thing is still pretty darn strong in our country. And we want to do the best to help keep it that way.

### *Terrorism*

*Q.* One of Rotary's main thrusts is world peace and understanding for all nations. With the release of the hostages are we now closer to that goal, or is that threat still with us?

*The President.* Well, I'm afraid the terrorist threat is still with us. We, of course, rejoice in the release of these hostages. Incidentally, I don't consider that chapter closed. Mr. Buckley, who allegedly was tortured until his death, his remains have not been returned. There are some rumors that that might be taken care of. I hope so. Colonel Higgins, you remember the Marine colonel that was serving in the southern

part of Lebanon under the Blue Flag, under the United Nations flag, he was killed. He was murdered. And his remains have not been returned. So as far as this President is concerned, the chapter is not closed.

I rejoice in the release of the last hostage, Terry Anderson, and those that preceded him. And I'm proud that I can represent to the American people that our policy—although certainly this release took far too long in terms of strains on family—was implemented; that there was no quid pro quo. Because in staying with that policy it seems to me we diminish the chance that others, seeing rewards having been granted for taking people prisoner, would do the same thing.

But having said that, there are a lot of weird people around the world who think they can use terrorism or hostage holding as a way to implement their political agenda or to facilitate political change. We are stepping up—and have since I've been there, and certainly President Reagan was very concerned about that—our intelligence, our counterintelligence, that would lead us to be able to abort some of these terrorist acts. But it is not an easy problem, and I wish I could tell you it was behind us. And while I rejoice in the release of these hostages, it is something that still concerns us very, very much. And we will be as alert as we possibly can to safeguard the lives of American citizens wherever they may be.

#### *College Costs and Interest Rates*

*Q.* As a parent of college-age children, how do you see families meeting the rising expense of a college education? Do you favor the use of IRA money for college expenses?

*The President.* We'll take a look at that in terms of change to policy. We have this scholarship program now, college savings program, that is in a sense an IRA program. It isn't as widely used as it might be. But Government scholarships are important; we have some of those. Private scholarships are far more important; we have many of those. And cost containment really lies—the problem of cost containment to guard against further increases really is not in the hands of the Federal Government, except as it relates to the overall inflation rate in the

country.

While I bemoan the slowness of the economy and worry about people that are out of work, I think it is fair to say that inflation that has been so devastating in terms of families—you can't say it's under control, but it's far better. It's far less of a threat to people that are saving under these college programs to get their kids educated.

Incidentally, what this big secret message was from Marlin Fitzwater, I think you would be interested if you haven't seen it. And that is that the Federal Reserve took the constructive step of easing the Federal funds rate by a quarter of a point today, to 4.5 percent. And you see, this is still going on. They're still lowering these rates. And lower rates are among the factors that eventually will be of strong help to the recovery. And even now, this percentage drop in the Fed funds rates, I think, will help the economy along.

So I can present this to you as pretty good news, and I hope that it will mean that we'll facilitate the lending that is so essential to get this part of the country moving and growing strongly again.

#### *Small Business*

*Q.* As small business people, what can we do to help this country regain our economic and educational status in the world?

*The President.* Well, in the educational status, I would strongly urge you to take a look at what we're doing in terms of America 2000. There's a role for small businesses in there. There's a role for every community in there. I would urge that approach.

On economic, I would urge you to contact the legislators in terms of less regulation. I think one thing that's inhibiting small business is too much regulation. I would urge small business people, if they agree with what I'm about to say, to weigh in strongly.

The Democrats, liberal Democrats, in the Congress—not all of them, but the liberal ones—accuse me in supporting capital gains as being a tax for the rich, a tax break for the rich. It is a jobs bill. It would immediately result in more investment and more jobs. So I'll take that political heat from the demagogues on Capitol Hill, but help me get

a capital gains cut so that entrepreneurs and small business people can profit by what they do and thus do more of it. We want a capital gains tax cut, and it's about time.

And I might add, though I don't spend a lot of time watching what's happening on the other side of the aisle in terms of Presidential hopefuls, that several Democrats are now embracing support for capital gains. So we'll take the support wherever we can get it. It's long overdue, and it will stimulate this economy, and it will get right to the crux of your question: What can small business people do? You can have a much better life, much more entrepreneurship, much more investment, many more job creation possibilities if we can lower the rates on capital gains.

You know what Japan's capital gains rate—Japan and Germany—one of them is one percent, and the other is zero percent. And we're competing on what they call an unlevel playing field. So please help us on that one. And there are other things as well that I think, in the tax proposals I've been making, in terms of economic growth will benefit small business. But there are a couple of the areas where we could use your help, I'll tell you.

#### *Peace and Freedom*

Q. This will have to be the last question.

It's from Beth Glasser of Ontrio Rotary, and she's asking it on behalf of the fourth grade gifted and talented educational class at Newman School in Chino. The students at that school want to know what your biggest wish is for the future of our children.

*The President.* Biggest wish would be that they grow up in a world at peace where they don't have to go to bed afraid of the threat of nuclear warfare and that they grow up in a country who retains its basic values and in a country where opportunity knows no limits.

And if I could look back over my shoulder and say what would I like to do while I'm President, I would like to make a contribution in both areas: One, in world peace; and the other, in terms of an America, whose freedom having been secured and guaranteed, knows no limits to its opportunities.

Thank you all very, very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 12:40 p.m. at the Red Lion Inn in Ontario, CA. In his remarks, the President referred to Nancy DeDeimar, president of the Ontario Kiwanis, and Jay Holmes, a Rotarian and Pearl Harbor survivor. James Brulte served as emcee for the luncheon.*

## Presidential Determination No. 92-6—Memorandum on Trade With the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic

*December 6, 1991*

### *Memorandum for the Secretary of State*

*Subject:* Eligibility of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic to be Furnished Defense Articles and Services Under the Foreign Assistance Act and the Arms Export Control Act

Pursuant to the authority vested in me by section 503(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended (22 U.S.C. 2311(a)), and section 3(a)(1) of the Arms Export Control Act, as amended (22 U.S.C. 2753(a)(1)), I hereby find that the furnishing of defense

articles and services to the Government of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic will strengthen the security of the United States and promote world peace.

You are authorized and directed to transmit this determination to the Congress and to publish it in the *Federal Register*.

GEORGE BUSH

*[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 3:42 p.m., December 12, 1991]*

Presidential Determination No. 92-7—Memorandum on Trade With the Republic of Hungary  
*December 6, 1991*

*Memorandum for the Secretary of State*

*Subject:* Eligibility of the Republic of Hungary to be Furnished Defense Articles and Services Under the Foreign Assistance Act and the Arms Export Control Act

Pursuant to the authority vested in me by section 503(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended (22 U.S.C. 2311(a)), and section 3(a)(1) of the Arms Export Control Act, as amended (22 U.S.C. 2753(a)(1)), I hereby find that the furnishing of defense

articles and services to the Government of the Republic of Hungary will strengthen the security of the United States and promote world peace.

You are authorized and directed to transmit this determination to the Congress and to publish it in the *Federal Register*.

GEORGE BUSH

*[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 3:43 p.m., December 12, 1991]*

Presidential Determination No. 92-8—Memorandum on Trade With the Republic of Poland  
*December 6, 1991*

*Memorandum for the Secretary of State*

*Subject:* Eligibility of the Republic of Poland to be Furnished Defense Articles and Services Under the Foreign Assistance Act and the Arms Export Control Act.

Pursuant to the authority vested in me by section 503(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended (22 U.S.C. 2311(a)), and section 3(a)(1) of the Arms Export Control Act, as amended (22 U.S.C. 2753(a)(1)), I hereby find that the furnishing of defense

articles and services to the Government of the Republic of Poland will strengthen the security of the United States and promote world peace.

You are authorized and directed to transmit this determination to the Congress and to publish it in the *Federal Register*.

GEORGE BUSH

*[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 3:53 p.m., December 12, 1991]*

Remarks to the Pearl Harbor Survivors Association in Honolulu, Hawaii  
*December 7, 1991*

*The President.* Please be seated, everybody. And Jerry Glaubitz, thank you, sir. Thank you for your dedication. Thank you for your leadership to this wonderful organization.

May I salute Secretary Ed Derwinski, Reverend Morgan, and most of all, fellow veterans.

From this sacred ground near the waters of Pearl Harbor, we remember the moment when the Pacific Ocean erupted in a storm of fire and blood. We remember a morning when America, where some thought isolation meant security, awoke wounded, and reeling, plunged into a desperate fight for world freedom.

I remember the crackle of the radio and the voice of our President. "We are going to win the war," FDR told us, "and we are going to win the peace that follows." We won the war and secured the peace because American men and women responded bravely and instinctively to their Nation's call. Within hours after the cruel surprise attack began, many died, having done what came naturally: They fought for their family and friends, defending the land they loved. They did not set out to become heroes, but they did.

When torpedoes crippled the U.S.S. *California's* ammunition hoists, Warrant Officer Thomas Reeves stood in a smoke-filled passageway and organized a human supply chain to move the ammunition. He worked with all his might till the smoke overcame him. He died that day aboard *California*, and he rests today in this cemetery.

During the attack, Chief Boatswain Eddie Hill of the U.S.S. *Nevada* swam from the dock back out to his ship, ignoring the bombs falling all around him. He, too, died in the attack and rests here.

The Bible says, "Love is strong as death." To die for country, for family: that is the truth whispered by these rows of markers.

I remember Ernie Pyle, and I'll bet everybody behind me and in front of me remembers Ernie Pyle, too. The greatest of war correspondents, he fell to the enemy machinegun fire on Ie Shima. He lies here in this cemetery among the GI's he loved and honored so well. His plain-spoken news dispatches from the front reminded us that behind the battle statistics were true-life stories of how boys became men and men became heroes.

He told us what was happening in the war, how our men were fighting. And by telling the stories of our servicemen to their hometowns and neighborhoods, he helped us understand why we were fighting, how our men at arms defended with all their hearts America's deepest ideals.

Americans did not wage war against nations or races. We fought for freedom and human dignity against the nightmare of totalitarianism. The world must never forget that the dictatorships we fought, the Hitler and Tojo regimes, committed war crimes and atrocities. Our servicemen struggled

and sacrificed not only in defense of our free way of life but also in the hope that the blessings of liberty some day might extend to all peoples.

Our cause was just and honorable, but not every American action was fully fair. This ground embraces many American veterans whose love of country was put to the test unfairly by our own authorities. These and other natural-born American citizens faced wartime internment, and they committed no crime. They were sent to internment camps simply because their ancestors were Japanese. Other Asian-Americans suffered discrimination and even violence because they were mistaken for Japanese. And they, too, were innocent victims who committed no offense.

Here lie valiant servicemen of the 442d Regimental Combat Team and of the Military Intelligence Service, Americans of Japanese ancestry who fought to defeat the Axis in Europe and in the Pacific. Among these, the late Senator Spark Matsunaga, a combat hero and survivor who went on to help lead postwar Hawaii to American statehood.

I remember sharing danger and friendship in these skies and on this ocean. Some of my closest friends, like many people here, your closest friends, never came home. Perhaps because of this experience, I can better understand what you survivors of Pearl Harbor are sensing and feeling here today. As all the veterans here know, when a friend or comrade in arms falls in battle, war grabs a part of your soul.

My roommate aboard the carrier *San Jacinto*, CVL-30, was a guy named Jim Wykes. And as we were about to go into combat for the first time, a strike over Wake Island, Jim Wykes and his crew were sent out on a search mission from which they never returned.

Many more from our little torpedo squadron were to give their lives. And the names of many of these and more than 18,000 other World War II servicemen lost in action in the Pacific are engraved in the walls of this magnificent memorial.

During every passage of my life, I've often thought of those who never returned. Some left children behind, and today those

children, like my own kids, are raising children of their own. And thank God, each surviving generation has honored the memory of our heroes of the Second World War. Each new generation has risen to meet the challenge of winning the peace.

After vanquishing the dictators of Japan and Germany and Italy, America's war generation helped those countries rebuild and grow strong in the exercise of democracy and free enterprise. They affirmed again that our quarrel had not been with races or nations.

The American victors welcomed the new leaders of Japan and Germany and Italy into alliances that won the cold war and helped prevent the third world war. America and our wartime allies joined hands with the liberated peoples of our former foes to create and nurture international organizations aimed at protecting human rights, collective security, and economic growth.

Winning the peace, then as now, demands preparedness. The cause of harmony among nations is not a call for pacifism. We avoided a third world war because we were prepared to defend the free world against aggressors. The Pearl Harbor generation saw its younger brothers go to Korea, its sons to Vietnam to resist communism. Pearl Harbor's grandchildren answered the call to the Persian Gulf to reverse Saddam's aggression against Kuwait.

How fitting it is that this great cemetery holds so many who died for the cause of Korean and Vietnamese freedom. How honored we are to stand on this ground, consecrated with the remains of Marine Lance Corporal Frank Allen of Hawaii, who gave his life just 10 months ago in the battle to free Kuwait.

Every soldier and sailor and airman buried here offered his life so that others might be free. Not one of them died in vain. Our men and women who served in Korea and Vietnam, whose sacrifices too often have been forgotten or even reviled, are nearing their day of greatest vindication. For I have confidence that the tragedy

of totalitarianism has entered its final scene everywhere on this Earth.

This morning's sun will course the Pacific skies and illuminate the lands of Asia. And just as certainly, the movement of human freedom will supplant dictatorships that now hold sway in Pyongyang and Rangoon and Hanoi, and yes, in China, too. For a billion yearning men and women, the future means freedom and democracy.

This fair December dawn breaks on a world ready for renewal. A high tide of hope swells for those that are committed to peace and freedom. The nations pushed by tyrants into war against us half a century ago join us today as free and constructive partners in the effort for peace. The Soviet Communists' designs for world domination have collapsed before the free world's resolve.

We've reached this morning because generation after generation of Americans kept faith with our founders and our heroes. From the snows of Valley Forge, to the fiery seas of Midway and Pearl Harbor, to the sands of Iraq and Kuwait, Americans lived and died true to their ideals. They have prepared the way for a world of unprecedented freedom and cooperation. And thank God you Pearl Harbor survivors are here today to see this come to pass.

Today, as we remember the sacrifices of our countrymen, I salute all of you, the survivors of Pearl Harbor. And I ask all Americans to join me in a prayer: Lord, give our rising generations the wisdom to cherish their freedom and security as hard-won treasures. Lord, give them the same courage that pulsed in the blood of their fathers.

May God bless you all, and may God bless the United States of America. Thank you very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 6:53 a.m. at the National Cemetery of the Pacific. In his remarks, he referred to Gerald Glaubitz, president of the association, and Rev. Joseph Morgan, an association member who gave the invocation.*

## Remarks at a Ceremony Commemorating the 50th Anniversary of Pearl Harbor

December 7, 1991

Thank you, Captain Ross. Thank you, sir. To our Secretary of Defense and our Chairman of our Joint Chiefs; members of our Cabinet; distinguished Governors here; and so many Members of the United States Congress; Admiral Larson; members of our Armed Forces, then and now; family and friends of the *Arizona* and *Utah*; fellow veterans. Thank you very much for that introduction, Don, and thank you all for that welcome.

It was a bright Sunday morning. Thousands of troops slept soundly in their bunks. Some who were awake looked out and savored the still and tranquil harbor.

And on the stern of the U.S.S. *Nevada*, a brass band prepared to play "The Star-Spangled Banner." On other ships, sailors readied for the 8 a.m. flag raising. Ray Emory, who was on the *Honolulu*, read the morning newspaper. Aboard *California*, yeoman Durell Connor wrapped Christmas presents. On the *West Virginia*, a machinist's mate looked at the photos just received from his wife. And they were of his 8-month-old son whom he had never seen.

On the mainland, people listened to the football games on the radio, turned to songs like the "Chattanooga Choo-Choo," comics like "Terry and the Pirates," movies like "Sergeant York." In New York, families went window-shopping. Out West, it was late morning, many families still at church.

At first, to the American sailors at Pearl, the hum of engines sounded routine, and why not? To them, the idea of war seemed palpable but remote. And then, in one horrible instant, they froze in disbelief. The abstract threat was suddenly real.

But these men did not panic. They raced to their stations, and some strapped pistols over pajamas, and fought and died. And what lived was the shock wave that soon swept across America, forever immortalizing December 7th, 1941. Ask anyone who endured that awful Sunday. Each felt like the writer who observed: "Life is never again as it was before anyone you love has

died; never so innocent, never so gentle, never so pliant to your will."

Today we honor those who gave their lives at this place, half a century ago. Their names were Bertie and Gomez and Dougherty and Granger. And they came from Idaho and Mississippi, the sweeping farmland of Ohio. And they were of all races and colors, native-born and foreign-born. And most of all, of course, they were Americans.

Think of how it was for these heroes of the Harbor, men who were also husbands, fathers, brothers, sons. Imagine the chaos of guns and smoke, flaming water, and ghastly carnage. Two thousand four hundred and three Americans gave their lives. But in this haunting place, they live forever in our memory, reminding us gently, selflessly, like chimes in the distant night.

Every 15 seconds a drop of oil still rises from the *Arizona* and drifts to the surface. As it spreads across the water, we recall the ancient poet: "In our sleep, pain that cannot forget falls drop by drop upon the heart, and in our own despair against our will comes wisdom through the awful grace of God." With each drop, it is as though God Himself were crying. He cries, as we do, for the living and the dead: men like Commander Duncan Curry, firing a .45 at an attacking plane as tears streamed down his face.

We remember machinist's mate Robert Scott, who ran the air compressors powering the guns aboard *California*. And when the compartment flooded, the crew evacuated; Scott refused. "This is my station," he said, "I'm going to stay as long as the guns are going." And nearby, aboard *New Orleans*, the cruiser, Chaplain Forgy assured his troops it was all right to miss church that day. His words became legend: "You can praise the Lord and pass the ammunition."

Captain Ross, right here, then a warrant officer or was it a chief, was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor for his heroism aboard *Nevada* that day. I salute him,



the other Congressional Medal winners with us today, wherever they may be also.

For the defenders of Pearl, heroism came as naturally as breath. They reacted instinctively by rushing to their posts. They knew as well that our Nation would be sustained by the nobility of its cause.

So did Americans of Japanese ancestry who came by the hundreds to give wounded Americans blood, and the thousands of their kinsmen all across America who took up arms for their country. Every American believed in the cause.

The men I speak of would be embarrassed to be called heroes. Instead, they would tell you, probably with defiance: "Foes can sink American ships, but not the American spirit. They may kill us, but never the ideals that made us proud to serve."

Talk to those who survived to fight another day. They would repeat the Navy hymn that Barbara and I sing every Sunday in the lovely little chapel up at Camp David: "Eternal Father, strong to save, Whose arm hath bound the restless wave . . . O hear us when we cry to Thee, For those in peril on the sea."

Back in 1942, June of '42, I remember how Henry Stimson, the Secretary of War, defined the American soldier and how that soldier should be, and I quote: "Brave without being brutal, self-confident without boasting, being part of an irresistible might without losing faith in individual liberty."

The heroes of the Harbor engraved that passage on every heart and soul. They fought for a world of peace, not war, where children's dreams speak more loudly than the brashest tyrant's guns. Because of them, this memorial lives to pass its lessons from one generation to the next, lessons as clear as this Pacific sky.

One of Pearl Harbor's lessons is that together we could "summon lightness against the dark"; that was Dwight Eisenhower. Another, that when it comes to national defense, finishing second means finishing last.

World War II also taught us that isolationism is a bankrupt notion. The world does not stop at our water's edge. And perhaps above all, that real peace, real peace, the peace that lasts, means the triumph of freedom, not merely the absence of war.

And as we look down at—Barbara and I just did—at *Arizona's* sunken hull, tomb to more than 1,000 Americans, the beguiling calm comforts us, reminds us of the might of ideals that inspire boys to die as men. Everyone who aches at their sacrifice knows America must be forever vigilant. And Americans must always remember the brave and the innocent who gave their lives to keep us free.

Each Memorial Day, not far from this spot, the heroes of Pearl Harbor are honored. Two leis are placed upon each grave by Hawaiian Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts. We must never forget that it is for them, the future, that we must apply the lessons of the past.

In Pearl Harbor's wake, we won the war and, thus, the peace. In the cold war that followed, Americans also shed their blood, but we used other means as well. For nearly half a century, patience, foresight, personal diplomacy helped America stand fast and firm for democracy.

But we've never stood alone. Beside us stood nations committed to democracy and free markets and free expression and freedom of worship, nations that include our former enemies Germany, Italy, and Japan. This year these same nations stood with us against aggression in the Persian Gulf.

You know, the war in the Gulf was so different: different enemy, different circumstances, the outcome never in doubt. It was short; thank God, our casualties mercifully few. But I ask you veterans of Pearl Harbor and all Americans who remember the unity of purpose that followed that momentous December day 50 years ago: Didn't we see that same strength of national spirit when we launched Desert Storm?

The answer is a resounding "yes." Once the war for Kuwait began, we pulled together. We were united, determined, and we were confident. And when it was over, we rejoiced in exactly the same way that we did in 1945—heads high, proud, and grateful. And what a feeling. Fifty years had passed, but let me tell you, the American spirit is as young and fresh as ever.

This unity of purpose continues to inspire us in the cause of peace among nations. In their own way, amidst the bedlam and the

anguish of that awful day, the men of Pearl Harbor served that noble cause, honored it. They knew the things worth living for but also worth dying for: Principle, decency, fidelity, honor.

And so, look behind you at battleship row—behind me, the gun turret still visible and the flag flying proudly from a truly blessed shrine.

Look into your hearts and minds: You will see boys who this day became men and men who became heroes.

Look at the water here, clear and quiet, bidding us to sum up and remember. One day, in what now seems another lifetime, it wrapped its arms around the finest sons any

nation could ever have, and it carried them to a better world.

May God bless them. And may God bless America, the most wondrous land on Earth.

*Note: The President spoke at 8:10 a.m. from the U.S.S. "Arizona" Memorial at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. He was introduced by Capt. Donald K. Ross, USN retired, a surviving crewmember of the U.S.S. Nevada and Congressional Medal of Honor recipient. During his remarks, the President referred to Adm. Charles Larson, Commander in Chief, U.S. Pacific Command. Following his remarks, the President met with survivors of the Pearl Harbor attack.*

## Remarks to World War II Veterans and Families in Honolulu, Hawaii December 7, 1991

Mrs. Rickert, thank you for that wonderful tale of how it was at Hospital Point. Thank you for that warm and generous introduction. And now I have a favor to ask of you. I hope you and everyone else will take a deep breath for me too, please. [*Laughter*] You didn't need it, but I might; this is a very emotional day.

I would like to salute the members of my Cabinet that are here today, particularly Dick Cheney, our able Secretary of Defense who's done so much for the military, so much in terms of leadership for our Nation. I want to salute General Powell, the Chairman of our Joint Chiefs of Staff, and again take this opportunity on this historic day to thank him for his leadership, his inspirational leadership, for all the men and women that serve in the Armed Forces. I want to thank the commander in chief of the Pacific Fleet, Admiral Larson. And I especially want to single out all the fellow veterans here, particularly those who are the survivors, the survivors of this historic day.

I expect if we went around the room, all of us would remember. I remember exactly when I first heard the news about Pearl Harbor. I was 17 years old, walking across the green at school. And my thoughts in

those days didn't turn to world events but mainly to simpler things, more mundane things, like making the basketball team or entering college. And that walk across the campus marked an end of innocence for me.

When Americans heard the news, they froze in shock. But just as quickly we came together. Like all American kids back then, I was swept up in it. I decided that very day to go into the Navy to become a Navy pilot. And so on my 18th birthday, June 12th, 1942, I was sworn into the Navy as a seaman second class.

And I was shocked, I was shocked at my first sight of Pearl Harbor several months later, April of '44. We came into port on the CVL-30, on the carrier *San Jacinto*. Nearby, the *Utah* was still on her side; parts of the *Arizona* still stood silent in the water. Everywhere the skeletons of ships reached out as if to demand remembrance and warn us of our own mortality.

Over 2,000 men died in a matter of minutes on this site, a half a century ago. Many more died that same day as Japanese forces assaulted the Philippines and Guam and Wake Island, Midway, Malaya, Thailand, Singapore, Hong Kong. On that day of

infamy, Pearl Harbor propelled each of us into a titanic contest for mankind's future. It galvanized the American spirit as never, ever before into a single-minded resolve that could produce only one thing: victory.

Churchill knew it as soon as he heard the news. He'd faced the Nazi conquest of Europe, the blitz of London, the terror of the U-boats. But when America was attacked, he declared there was "no more doubt about the end." He knew then that the American spirit would not fail the cause of freedom. The enemy mistook our diversity, our Nation's diversity, for weakness. But Pearl Harbor became a rallying cry for men and women from all walks of life, all colors and creeds. And in the end, this unity of purpose made us invincible in war and now makes us secure in peace.

The next day, President Roosevelt proclaimed the singular American objective: "With confidence in our Armed Forces, with the unbounding determination of our people, we will gain the inevitable triumph, so help us God." It was the steadfastness of the American people that would "win the war" and "win the peace that follows."

We triumphed in both, despite the fact that the American people did not want to be drawn into the conflict; "the unsought war," it's been called. Ironically, isolationists gathered together at what was known in those days as an "American First" rally in Pittsburgh at precisely the moment the first Americans met early, violent deaths right here at Pearl Harbor. The isolationists failed to see that the seeds of Pearl Harbor were sown back in 1919, when a victorious America decided that in the absence of a threatening enemy abroad, we should turn all of our energies inward. That notion of isolationism flew escort for the very bombers that attacked our men 50 years ago.

Again, in 1945, some called for America's return to isolationism, as if abandoning world leadership was the prerequisite for dealing with pressing matters back home. And they were rudely awakened by the brutal reality of the Iron Curtain, the Soviet blockade of Berlin, and the Communist invasion of South Korea.

And now we stand triumphant for the third time this century, this time in the wake of the cold war. As in 1919 and 1945,

we face no enemy menacing our security. And yet we stand here today on the site of a tragedy spawned by isolationism. And we must learn and this time avoid the dangers of today's isolationism and its economic accomplice, protectionism. To do otherwise, to believe that turning our backs on the world would improve our lot here at home, is to ignore the tragic lessons of the 20th century.

The fact is, this country has enjoyed its most lasting growth and security when we rejected isolationism, both political and economic, in favor of engagement and leadership. We're a Pacific nation. And next month in Asia, I'll discuss with our Pacific friends and allies their responsibility to share with us the challenges and burdens of leadership in the post-cold-war world.

The time has come for America's trading partners in Europe, Asia, and around the world to resolve that economic isolationism is wrong. To the leaders of Japan in particular, I say: This solemn occasion should reinforce our determination to join together in a future energized by free markets and free people. And so I'll continue to speak out against the voices of isolationism and protectionism both at home and abroad.

Fifty years ago, we paid a heavy price for complacency and overconfidence. That too is a lesson we shall never forget. To those who have defended our country, from the shores of Guadalcanal to the hills of Korea, from the jungles of Vietnam to the sands of Kuwait, I say this: We will always remember. We will always be prepared, prepared to take on aggression, prepared to step forward in reconciliation, and prepared to secure the peace.

In remembering, it is important to come to grips with the past. No nation can fully understand itself or find its place in the world if it does not look with clear eyes at all the glories and disgraces, too, of the past. We in the United States acknowledge such an injustice in our own history: The internment of Americans of Japanese ancestry was a great injustice, and it will never be repeated.

Today, all Americans should acknowledge Japan's Prime Minister Miyazawa's national statement of deep remorse concerning the

attack on Pearl Harbor. It was a thoughtful, it was a difficult expression much appreciated by the people of the United States of America.

The values we hold dear as a Nation—equality of opportunity, freedom of religion and speech and assembly, free and vigorous elections—are now revered by many nations. Our greatest victory in World War II took place not on the field of battle but in nations we once counted as foes. The ideals of democracy and liberty have triumphed in a world once threatened with conquest by tyranny and despotism.

Today as we celebrate the world's evolution toward freedom, we commemorate democracy's fallen heroes, the defenders of freedom as well as the victims of dictatorship who never saw the light of liberty. Earlier this year, when former adversaries joined us in the stand against aggression in the Persian Gulf, we affirmed the values cherished by the heroes of the Harbor.

The friends I lost, that all of us lost, upheld a great and noble cause. Because of their sacrifice, the world now lives in greater freedom and peace than ever before. It is right that all of us are here today. And it is right that we go on from here.

As you know, I just paid my respects at the *Arizona*, where it all began. And behind us stands the *Missouri*, where it came to an end. But the *Missouri* was also a beginning. Soon after that, Emperor Hirohito went to call on General MacArthur, who later noted that the Emperor "played a major role in the spiritual regeneration of Japan." Their meeting made history, and a hopeful future for a democratic Japan began to take shape.

I thought of that meeting with MacArthur when I attended the Emperor's funeral in 1989. I thought of it this morning, too, at the National Cemetery of the Pacific and then at the *Arizona* Memorial.

As you look back on life and retrace the steps that made you the person you are, you pick out the turning points, the defining moments. Over the years, Pearl Harbor still defines a part of who I am. To every veteran here, and indeed to all Americans, Pearl Harbor defines a part of who you are.

Recently a letter arrived from the son of a Pearl Harbor survivor, a Navy man named Bill Leu, who is with us here today.

His son writes from his home, now in Tokyo, saying: "A half century ago, my father's thoughts were on surviving the attack and winning the war. He could not have envisioned a future where his son would study and work in Japan. But he recognizes that the world has changed, that America's challenges are different. My father's attitude represents that of the United States: Do your duty, and raise the next generation to do its."

I can understand Bill's feelings. I wondered how I'd feel being with you, the veterans of Pearl Harbor, the survivors, on this very special day. And I wondered if I would feel that intense hatred that all of us felt for the enemy 50 years ago. As I thought back to that day of infamy and the loss of friends, I wondered: What will my reaction be when I go back to Pearl Harbor? What will their reaction be, the other old veterans, especially those who survived that terrible day right here?

Well, let me tell you how I feel. I have no rancor in my heart towards Germany or Japan, none at all. And I hope, in spite of the loss, that you have none in yours. This is no time for recrimination.

World War II is over. It is history. We won. We crushed totalitarianism. And when that was done, we helped our enemies give birth to democracies. We reached out, both in Europe and in Asia. We made our enemies our friends, and we healed their wounds. And in the process, we lifted ourselves up.

The lessons of the war itself will live on, and well they should: Preparedness; strength; decency and honor; courage; sacrifice; the willingness to fight, even die, for one's country—America, the land of the free and the brave.

No, just speaking for one guy, I have no rancor in my heart. I can still see the faces of the fallen comrades, and I'll bet you can see the faces of your fallen comrades too, or family members. But don't you think they're saying, "Fifty years have passed; our country is the undisputed leader of the free world, and we are at peace."? Don't you think each one is saying, "I did not die in vain."?

May God bless each of you who sacrificed

and served. And may God grant His loving protection to this, the greatest country on the face of the Earth, the United States of America.

Thank you all, and God bless you. Thank you very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 9:20 a.m. at Kilo 8 Pier in Honolulu, Hawaii. He was introduced by Lenore Rickert, retired U.S. Navy nurse and a survivor of the Pearl Harbor attack.*

## Remarks at Half-Time During the Army-Navy Football Game December 7, 1991

Well, first let me salute all that are there at that wonderful Army-Navy contest. I understand you have a great ballgame underway.

Over my shoulder, perhaps you can see the picture of *Arizona* where the war started, World War II, on December 7th, 50 years ago. And now I'm talking to you also from the deck of the *Missouri* where the war ended on September 2d, 1945. And I must tell you this has been a very emotional day for the survivors of Pearl Harbor. It's an emotional day for those of us who served in World War II, and it's an emotional day for our entire country.

I think it is not a day for hatred. I think it is not a day for rancor. I think it is a day for healing and looking forward. And because of the sacrifice of the people here at Pearl Harbor and others that followed, yesterday's enemies are now our friends. Yesterday's hatred has now given way to feelings of good will, partnership, friendly competition. And so it has been a moving day at

Pearl Harbor. And I, as Commander in Chief of the forces, have been very proud to be here.

Let me wish all of you at that wonderful football game now the very best. And may I say to the men and women of the U.S. Naval Academy and the Army of the West Point, thank you for your service to this, the greatest country on the face of the Earth. May God bless each and every one of you who served the United States of America. It is a special day, and all of you helped make it a special day.

Thank you so much.

*Note: The President spoke at 10:17 a.m. aboard the U.S.S. "Missouri" in Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. His remarks were broadcast live by the American Broadcasting Company during half-time of the Army-Navy football game in Philadelphia, PA. Keith Jackson of ABC-Sports introduced the President. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

## Interview With Charles Bierbauer of CNN at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii December 7, 1991

### *Pearl Harbor*

*Q.* This is Charles Bierbauer with President Bush on board the deck of the U.S.S. *Missouri*.

*Mr. President,* thank you for joining us with the *Arizona* Memorial behind us. As you were there this morning, a day which you've described as a very emotional one, the sense of an apology from Japan for the

events at Pearl Harbor, how necessary is that?

*The President.* I don't think it's necessary. The Prime Minister very forthrightly expressed either regrets or remorse; I can't remember the word that was used. But this is a time for healing. This is a time for looking forward.

We won the war. We made a tremendous

contribution to freedom by winning the war—war ending right on the decks of this very vessel. And this is not a time for recrimination or rancor. And so my message is one of healing, of going forward—tough competitors, being tough in competition for business and markets, but not looking back in the sense of bitterness and hatred.

*Q.* And yet you've heard from many of the survivors a sense that they still—

*The President.* Yes.

*Q.*—perhaps have that rancor. Can this be a demarcation at this point?

*The President.* It should be a demarcation. It should be a turning forward. And I can understand the bitterness. What is it, a thousand sailors still there in that tomb? And dealing with those families today and meeting them was for me very, very emotional. But I really think this is a time to look forward. And I can say to them, I understand part of what you're going through. I lost a lot of fallen comrades, two roommates, many others. But this isn't the time for recrimination. And I don't think most of them feel that way. I think most of them say, look, my husband, my son, my grandfather did not die in vain.

#### *Anti-Japanese Sentiment*

*Q.* A few months ago when you met with then-Prime Minister Kaifu, he complained about Japan bashing, about feeling unappreciated over there. Why do you think that persists?

*The President.* Well, I complained a little bit about saying, "Hey, wait a minute, there's some Europe bashing in Japan." And I don't think it should exist in either country. And there's some nationalists there that feel bitter about the United States. And there's people in our country that feel bitter about Japan and bash Japan—in other words, instead of trying to compete better, try to take it out on Japan.

I don't know why it is. I hope it is not based on bigotry or some racial concept on either side of the Pacific.

*Q.* Do you think it could be?

*The President.* I hope not, and I don't want to say that. But we all know that back in the days of World War II there was such a feeling. I was there. I was a young man then, and I remember it. But that's not the

case today. And I'm not saying there's no residues of that nature, but if it is, we ought to speak out against it. This is the time for fair competition, and I'm going to take that message to Japan. Fair, free markets, but they've got to be fair. And let's do business on that basis with respect. Let's recognize that we've come together since the war.

They're democratic now. They were totalitarianism and imperialists back then. And so we shouldn't be recriminatory.

#### *Trade With Japan*

*Q.* You will be in Japan in the beginning of January.

*The President.* Yes.

*Q.* Does the message go beyond that? Are you at a point where you can break this logjam on trade?

*The President.* I hope so. I'm not sure where the logjam—there are some things that are moving; there are some things that we feel we've been stonewalled on, to be very candid. And I'm going to take a good, tough message out there. And I expect they will level with me where they feel we have been discriminatory or being two-sided, say one thing and do something else.

But that's the way we ought to do business, look them in the eye and say, "Now, wait a minute, you can't have a one-way street. We want access to your markets." But it shouldn't be based on what happened here 50 years ago with some vestiges of discrimination or recrimination.

#### *Asia-U.S. Relations*

*Q.* Mr. President, a lot of people seem to think that our relations with the Asian countries, Japan among them, have been based for the last several decades on a circling of the Soviet Union, a containment of the Soviet Union. You don't have a Soviet Union to contain anymore in the same sense. How does that change your relationship with Asia?

*The President.* I don't really feel that our relationship with the Asian countries or Japan is based on this concept of encirclement. I feel that it should be based on expanding markets, and expanding markets means more jobs for the people in the United States. So Pacific countries are our

biggest trading partners. So I don't think it's based, that we ever based our relationship with those countries on trying to encircle the Soviet Union. They might have felt that way, the old Soviet Union.

But I don't think today anybody feels that our reaching out to Japan or our being with Japan or Japan standing with us in the war against Japan [Iraq] is because of encircling the Soviet Union. I think it's much more sophisticated than that, much more forward-looking than that, and much more positive in terms of the benefits to the American people, provided we can do

better in getting the access to the markets that I think we must have.

*Q.* Mr. President, thank you very much for joining us here on the U.S.S. *Missouri*.

*The President.* Some beautiful day out here.

*Q.* It's a very beautiful day. Thank you.

*The President.* Thank you, sir.

*Note: The interview began at 10:26 a.m. aboard the U.S.S. "Missouri." A tape was not available for verification of the content of this interview.*

## Remarks at a Briefing by the National Commission on AIDS December 9, 1991

Lou, thank you. And let me just thank Dr. Rogers and Dr. Osborn and, of course, all the members of the AIDS Commission. And let me tell them that I have great confidence in the professionals in this Government, from Dr. Sullivan on, the people out at NIH, Dr. Roper, and so many others that are working these problems.

And when you have something as devastating and as scary as AIDS, I'm not sure that our people that are working with such compassion and such caring get the proper credit. They're not in it for credit; they're in it for trying to do something for humanity. And if I've ever seen a dedicated group of professionals, I think they're sitting right around this table.

Lou, I want to thank you for assembling the team. Dr. Mason, of course, we're going to hear from him; Tony Fauci, we know how inspirational he's been; our Surgeon General; head of NIH, Dr. Healy; and I don't want to leave out my former White House associate who's now branched off into a new setting down there in Atlanta.

But no, we've got good people working it. I think nobody ever has the total amount of resource to bring to bear on a problem, and yet I noted with interest what you said in terms of the levels of funding. And I'm very anxious to hear from everybody. I, too, would like to pay my respects to Belinda

Mason and also Kimberly.

But this is a tragic disease, and it is something that I'd like to find ways to be helpful as President. In addition to the professional aspects of all of this, I'd like to think that there are some suggestions coming out of this as to what we might be able to do to be of more help from the White House. I'd like to do it. Barbara, of course, feels the same way. When she hugs those children, I think it sends the proper message around the country. And I'll never forget visits that Tony and others out there arranged for me quite a few months ago now, but it was terribly moving. And some have suggested that in some way it might have been helpful.

But all I'm saying here to you who are giving so much of your lives and your love and care to this, we do want to do what we can to help. And I think we've got a good program going, but I'd like to have the critique of that now from any—I don't know whether you've got this all set up in an orderly Sullivan manner, or are we just dealer's choice here?

*Note: The President spoke at 11:42 a.m. at the Department of Health and Human Services in Washington, DC. In his remarks, he referred to Dr. June E. Osborn and Dr. David E. Rogers, Chair and Vice Chair of*

*the Commission; Dr. William L. Roper, Director of the Centers for Disease Control; Dr. James O. Mason, Assistant Secretary for Health, Public Health Service; and Dr. Anthony S. Fauci, Associate Director for AIDS*

*Research at the National Institutes of Health. The President also referred to AIDS victims Kimberly Bergalis and Belinda Mason, a former member of the Commission.*

## Remarks on Signing the High-Performance Computing Act of 1991 December 9, 1991

Let me just thank you all for coming today. And I'm pleased to sign into law the High-Performance Computing Act of 1991. This will implement the far-reaching initiatives on information technologies proposed to Congress in my fiscal year 1992 budget earlier this year.

I'd like to thank Director Darman; my Science Advisor, Dr. Bromley; Secretary Watkins and Secretary Mosbacher; Chairman Boskin and Dick Truly, Administrator Truly; Roger Porter; Director Massey, who are with us today. And I'd like also to thank Secretaries Cheney and Alexander, who couldn't be with us today, and Bill Reilly, also missing, but all of them playing an instrumental part in all of this. And then all of the other members of the administration that helped develop this initiative and secure enactment of this historic bill.

The development of high-performance computing and communications technology offers the potential to transform radically the way in which all Americans will work, learn, and communicate in the future. It holds the promise of changing society as much as the other great inventions of the 20th century including the telephone, air travel, and radio and TV. This program will help researchers meet the grand challenges in science: To unlock the secrets of DNA, to forecast severe weather events, and to discover new superconducting materials.

It is no surprise that America holds the lead in high-performance information technology. Our greatest technological strides have been made possible by the unique qualities of American society: Freedom, innovation, entrepreneurial spirit, a combination found nowhere else in the world. And this program will sustain and extend that

leadership position.

The high-performance computing initiative is part of an overall strategy advanced by this administration to enhance our competitiveness. My \$76 billion R&D budget proposal for this year included increased investment in both basic research and in additional key areas of applied research such as material science, advance manufacturing, biotechnology, and energy-related R&D.

In addition to these critical investments in R&D, we've been working to prepare America to compete in the next century by opening up foreign markets to U.S. export through a new GATT round and a North American free-trade agreement, proposing tax policies such as making permanent R&D tax credit and reducing taxes on capital gains to promote long-term investment, and preparing our work force to compete through sharp increases in funding for math and science education and through our America 2000 broad reform initiative.

The initiative involves eight Federal agencies, all of which would contribute to development of this new technology and would share in its benefits. Private industry will work closely with Federal agencies and labs in the planning, funding, and management of this initiative to ensure that the fruits of this research program will be brought into the educational and commercial marketplaces just as soon as possible.

The high-performance computing initiative is an excellent example of the philosophy of this administration: To invest in the future, to create new jobs and new opportunities for sustained economic growth. It is also an excellent example of how Government, industry, and academia can work together to develop new and important tech-



nologies.

And so, once again, welcome. And with that, it gives me great pleasure now to sign this legislation which will benefit Americans today and on into the next century.

*Note: The President spoke at 1:31 p.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. S. 272, approved December 9, was assigned Public Law No. 102-194.*

## Statement on Signing Legislation To Study the Feasibility of Establishing a Native American Cultural Center

*December 9, 1991*

Today I am signing into law H.R. 3370, an Act to direct the Secretary of the Interior to carry out a study and make recommendations to the Congress regarding the feasibility of establishing a Native American cultural center in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

I am signing this bill notwithstanding a provision that purports to require the Secretary of the Interior to report the results of a certain study together with his "recommendations" to the Congress. Were this provision construed to require an executive branch officer to submit legislative recommendations to the Congress, it would be

constitutionally objectionable. Because Article II, section 3 of the Constitution vests the President with exclusive authority to decide whether and when the executive branch should propose legislation, this provision will be construed as only advisory and not requiring legislative recommendations.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
December 9, 1991.

*Note: H.R. 3370, approved December 9, was assigned Public Law No. 102-196.*

## Remarks to the Chicago Board of Trade in Chicago, Illinois

*December 10, 1991*

Thank you, Billy and thank you, Tom. Listen, it's a great pleasure to be with all of you. And standing next to me is a guy who most of you know, son of Illinois, Ed Madigan, the Secretary of Agriculture, doing a great job.

Listen, we wanted to come by and see this great market. And all of you ought to know that around the world people are trying, as they come out from behind that Iron Curtain, to emulate the market here, free trading in a very, very important area. And you are doing more for agriculture and for business, and we are very, very grateful to you.

Let me just say a word. I am not happy, and nor is anybody, with the state of the economy. We want to see it moving. We

want to see it growing. And I will gather up the best ideas I can between now and the time that the Congress comes back, try to lay partisan politics aside, and get this country moving by a strong growth package that was long overdue.

The current performance of this economy is unacceptable; growth is too slow. But there are some encouraging signs: Interest rates are down, mortgage interest rates, inflation seems to be holding down. And now, we've just got to give it a kick and get it started up again. And I'm grateful to all of you for the example you've set. And now I guess we have about 6 minutes, but I want to see this place spring into action. Maybe I can learn a few new hand gestures.

Thank you all. God bless you, and God

bless the United States.

*Note: The President spoke at 10:23 a.m. from the soybean pit of the Chicago Board*

*of Trade. In his remarks, he referred to William F. O'Connor, chairman, and Thomas F. Donovan, president and chief executive officer of the Chicago Board of Trade.*

## Remarks to the Chicago Mercantile Exchange in Chicago, Illinois December 10, 1991

Thank you all very much. And Jack, thank you, sir, for that more-than-generous introduction. To Bill Brodsky, my thanks to you, sir, for arranging all of this, coming from Wall Street to Chicago as you have. I'm delighted to be with you. To Leo, Leo Melamed, the Babe Ruth of the exchange, I want to thank him. And of course, salute two others with me, your great Governor my friend Jim Edgar, and Ed Madigan, who is our new—former Illinois Congressman and now our able Secretary of Agriculture, who is up to his eyeballs in working with us to try to make a successful conclusion to this GATT round. And he's knocking himself out, crossing the Atlantic Ocean back and forth, but we couldn't have a better Secretary of Agriculture trying to open up these foreign markets to our agricultural products. Ed, thank you.

And I thought Jim Thompson was going to be with us, but maybe he's not that brave, a member of the Board of Trade and a lawyer. *[Laughter]* But he was here, and I salute him, a longtime friend.

Jack mentioned the visit to the trading floor, and I do want to thank everyone involved in that trip through that melee for their warmth of the reception. I thought it would be pretty hard to match the emotion of last weekend out there in Pearl Harbor, but I'll tell you, this was a little different. Younger kids, all—there were a few old guys down there—*[laughter]*—but I'm talking about enthusiasm and the future. And it was a wonderfully inspiring trip through that floor, and I want to thank those of you who were here that participated in that and everybody else responsible for that visit. Thank you very, very much.

It's great to be back here and to have a chance to visit briefly with the leaders of

the business community and leaders of this exchange. As you know, we've had a staff change at the White House, a new Chief of Staff coming there. And when John Sununu resigned, I looked to Chicago, I looked to the Windy City for help, for another sound manager, communicator, and consummate politician. Well, Mike Ditka was busy with other responsibilities—*[laughter]*—and Sam Skinner, though, rose to the fore. And I think we're going to have a very good operation with your friend and mine, Sam, who did a great job as Secretary of Transportation, now in this new, key place as we move into a new year.

I've really enjoyed my visits here to both exchanges today, the board and then here. I've seen the future. It uses hand signals, at least for now. *[Laughter]* But then, I've also glimpsed at the fact that that's also changing. Speaking of hand signals, I saw a few riding in here. *[Laughter]* They have a nice way here of making one feel at home. *[Laughter]* No, actually it's been very, very friendly.

But I really enjoyed the tour downstairs, and I also have been looking forward to this part of the program. Here on the upper floor, the futures market of the future, I think we really can peek into the next century. Soon, probably sooner than you expect, this area will be as packed and busy as the trading pits below.

The Merc has become a bellwether of the future because it never, ever lost the inventive spirit of its founders. You defied the doomsayers when you pioneered that risk-pool management through the Exchange Trust. You established the first financial futures market, the International Monetary Market. You saw an international marketplace and established overseas offices before

most exchanges even thought of setting up domestic branches. And you created Euro-dollar Futures a decade ago, and I know you celebrated its 10th anniversary yesterday. And you should be very, very proud of this world leadership.

In challenging times, you've thrived. And this year, you trimmed expenses to improve efficiency, and your business grew by more than 4 percent, I'm told. Through the ups and downs of the business cycle, you've operated without requiring a dime's worth of assistance from the American taxpayer. And you've taken care of your own without losing your own momentum for a single minute.

It's great to be here—I mentioned him earlier—with Leo Melamed whom, I suppose, you call the father of the future. And now, you all know of his professional accomplishments, but he never left his imagination at the office. As many of you know, he has also written prodigiously. His greatest triumph was the science fiction thriller "The Tenth Planet." It's not about Capitol Hill; it is another science fiction thriller. [Laughter]

Sometimes, though, debates on Capitol Hill about the economy sound as if they were about life on another planet. And you know, an economy does not run just on money. An economy lives and breathes on ideas and information.

Entrepreneurs like the men and women who trade in the Merc's pits, the farmers who work the fields by day and the computers by night, arbitrageurs in London, and investors the world over, these people swap ideas, information, dreams, and dares, and they fire an economy. Their energy drives our Nation forward. They chart the course through the international marketplace.

A government that does not understand the gritty fundamentals of business cannot understand how to help an economy grow. Ten years ago, many of you stood with us as the Reagan-Bush administration took on the old wisdom that government could solve everything and that business could flourish regardless of what burdens Washington heaped upon it. We cut the taxes and peeled away regulations, restrained spending, promoted free trade. And out of that

came the longest peacetime economic expansion in the history of this country. While others may have sat back to enjoy their new prosperity, you were a driving dynamic here. You moved forward.

You've stood with my administration as we work to create the conditions for a more vibrant economy. I've asked Congress for 3 years to pass a series of growth initiatives, job-creating initiatives. And the economy has turned sluggish. People want action. And I want action, action to help people, action to make things better now and in the future.

And our administration believes as you do that the solution lies in free markets for free people. We've promoted straightforward measures to invigorate the economy, such as cuts in the capital gains tax; banking reform, inclusive banking reform legislation; letting first-time homebuyers use these IRA's for purchasing homes; a permanent tax credit for R&D, for research and development, and so on.

We pushed other initiatives to make the most of our human capital now and in the future: A revolution, for example, in American education; a tough crime package to back up the police officers that we are supported by every single day of our lives; a tort reform bill up there that will put some caps on some of these mindlessly high settlements that are driving much of the industry to its knees; and recently, a transportation bill that will create jobs and provide much needed repair for our roads and bridges and infrastructure.

And, again, I salute Sam Skinner for his leadership as our Secretary of Transportation on this important job-creating legislation.

Although both political parties will feel tempted to engage in partisan warfare when Congress comes back in January, reconvenes, I will be calling upon the Democrats and the Republicans to lay partisanship aside long enough to pass a clear, strong growth package. We owe it to the taxpayer; we owe it to those that have jobs, and we owe it to those who don't have jobs to get that done regardless of politics. And I'm going to do that, no matter that 1992 is a Presidential election year.

And I might say, being in his hometown, I can work with Dan Rostenkowski, your friend and mine, who is chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. And if we had more like him I believe we could have gotten these problems solved long, long ago.

In the post-cold-war world—and you’ve set the example on this one—we must thrive in the international marketplace. I am going to be meeting this weekend with President Salinas. And I know he was up visiting you all earlier this year. And the two of us are going to discuss trade matters in detail. And later this month I will promote free and fair trade—read that, jobs—with our allies in Japan and South Korea and Singapore, and also going down to Australia. Free and fair trade means more jobs for Americans.

And we must not pull back into some isolationistic sphere listening to the siren’s call of “America first.” I learned that lesson as a young kid just at the beginning of World War II, and I don’t want to see this country go back to “America first” and protection. That will shrink markets and throw people out of work. And we need to stand together against that call from the left and against that call from the right to stay within ourselves. We owe the world leadership, and they’re going to get it from this President.

You know, the allegation is that I spend a lot of time on foreign affairs. I take great pride in some of the accomplishments we’ve made. I think America came together at Desert Storm, and we found a new sense of confidence, a new spirit as a Nation. And I’m not going to back away from that. I am proud that we’re bringing parties that have stood at each other’s throats for years, bringing them together in the Middle East to talk some peace. I’m proud of the way we’ve handled the evolution in the Soviet Union. And right today it is extraordinarily complicated.

But my point is, we cannot withdraw, we

can’t pull back. You can’t do it. You’re engaged in the markets, and well you should be, because that offers prosperity to the American people as well as to others. And I don’t think a President should pull back in the face of domestic criticism by some partisans suggesting that we don’t have to worry about our national security and that we don’t see that jobs stem from being engaged with foreign countries, instead of being pulled back from engagement with foreign countries.

So, I can do both. We can stay involved, work for world peace, enhance our national security, and now drive forward to get this economy moving by bipartisan action for growth, economic growth that means jobs for the American people.

Years ago, Carl Sandburg described this city as “the hog butcher for the world.” That was the Chicago of another era, another world. And today, Chicago serves the pork belly’s future, the currency’s future, the future, period, of an international marketplace. And the one message I’d like to come out of this meeting here today and the other meetings I’ve had is that we are the hub of the international market. And countries that are emerging into democracy are looking to us for leadership in terms of making world markets. And nobody does it any better than the people right here in this room.

Thank you very, very much. And now get back to work and help us shape another American century. Thank you all. I’m glad to be with you.

*Note: The President spoke at 12:05 p.m. following a tour of the trading floor. In his remarks, he referred to John F. Sandner, chairman of the board of governors of the Chicago Mercantile Exchange; William J. Brodsky, president and chief executive officer of the exchange; and Leo Melamed, chairman emeritus of the exchange and chairman of the Globex Corp.*

## Remarks to the Illinois Farm Bureau in Chicago, Illinois December 10, 1991

Thank you, John, and to all the members, thank you. Thank you, John White, Governor Edgar, and to Secretary Madigan, son of Illinois, who is doing a superb job as our Secretary of Agriculture. I'm glad he flew out here with us. To Congressman Ewing, who will be flying back with us, I understand, on Air Force One back to Washington. We've welcomed him to the Congress and proud he's there. To Enid Schlipf, who has been at my side today, and I'm grateful for that, his counsel. We had a session, a listening session, getting counsel from business people, and it was most appropriate that Messrs. White and Schlipf were there.

And to all of you ladies and gentlemen of the Illinois Farm Bureau, thank you for that warm reception and for your hospitality. I feel that I've come to the right place. My top priority is to get this country moving faster and more confidently on the path of economic progress.

I've had excellent visits this morning on the trading floors at the Merc and at the Board of Trade. I lost 3 pounds in the process, just kind of working my way through those hand signals. And it was wonderful. And I had the privilege to have both John and Enid, who are leaders of the Farm Bureau, at my side during those sessions and also at Billy Goat's—[laughter]—I think you guys were up there. It's a marvelous burger place here. But speaking of farming, let me give you a little bit of historical trivia that will not send you into euphoria, but I always try to claim kinship with various States. And my great-grandfather David Walker grew up on a farm near Bloomington, Illinois. How about that one? Nobody's ever heard that before.

But anyway, meeting with so many Illinois farmers and agribusiness leaders, I've had a chance to talk face to face with some men and women who are leading the way. You see, agriculture is a perennial export leader, and recently exports have been a tremendous factor, a big factor in our overall economic growth. And here's how important that is: Every billion dollars in agri-

cultural exports means approximately 25,000 American jobs.

American farmers understand how the world works. You know that taking a stand for peace and stability abroad, supporting emerging democracies, developing free and fair international markets will make our national economy much stronger. You know what a determined American involvement in global trade represents to the bottom line. It means higher net farm income.

So first, I really wanted to thank, enthusiastically give thanks for the Farm Bureau's efforts to keep America a leader in world commerce and world security. I know I speak for several hundred thousand young service men and women in saying thank you for all your support during Desert Shield and thank you for all your support during Desert Storm. We are very, very grateful.

The Farm Bureau's leadership is vital to our progress for free and fair trade, no mistake about it. You made a big contribution to getting the North American free trade talks off and running. You've helped launch our Enterprise for the Americas Initiative for trade and investment throughout the Western Hemisphere. I can assure you, because of your foresight, we can look forward to unprecedented prosperity and economic security for hundreds of millions of North and South Americans from the Illinois prairies to the pampas of the Argentine.

Secretary Madigan and Ambassador Carla Hills are working to secure a solid agreement for global trade at the Uruguay round of the GATT negotiations. A successful GATT negotiation will literally revolutionize world agriculture trade, opening markets and leveling the playing field for American exports. When we achieve this, we will owe an incalculable debt to the Farm Bureau who has always looked ahead and never looked back on this important question of international trade.

And I might say, John, you're quite a contrast, this marvelous organization, to the noisy voices that want to withdraw us into

isolationism and protectionism. They say they want to put "America first." You have the common sense to recognize that America is first and will remain first only if we stay engaged in world markets and involved in world security. And as long as I am President, that's exactly what I intend to do.

American agriculture is productive and competitive because of its strong orientation to free markets. Our agriculture owes much to such fundamentals as advancing productivity, embracing new technologies, moving forward to new frontiers in scientific research.

Rural America is a model of strength on social issues that are vital to our future. Thank God that family and family values remain so important to agricultural America. Farm communities, let's face it, they face many hardships. But they always involve parents in the schools, and that always produces better students. With programs such as 4-H and FFA, Future Farmers of America, rural America takes a leading role in our America 2000 strategy to revolutionize, literally revolutionize our education.

I can't tell you how impressed I am also at how much most farmers know about computers, not speaking for all of you, I understand, but some of you. But I've had enough trouble just finding the "on" switch on my computer, say nothing of getting the cursor to move where and when I want it to. But the point is this, anyone who doesn't appreciate the sophistication of the modern farmer doesn't understand the modern farmer.

Last month, by the way—maybe some of you all were out there—but I spoke to 18,000 of our best and brightest kids at the Future Farmers of America convention in Kansas City. And let me tell you, I can't contain my excitement thinking about the day when those young men and women become the leaders of our country. They were bright and alert and patriotic and forward-looking. And somebody, parents in this room and across agricultural America are doing a wonderful job with these young men and women.

The guy that introduced me was so good, I thought he was getting ready to run against me. [*Laughter*] But anyway, you

should have heard him. He's a real articulate dude.

Another concern I know you share with me is the drug problem. The stakes here involve not just the economy but our deepest social and moral well-being. Wherever I go in this country, I call attention to those who fight the drug war on the front lines. I praise the business men and women who keep drugs out of their companies and the neighborhood youth centers that keep teenagers off the streets. So, let me take this opportunity right now to thank hundreds and thousands of Americans who don't get mentioned often enough for their devotion in running the strongest kind of drug-free workplaces. And I'm referring, again, to the moms and the dads and the grandparents who run America's family farms.

Now, I know that sometimes times are tough for America's farmer. And that's why we stand by our commitment to help ease the pain caused by natural disasters. This week I will be signing legislation to provide drought and disaster relief. Many farmers in Illinois and other States suffered unusually severe losses this year and last year. And this legislation will provide much-needed assistance for hard-hit farmers. And I will be delighted to sign it.

Now, I know that the economic downturn is hurting a lot of people in virtually every sector. And I've heard from some tough, optimistic people on my visit just today, but they didn't sugarcoat their message about the pain and the problems the country is going through right now.

You and I know that we've got to do more to get the economy on the move, to get confidence back. And I'm prepared to fight harder than ever for a series of growth initiatives. And when Members of Congress go back to work in January, after Christmas, they'll hear from me in no uncertain terms. My growth initiatives will give Americans the freedom and incentive to get higher yields from their efforts. A top priority, and John referred to this, is to cut capital gains taxes. I know it's a top priority of the Farm Bureau, too, and I want to express my deep thanks for your outstanding support on this initiative.

Our high taxes, then, on capital gains are

way out of line with the policies in other successful economies. Germany has no capital gains, no tax on capital gains on assets held longer than 6 months. In Japan, an entrepreneur who sells the company that he's built from scratch pays a tax of 1 percent. A capital gains tax cut will free up the capital that we need for growth. And it will increase the value of land, of labor and capital all at once by reducing the tax on success. And I am going to keep on fighting until we get that done.

Right now, we place entrepreneurs in a lose-lose situation. When they risk money and effort on something that fails, they lose. And when they risk money on a winner, we tax the capital gain, and they lose again. We have to put an end to this lose-lose approach to the economy. A capital gains cut will stimulate investment and create jobs in every sector. And quite frankly, it will restore some fundamental fairness to the way we treat farmers and the way we treat homeowners.

Capital gains tax relief is but a part of our program. Thanks to leadership from Illinois' own Sam Skinner, our soon-to-be Chief of Staff, I expect soon to sign a transportation bill that creates new jobs while rebuilding our roads and bridges. And I'm working for a research tax credit to help new technologies create more jobs; working for new IRA's to help the first-time homebuyer, stimulate that homebuilding market; and for bank reform. We desperately need comprehensive bank reform to help America compete in the 21st century and to help

free up capital right now.

We want our children's future to be worthy of the dreams and sacrifices that built and sustained America as a great Nation. Back in 1862, in spite of his preoccupation with the Civil War, our President established back then the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Abraham Lincoln revered the American farmer. He believed deeply and stated eloquently that a strong American agriculture was the key to preserving our Nation's independence.

A century and a quarter later, the men and women of Illinois ag are worthy heirs to Lincoln's vision. You and this organization form a vital force for keeping America strong and free. And I am looking forward to seeing some of you, many of you maybe, next month at the American Farm Bureau national convention out in Kansas City. And I am delighted to be with you today. And I am proud to work with you to help keep this great country of ours growing and thriving. I pledge to you I will do my level best to lead this country to new growth and new opportunity.

May God bless you and may God bless the United States of America. Thank you all very, very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 1:45 p.m. at the Palmer House Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to John White, Jr., and Enid Schlipf, president and former vice president of the Illinois Farm Bureau. H.R. Res. 157, disaster assistance legislation approved December 12, was assigned Public Law No. 102-229.*

## Exchange With Reporters in the Cabinet Room December 11, 1991

### *Soviet Union*

Q. Mr. President, who is in charge in the Soviet Union at this point?

The President. Well, we're following that situation very closely in the Soviet Union. And of course, our main interest is in democratic and market reform, the continuation of that. They are going to sort these matters

out themselves. We will support democrat and—reformers wherever they are there. And that means at all levels, incidentally.

So, we are watching it very closely. And as these dramatic changes take place or proposals come forward, that's a matter for the Republics and the center to sort out. I think the answer to that question, you've

just got to look at where you're talking about. So, we'll let that evolve.

I'll be meeting this afternoon with the Secretary and our Ambassador and be talking about Jim's upcoming trip, the reasons that are clearly of vital interest to us. One, we want this humanitarian question, humanitarian aid, to go forward in order to promote peaceful reform. That's a question—besides that, we've got just a plain interest in seeing that people are fed. Ed Madigan and I were talking about this yesterday on the way to Chicago.

And then, of course, we have a keen interest, the whole world does, in the nuclear questions there. And frankly, assurances have been pretty good there. I see no reason to alarm the American people, but it's something that we're following extraordinarily closely, and we are in touch. And I feel that the thing to do now is just to go forward with the plan of the Secretary and see where it comes out.

But we can't make any predictions on the evolution of all of this. That's their business. Our interests are as I stated in here: Democracy, market reform, humanitarian as-

sistance, the nuclear question, and peace, peaceful evolution of all of this.

#### *Capital Gains Tax Cut*

*Q.* Mr. President, you made clear yesterday you're going to keep fighting for a capital gains tax cut—

*The President.* Yes. I will keep on fighting—

*Q.* Are you going to, have you got any other—

*The President.* —for that. But now we've got to get to work in the Cabinet, so thank you.

*Q.* But, sir, do you have any other ideas to jumpstart the economy?

*The President.* We'll be talking about that, as I said yesterday—at the time I said yesterday, too. So, we'll just keep working on it.

*Note: The President spoke at 10:35 a.m. In his remarks, he referred to Secretary of State James A. Baker III and Robert S. Strauss, U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.*

## Remarks at a Fundraising Luncheon for Senator Frank H. Murkowski

*December 11, 1991*

Frank, thank you, and good luck. Thank you for that very nice welcome. To you all assembled, my thanks to you. And, Nancy, Barbara and I send our very best wishes, not just for the holiday season but for what's over the horizon for you and that wonderful family. And let me just say good morning, early morning or breakfast time, to our supporters joining us through the magic of television, all Frank's friends up there in Anchorage with Senator Ted Stevens, our great leader up there who is doing a wonderful job side by side with Frank; in Fairbanks, Mr. Richard Wien, who I understand is connected to this, and so I salute you, sir, and all assembled, and thank you for your work on this.

And good afternoon, of course, to our

friends here in Washington. I'm told that Ed Derwinski was to be here. I saw Senator Strom Thurmond. Kit Bond is to be here, Senator from Missouri; Larry Craig, another great Senator. And of course, standing at my left and chairman of this event, the indefatigable and wonderful Lod Cook, to whom we are all very, very grateful.

I had a chance to greet some of you all, and I know that many of you have traveled from all corners of America—New York and California well represented and, of course, Alaska—just to be here. And to anyone here that I've missed, warm greetings to you. Let me salute the marvelous music we had earlier on, and I just wish you all the greatest for Christmas.

May I say to all of you that your support



means an awful lot. It means a great deal to Frank. He's touched, and I'm sure you've been touched, too. *[Laughter]* But it is very important that this man be reelected. And I'm here today saluting what I think is one of our essential, key members of the team up there on Capitol Hill. He is a public servant—and Lod put it well—dedicated to the people of his State. He never forgot how he got sent here to Washington, DC. And he is a leader that is constantly looking forward, helping us try to find ways to build a better America. So, the people of Alaska are fortunate, and the people of this country are fortunate to have Senator Frank Murkowski in the United States Senate, and please keep him there.

We need him. We need him in the Senate. And we need more people in Congress like Frank, men and women who believe in growth and opportunity for all Americans, elected leaders who are committed to excellence at home and then are fighting for this competitiveness abroad. And I need more Republicans in Congress, and we need to keep the good ones there that we've already got.

He just came back, as he mentioned in his opening remarks, from Taiwan, Korea, Japan, where he did reach agreement to end this driftnet fishing. Took a leadership role there, took on what was considered an extraordinarily tough problem, and of enormous help in getting it resolved.

As vice chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee and as ranking member of the East Asian and Pacific Foreign Relations Subcommittee, he understands, he understands far better than most, that we are a Pacific nation. Alaska is a Pacific State. We have all these other events unfolding all around the world, in Eastern Europe, in the Middle East, in South America, all of them positive, I might add. But we must never forget that we are a Pacific power. Our largest trading partners, in total, are in the Pacific area, the Pacific Rim.

Last week—and it was emotional—I went out to Pearl Harbor to commemorate that “Day of Infamy” in 1941. And sadly, Pearl Harbor was a tragedy brought about by the folly of isolationism. Today’s neoisolationism and then its economic accomplice, protectionism, are just as dangerous today as they

were some 50 years ago.

The fact is, this country has enjoyed its most lasting growth and economic opportunity, and security, I might add, when we rejected isolationism, both political and economic, in favor of engagement and leadership. We are, then, a Pacific nation. Next month in Asia, and I’m looking forward to this, I’ll discuss with some of our Pacific friends and allies their responsibility to share with us the challenges and burden of leadership in the post-cold-war world.

In today’s world, American lives and American jobs, our prosperity, our security, depend on our ability to compete and to lead. That’s why I am looking forward to this trip, and we are determined to go there, do what Frank has been doing as your Alaskan Senator: To help open up new markets for American products and create new opportunities for American workers. The answer isn’t to turn inward, it’s to extend our opportunities outward.

We feel the benefits of foreign trade here at home, particularly in Alaska with its exports of timber and fish and coal. It is important to acknowledge that last year alone, the total gross exports accounted for virtually all of the economic growth in the country. So with a sluggish economy, we will continue to do all we can to reach out and expand our overseas markets.

Speaking of our economy, certainly we all know that some people are having a rough go of it, a tough time. I see that message in letters, and I hear it in conversations in the communities I visit. While Congress is home for the holidays, they’ll be hearing that same message. And I hope they listen closely. Because when I give the State of the Union Address before Congress in January, I will ask them to put politics aside and come together and take some very important steps for growth and opportunity. We’ve sent up three different economic growth packages in the last 3 years, but I intend now to propose a new economic growth package to get this economy moving. I believe Congress will act. I know leaders like Frank Murkowski will be at my side on this, but I believe Congress will act. I think the American people want us to get the job done. They don’t care who gets

credit. They're tired of the bickering. Let's get on with it.

Among the most important elements of what we've tried to get acted upon these last 3 years is our plan to boost American competitiveness through initiatives like our America 2000 initiative for excellence in education, it's a wonderful program to revolutionize our schools; our job-creating transportation strategy to efficiently move goods and services between markets, and I'm looking forward to signing that bill; our civil justice reform plan to keep employers in the factories and out of the courtrooms; and our national energy strategy to cut our dependence on foreign oil.

Let me say a word about this, about our energy strategy, and say this: that Frank is committed—and let me just assure you I remain committed—to environmentally responsible access to ANWR. It is absolutely essential.

You know, the critics said years ago when the debate was on on the pipeline up there, the Alaska pipeline, that caribou would be extinct because of this. Well, there's so many caribou they're rubbing up against the pipeline. They're breeding like mad. They're having a great time. And it is a sound environment up there. So don't listen to the arguments from the same people

that gave us the same arguments before and were proved wrong. Listen to the President who says we, our national security, our own national interest depends upon our having an energy program that makes us less dependent on foreign oil. And I'm never going to change my view on that. If caribou could vote, Murkowski would be in by a landslide. [Laughter]

Let me just close this way: I am determined to get this economy moving again. We've got to make the American dream come alive for all Americans. And we've got to keep this good American, this fine servant of Alaska and our country, in the United States Senate. And with your help, I am absolutely confident that that will be done.

Frank, keep up the good work. Take a little time off for Christmas and possibly New Year. And to all in Alaska who are plugged in, my greetings to you, and may you have a wonderful holiday season. And God bless the United States of America. Thank you very, very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 12:32 p.m. at the Willard Hotel. His remarks were broadcast via satellite to fundraising breakfasts in Anchorage and Fairbanks, AK. In his remarks, he referred to Richard Wien, chairman of the Fairbanks breakfast.*

## Teleconference Remarks on the Kick-Off of the Montana 2000 and Billings 2000 Education Initiatives December 11, 1991

*The President.* Well, I'm just delighted to be with you in this marvelous way. And I really wanted to call up, though, to just offer my strongest congratulations to you and then to that marvelous team that I understand you've assembled there.

You know, this Montana 2000-Billings 2000 really are right in keeping with this new spirit of revolutionizing our schools. And they're going to make terrific contributions to what I think is clearly now a national momentum on education reform.

So I really want to ask you, how's it going?

*Governor Stephens.* It's going very well, Mr. President. And, of course, we're delighted to have your distinguished Secretary of Education, Lamar Alexander, with us. He'll be speaking right after this phone call. And we have a great group of Montanans who extend to you and Mrs. Bush the compliments of the season.

*The President.* Well, that's terrific. And I was told on my briefing paper, and you can confirm whether it's true, that not only is your superintendent of public instruction there, Nancy Kennan, but also the Billings school superintendent, which is good. If

that's true, and I expect you have others, it symbolizes what we're trying to do to get the communities involved and the local levels involved. So, are they all there now? Who else you got?

*Governor Stephens.* They are all here, Mr. President, and they send you greetings. We also have the publisher of the Billings Gazette and the president of the Chamber, Mr. Wayne Schile. And we've just heard some very complimentary remarks by Senator Conrad Burns, who is a strong right hand of yours, and a lady named Karen Morrison, who is one of our outstanding teachers. So we've got an all-star cast on the stage.

*The President.* Well, I'm glad they're there. Conrad was here with me in the White House last night. I imagine he made a quick exit to get that far out there. But look, also be sure to give my best to Lamar. And do me a favor: Give him a little homework, and tell him that I am so anxious to get a report on Montana 2000 as we go along here. I want to try as best I can personally to keep up with the progress in these States. He's filling me in on a lot of them. And I agree with you as to the job he's doing for us. But tell Lamar to be sure to keep me informed on how all that's going.

*Governor Stephens.* I certainly will, Mr. President. And I know he's enjoying his stay here in Montana, and we're waiting for his remarks following your phone call. And we deeply appreciate, Mr. President, you would take time from your schedule to call Montana and visit with us about this important subject.

*The President.* Well, listen, it's good. And my respects to the Senator; my respects to our great Secretary. And I know that this is the right program for our country. And so far, I'll say this, with Nancy Kennan there

especially and others, we've kept this out of the shrill arena of partisan politics. It is too important to our country, too important to our States. And I just commend Lamar for the way he's brought in people and interests from all over the spectrum. I mean, everyone should feel included in this approach, and I'm sure it's going to work that way in your great State too.

*Governor Stephens.* Indeed it is, Mr. President. And thank you again for the courtesy of your call.

*The President.* May I wish all your folks there a merry Christmas. We're beginning, just beginning to get into the Christmas spirit.

*Governor Stephens.* All right. And we have a message for you from Montana, and here it is, Mr. President.

*The President.* All right.

[At this point, the group wished the President a Merry Christmas.]

*The President.* Hey, listen, I beat you to the draw, though. [Laughter] That's good. Have a good one, Stan. How's the tree doing out there?

*Governor Stephens.* It's doing just great. It looks marvelous.

*The President.* I'll see you. Well, invite me back out.

*Governor Stephens.* We shall. Thank you, Mr. President. Thanks for your call.

*The President.* Good talking to you. Merry Christmas.

*Governor Stephens.* Merry Christmas.

*Note: The President spoke at 2:30 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House to participants meeting at Arrowhead Elementary School in Billings, MT. Dr. Peter Carparelli was superintendent of schools for the Billings public school system, and Karen J. Morrison was a teacher at Garfield Elementary School in Billings.*

## Message on the Observance of Christmas *December 11, 1991*

At Christmas, we celebrate the promise of salvation that God gave to mankind almost 2,000 years ago. The birth of Christ changed the course of history, and His life changed the soul of man. Christ taught that giving is the greatest of all aspirations and that the redemptive power of love and sacrifice is stronger than any force of arms. It is testimony to the wisdom and the truth of these teachings that they have not only endured but also flourished over two millennia.

Blessed with an unparalleled degree of freedom and security, generations of Americans have been able to celebrate Christmas with open joy. Tragically, that has not always been the case in other nations, but we look to the future with optimism, and we celebrate the holidays with special gladness as courageous peoples around the world continue to claim the civil and religious liberty to which all people are heirs. The triumph of democratic ideals and the lessening of global tensions give us added

reason for celebration this Christmas season, and as the world community draws closer together, the wisdom of Christ's counsel to "love thy neighbor as thyself" grows clearer.

By His words and by His example, Christ has called us to share our many blessings with others. As individuals and as a Nation, in our homes and in our communities, there are countless ways that we can extend to others the same love and mercy that God showed humankind when He gave us His only Son. During this holy season and throughout the year, let us look to the selfless spirit of giving that Jesus embodied as inspiration in our own lives—giving thanks for what God has done for us and abiding by Christ's teaching to do for others as we would do for ourselves.

Barbara joins me in wishing all of our fellow Americans a Merry Christmas. God bless you.

GEORGE BUSH

## Statement on the European Community Summit *December 11, 1991*

We welcome the historic steps toward economic and political union agreed to by the leaders of the European Community in The Netherlands. Four and a half decades after the destruction of World War II, Western Europe stands prosperous and free: a model of what cooperation, democracy, and the free market can yield and a beacon to those in the East struggling to secure their liberty and well-being.

The results of the EC summit in Maastricht represent a milestone which we celebrate along with our European partners. The United States has long supported European unity because of our strong conviction that it was good for Europe, good for the Atlantic partnership, and good for the world. I have made clear from the outset of

this administration my view that a strong, united Europe is very much in America's interest. A more united Europe offers the United States a more effective partner, prepared for larger responsibilities.

Europe's steps toward unity will strengthen our renewed Atlantic alliance. NATO's endorsement at the Rome summit of a "European pillar" underscores the additional responsibility which the European allies are assuming in the protection of shared vital interests and values. At Maastricht, the EC requested the Western European Union, whose members are in both NATO and the EC, to serve as the vehicle for increased European responsibility on defense matters. We are pleased that our allies in the Western European Union in turn decided to

strengthen that institution as both NATO's European pillar and the defense component of the European Union. NATO will remain the essential forum for consultation among its members and the venue for agreement on policies bearing on the security and defense commitments of the allies under the Washington Treaty.

A strengthened EC has a vital role to play in assuring a stable and prosperous Europe and a humane world order. Already today, the European Community and its member states are taking a major role, working with us, to help the citizens of Central and Eastern Europe transform their societies. Our Atlantic partnership is equally essential in supporting the movement toward freedom and democracy in what we have known as the Soviet Union. But our cooperation with the new Europe goes farther. The European Community stands with us as a partner in the search for peace in the Middle East, and against difficult odds, it continues to labor with our support for a peaceful solution to the war in Yugoslavia.

The evolving monetary unity and single

market of the EC promises new economic vitality for Europe. With this comes new investment possibilities and markets for American business as well as new competition. We welcome these developments, but we also expect that the new Europe will assume new responsibilities for maintaining and strengthening the world economic system. This means working with us to bridge our bilateral differences, to expand an open global trading system by successfully concluding the Uruguay round, and to avoid the dangers of protectionism.

America can take pride in its contributions to Europe's success. The U.S. engagement on that continent has yielded many benefits for the Europeans and for us. Those benefits remind us that our interests do not stop at our shores. We are intimately connected to what happens in Europe and beyond. Now, we are getting an even stronger European partner. I therefore speak for all of America when I send best wishes to the members of the European Community for their new steps toward integration.

## Memorandum on the Implementation of Transportation Legislation *December 11, 1991*

### *Memorandum for the Secretary of Transportation*

I have just received, and will soon sign, H.R. 2950, the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act. I direct you to mobilize immediately the Department to expedite release of highway, highway safety, and mass transit funds. Further, you should assist State and local transportation officials in the expeditious implementation of this

Act. Timely action is essential to provide construction industry jobs and to stimulate our overall economy as well as to begin renewing our investment in the soundness and safety of the Nation's surface transportation system.

GEORGE BUSH

*Note: H.R. 2950, approved December 18, was assigned Public Law No. 102-240.*

## Exchange With Reporters Prior to a Meeting With Prime Minister Constantinos Mitsotakis of Greece December 12, 1991

*The President.* We've got a few things, odds and ends to talk about. But Greek-U.S., as far as we're concerned, is strong as they can be, Greek-U.S. relations, and we're very pleased about that.

*The Prime Minister.* I am also very pleased. And we made progress.

### *Soviet Union*

*Q.* Mr. President, do you think Gorbachev—

*The President.* I have nothing really to add to the discussion on that right now. We're following it very carefully, as you know, and in touch. So we'll just leave it right there.

### *Cyprus*

*Q.* Are you hopeful that the Cyprus talks will start early next year?

*The President.* Well, we want to talk about that. That's one of the issues where I have great respect for Prime Minister Mitsotakis' judgment. We've gone into it at length on several occasions. And I would just want to assure him that if the U.S. can help move things forward, we are determined to try. We thought we'd moved a little bit before the process had moved. And now we want to, out of this visit, see what he has to suggest. And maybe we can be more helpful. I'd like to think so. I think he knows we've tried.

And, of course, the Secretary-General will be down here this afternoon, so we can talk with him about it. So, this subject will be very much on our minds.

*The Prime Minister.* We will discuss this subject. It's a very important subject—matter—for us.

*Q.* Are you optimistic that talks will come soon, though?

*The Prime Minister.* I am always optimistic.

*The President.* That's why he's such a good Prime Minister. He's always looking ahead.

### *Jay Leno*

*Q.* How did you like Jay Leno, Mr. President?

*The President.* He was all right. He was great.

*Q.* Did he have any good jokes?

*The President.* He had a couple about me, but I can't tell you what they were. No, he's funny and very good. I wished him well, and I had a chance to show him the decorations and see Barbara. You talked to him. Thanks a lot.

*Q.* Did you ask him to ease up, Mr. Vice President? *[Laughter]*

*The Vice President.* I told him to ease up, you're right. *[Laughter]*

*The President.* He hasn't been on your case.

All right, gang, this has been a great pleasure, but we've got a lot of business to do here.

*[At this point, another group of journalists entered the room.]*

May I just say how pleased we are to have the Prime Minister here. I will just repeat here what I said to the earlier wave of journalists, and that is that from our standpoint, the U.S. standpoint, U.S.-Greece relations are on strong footing. They are in good shape. And we are working very closely with this Government, and will continue to, to try to help solve the outside problems as well as the few remaining, I would say, rather small items that exists between Greece and the United States.

So, on the U.S. side, we are just pleased to welcome the Prime Minister here and look forward to having a wide array of talks on problems in the area. Cyprus, obviously, will come up. I'm most anxious to get his views on the Balkans, and a lot of other subjects to discuss. But the main point is he's welcome. And it gives me a chance in a small way to say thank you to the Prime Minister and the people of Greece for a trip that Barbara and I will never forget. It was wonderful.

*The Prime Minister.* It was a pleasure for us.

### *The Balkans*

*Q.* —in the Balkans?

*The President.* Well, we want to talk about that. I'm anxious to hear from the Prime Minister on his priorities; where he thinks we could help; the role of the EC; and, of course, the role you asked about. But I'd like to hear it from him rather than give my views. After that I'll be glad to give them.

Listen, we've got to go to work, guys. Last one.

*Q.* How would you describe your role with the Prime Minister?

*The President.* Close, strong, personal, and respectful. We've got it all. And that's not diplomatic language, that's right from here. We've got all this diplomacy, you know. We can say "cordial and friendly."

He's a friend.

### *Cyprus*

*Q.* Are you prepared to show the same determination on the Cyprus issue as you have shown in the Middle East?

*The President.* We're going to try. We're going to try. I want to do what's helpful. We tried when we came back from Greece and Turkey, and we still support the Secretary-General's initiative. He'll be here today, incidentally. But the United States can't dictate. We can try to help, and that's what I want to hear about.

Now, you guys are out of here because we've got to get to work. We've got a lot to do here. Thanks a lot.

*Note: The exchange began at 11:02 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.*

## Remarks Following Discussions With Prime Minister Constantinos Mitsotakis of Greece

*December 12, 1991*

*The President.* Mr. Prime Minister and distinguished members of the Greek Government, 5 months ago I visited Athens, the first visit by an American President to Greece in more than a generation. Today, in welcoming Prime Minister Mitsotakis to the White House, our two countries reaffirm the value of close contact to address common concern.

Mr. Prime Minister, in the past 3 years we've witnessed a world transformed, and your continent has been right at the center of change. America sees Greece as a partner in meeting many of the challenges that cross borders and threaten the peace: terrorism, international drug trade, ethnic conflict.

In the Balkans, in the new Europe, in Cyprus, Greece remains a factor for stability, a champion of human rights, a partner in the quest to forge a new world order: peaceful, prosperous, and free.

The U.S. continues to be as concerned as

we have been in the past with Greece's security and the sanctity of its borders. We continue to help Greece strengthen its defenses. And we support the progress your nation has made toward economic reform, liberalizing trade and investment. Opening Greek markets to investment from the United States and other nations will mean jobs and better living standards for Greeks and Americans alike.

Our meetings today also focused on challenges that stand as obstacles to lasting peace in your corner of the world: The longstanding conflict in Cyprus, and Yugoslavia's fratricidal civil war.

Let me start with Yugoslavia. Who can fail to be moved by these heartrending images, carnage and suffering on a scale that recalls the horrors of the Second World War rather than the hopes of the new era we've now entered. The U.S. supports the European Community's efforts, the EC's efforts, including economic sanctions, to stop

the fighting.

We remain convinced that a negotiated settlement, helped along by the United Nations and the interested international community, is possible, necessary, and certainly long overdue.

In the case of Cyprus, I again offer the good offices of the United States to overcome a source of bitter conflict between two of our valued allies. We continue to hope for an international high-level meeting on Cyprus as early as possible in 1992. With good-faith negotiations and the continued efforts of the United Nations Secretary-General, we can make progress in producing a settlement acceptable to all parties.

Mr. Prime Minister, let me just close by simply saying that Greece holds great meaning for Americans, not only the millions who trace their own ancestry to your country but, as relative newcomers now in our third century of democracy, as a people who revere Greece as the birthplace of democracy more than two millennia ago.

It's been a very special pleasure having this opportunity to meet with you again, to have you and your able team here in Washington, DC, today, and to wish Greece on behalf of all Americans every blessings for the new year.

All yours.

*The Prime Minister.* I would like first to express my heartfelt thanks to President Bush for inviting me to Washington and receiving me at the White House so warmly. At this moment in history when democracy's flourishing throughout the world, it is a great honor for me as Prime Minister of Greece, where democracy was born 2,500 years ago, to come for an official visit to the United States, the champion of democracy in our times.

The love of freedom and faith in democracy are two of the important ties that form a unique bond between Greece and the United States. And I welcome the opportunity this visit has given me to reinforce our special relationship in this season of hope and renewal.

I am especially pleased that this visit al-

lowed me to continue my private talks with President Bush and with our delegations to expand on the substantial and fruitful discussions we had in Greece last summer.

As might be expected, we exchanged views on world developments and focused closely on what is happening in our region, the Balkans, where, as you know, Greece is playing an essential role in promoting peace and stability.

We had a lengthy discussion on the Cyprus question, and I thanked President Bush for his personal commitment to help bring about a fair settlement that will end the long agony of the Cypriot people.

I am certain that with the strong support of the President, the new Secretary-General of the United Nations, building on the achievements of his worthy predecessor, will be able to lead the efforts of all of us to a speedy and successful conclusion on Cyprus.

I want to stress that our talks marked one more milestone in the improving relations between our two countries, which, as you know, have made spectacular progress in the past 2 years.

The ties between Greece and the United States are strong and special. We fought in two World Wars together and waged a joint struggle to stop the spread of totalitarianism. But what makes it such a profound pleasure for all Greeks who come to the United States is that we recognize the highest ideals of this Nation as native to our own. I am very confident that the special relationship between Greece and the United States, which reflects the common values of our two peoples and the strong friendship they have fostered, will grow even stronger in the years ahead.

Let me conclude by wishing everyone in the United States a very happy holiday season.

*Note: The President spoke at 1:19 p.m. on the South Lawn of the White House. The Prime Minister spoke in Greek, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.*



## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on Assistance to the Soviet Union and the Republics

*December 12, 1991*

We are witnessing dramatic and historic events in the Soviet Union and the Republics. The collapse of communism there is of global importance and gives the Republics the opportunity to move rapidly toward democracy and market economies. These developments pave the way for the integration of the Soviet Union and the Republics into the community of democratic nations and the strengthening of a more peaceful and stable international order.

The world has a vital interest in the success of this transition. The United States is especially well-positioned because of its heritage and traditions to make a substantial contribution by building on its existing technical cooperation efforts as well as medical and food assistance programs. The United States strongly supports reform at all levels of government and will focus its assistance efforts on those who stand for fundamental political and economic reform, including the establishment of democratic systems based on principles of the rule of law and individual freedoms, respect for internationally recognized human rights, economic reform based on market principles, respect for international law and obligations, and adherence to responsible security policies.

To be effective, programs of all U.S. Government agencies must be carefully coordinated internally, and with the programs of other countries and international institu-

tions. It is also critically important to ensure that the energy and resources of individual Americans, private voluntary organizations, and businesses be fully integrated into our efforts wherever possible.

Accordingly, the President has appointed Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger to be the Coordinator of United States assistance to the Soviet Union and the Republics. In that position, Secretary Eagleburger will be responsible for overseeing and coordinating all assistance programs and activities which pertain to the Soviet Union and the Republics.

The President has also named Michael J. Boskin, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, Donald Atwood, Deputy Secretary of Defense, John E. Robson, Deputy Secretary of the Treasury, Ann M. Veneman, Deputy Secretary of Agriculture, and Ronald W. Roskens, Administrator of the Agency for International Development, as Deputy Coordinators.

The United States will focus its assistance to the Soviet Union and the Republics on several priority areas: food distribution and marketing, energy and environment, financial and economic institution building, democratic institution building, and defense conversion. U.S. assistance also will be aimed at promoting increased trade and investment through programs designed to encourage the involvement of U.S. businesses in the emerging private sector of the Soviet Union and the Republics.

## Teleconference Remarks on the Kick-Off of the Arizona 2000 Education Initiative

*December 12, 1991*

*The President.* Governor, how are you, Fife?

*Governor Symington.* Fine, Mr. President, how are you?

*The President.* Well, I don't know how

our communication is working, but I wanted to just check in and call with congratulations to you and to that great team that Lamar tells me you've put together. And I understand some of them are there.

*Governor Symington.* Yes, we have everybody assembled at the Trevor Browne High School. And we've got 1,200 people in the audience.

*The President.* Well, that is terrific. And I know that Jim Kolbe's there, and Jon Kyl; at least they were scheduled to be.

*Governor Symington.* They're here.

*The President.* Well, let me salute them, and also Diane Bishop, your State superintendent. And I say this because I want to emphasize something that I'm sure you know, and that is that we don't view this marvelous program that you all are engaged in as a partisan effort at all. I mean, this is national. It flies over politics. And I think it's catching on around the country. And I wanted to just congratulate you on getting it kicked off here.

And I didn't know you had 1,200 people. I heard there was 800 Bruins sitting out there in the auditorium. They said 900. It sounds like you've got a bunch there.

But that's just great. And I hope that they all realize that Arizona is involved in something fundamental, something revolutionary, and something wonderful for our country.

But tell me, how's the day been going?

*Governor Symington.* It's going extremely well. But we're obviously thrilled to have your call. And we just want to thank you for your tremendous leadership on the education front, Mr. President. And we're happy to be an America 2000 State.

*The President.* Well, I know it'll go well. And I think the point here is that you're showing that education reform can happen right there at the local level, on a school-by-school or community-by-community basis. And the Federal Government obviously wants to do its part. Educational spending is higher than it's ever been. But this isn't a question of simply money; it's a question of ideas and revolutionizing our approach, the Nation's approach to education.

So, good luck on it. And I think it is a way that the whole community can pull together to help all the students learn. And I'm impressed with what you're doing. So, give Lamar a homework assignment if you will. The poor guy's killing himself going all around the country and doing a superb job. But tell him when he gets back—is he sit-

ting right there?

*Governor Symington.* He's right here.

*The President.* Oh, well, let me ask him then. Lamar, when you get back, give me a report on how this thing shapes up, how Arizona 2000 is doing, how it fits into our national program. And come on over to the White House, and we'll get an update on this big trip of yours.

*Governor Symington.* He's coming right to the phone, Mr. President.

*The President.* Okay.

*Secretary Alexander.* Yes, sir. [Laughter]

*The President.* How's it looking out there?

*Secretary Alexander.* Thank you, Mr. President. I'll see you next week.

*The President.* Well, I look forward to it. And may I say to everyone there—Diane Bishop; Lela Alston, who is, I understand, the chairman of the senate education committee from the State Senate; Bev Herman was supposed to be there, who is the chairman of the house education committee in the Arizona State House: I'm just delighted that you all are participating in this. And I wish you all the best.

Is Peter Rios out there, the president of the house?

*Governor Symington.* Yes, Mr. President, I was about to mention him. He's here as well.

*The President.* Well, you've got them all. I've just had a partial list here, but I was told that the leadership would be there, both Democrats and Republicans. So that's great.

Well, listen, I won't keep you, but let me wish all those Bruins a very merry Christmas, a happy New Year. And let me give them a little lecture. Do everything that your Governor and your State superintendent and these people are telling you to do in terms of this education. We need you. You're the future, and we need you bad. So, have a good Christmas, and then back to work. And I'll do my part here.

And bless you all. And, Fife, keep up the great work of leadership.

*Governor Symington.* Thank you, Mr. President.

*The President.* Over and out.

*Note: The President spoke at 3:47 p.m. from*

*the Oval Office in the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Congressmen Jim Kolbe and Jon Kyl of Arizona.*

## Exchange With Reporters Prior to a Meeting With United Nations Officials and Former American Hostages

*December 12, 1991*

*Q.* What are your thoughts this afternoon, Mr. President?

*The President.* My thoughts? My thoughts are gratitude to the Secretary-General and to Mr. Picco. My thoughts are of courage and heroism of the five people standing in front of us. My thoughts are for their families. My thoughts are of the joy that the Nation feels at the release of these five and others preceding them. And I think this says that we have a lot to be grateful for in America. It's a wonderful, wonderful occasion at the White House, having them here.

Now, we're going to go over into the White House itself to honor the Secretary-General, Mr. Picco. His courage, his heroism really, helped free these people. And best of all for Barbara and me, to say hello to their loving families and welcome them home.

*Q.* Is it time to take the yellow ribbon down, sir?

*The President.* Not for me. Not for me until the cases are all closed. There's two Germans held against their will. There are remains of two beloved Americans who have not been accounted for. And we are grateful for what's happened, very grateful that they're all here. I just couldn't be more pleased.

*Q.* Can you—

*The President.* Not any louder, no, I can't. *[Laughter]*

*Q.* Do you think this could have happened sooner?

*The President.* I'm just grateful that it's happened. And of course I wish that it happened sooner. For them to spend those precious years in their lives held against their

will, of course every American wishes that it had been sooner.

In any event, why, they're home, and that's what matters. And it's Christmas, and that also matters.

*Q.* Mr. Secretary-General, did you bring any good news about the return of the remains of Americans and about the release of the two Germans?

*The Secretary-General.* Well, as you know, I am extremely concerned about the fate, of course, of Mr. Higgins, Colonel Higgins, and Mr. Buckley. And I hope to get some news in the next few days.

And then, as far as the Germans are concerned, we keep working and we are hopeful, as well as for the Israeli missing persons. And some others who are the detainees in Lebanon, as well, are a matter of concern to me. Because for us in the United Nations we see too many problems. It is not a political problem as you very well know.

*The President.* Thank you all very much. We've got to go over and greet the families now.

*Note: The exchange began at 4:35 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House, prior to a meeting with U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar; Giandomenico Picco, Assistant to the Secretary-General for Special Assignments; and former hostages Thomas Sutherland, Alann Steen, Jesse Turner, Joseph Cicippio, and Terry Anderson. A reporter referred to the yellow ribbon displayed on the White House in remembrance of Americans held hostage. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.*

## Remarks on Presenting the Medal of Freedom and the Presidential Award for Exceptional Service to United Nations Officials *December 12, 1991*

*The President.* We are so happy, Barbara and I are so happy to be here for this very special pre-Christmas family occasion at the White House. The Vice President is here, and I salute him. Members of our Cabinet, Secretary of State, Secretary Mosbacher, Secretary of Labor; Tom Pickering, our able Ambassador at the U.N. And we all were just dying to come.

We're joined also by two gentlemen who represent the highest in humanitarian ideals. And I'm talking, of course, about Javier Perez de Cuellar, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, and the Assistant Secretary-General, Gianni Picco, who is right here. Let me also welcome to the White House the friends and the families of five special men returned to freedom. Finally, to Thomas Sutherland, Alann Steen, Jesse Turner, Joseph Cicippio, and Terry Anderson, let me simply say on behalf of our entire country: Welcome home.

All over America people waited for the day your long ordeal would end. And all over America we share your joy, and we thank God that you are free.

Nothing says it better than, I think, the sign in Norristown, Pennsylvania, in Thomas Cicippio's front yard. For 5 long years that sign served as a constant reminder, with the name of each hostage and a number counting each cruel day of captivity. And then, one by one, the numbers gave way to a sign marked "Freed." And finally, just 9 days ago, came the moment the Cicippio family prayed for. And over Joseph's name, they nailed not another number but a sign that read, "Free at last." And that said a lot for all of us.

And all of you have survived an act of unspeakable, uncivilized cruelty. Hostage-taking is hell on a human scale, not just for the innocents held captive but for the families, for the families that they left behind. And no power on Earth can give back the years that you've lost. And yet no one can take from you the strength of the spirit that sustained you.

The world is now learning the horrors that you endured. But we're learning as well, and this is the good news, the story of your survival, the miracle that you fashioned from the hope your captors could not take away.

We know now you used the language of the deaf to communicate from cell to cell, to speak to one another in silence; how you managed to learn from one another, laugh with one another, help each other sustain a stubborn indignity. And you demonstrated each day in captivity a defiant faith. You believed in your country and your families and your colleagues and yourselves. And you knew that one day you would go free.

Your triumph shines new light on a simple truth: The days and years apart burn away the trivial things we once thought had value to reveal what truly matters in life, family, faith, hope, and love. And seeing freedom through your eyes, even for a moment, frees us from the petty concerns that so often hold us hostage and distract us from life's larger joys, larger meaning.

The families here today are whole again. But for others the ordeal is not over, for two German citizens and their families, for the families of two courageous Americans whose duty sent them to Lebanon and who died at the hands of their captors. In the name of the civilized values that we hold dear, I call on those responsible for these crimes: Free Heinrich Struebig and Thomas Kemptner, and return the remains of Rich Higgins and William Buckley. And let the families of these innocent men find peace.

The truth is clear. Hostage-taking has failed. From the beginning in Tehran in 1979, hostage-takers sought to exploit our system's reverence for the individual. They sought to exploit that as a weakness. And your captors believed hostage-taking would tie our hands, and they were wrong. We remained determined to defend American interests in international principles in the Middle East. Through Desert Shield and Desert Storm we stood fast against aggres-

sion, and we showed the world that terrorism in all its forms can't succeed. And in the end, the hostage-takers did more damage to their cause than they did to America's resolve, certainly than they did to your resolve. And in the end, each hostage-taking, each heartless act against innocence, announced to the world the inhumanity of the captors.

Tom Sutherland and Terry Anderson, you were right when you said no to negotiating with hostage-takers. This administration has followed a no-negotiation policy since the beginning. Bargaining serves only to make a currency of human lives and leads to more of the evil that it seeks to end. I am convinced that this course remains the world's best hope that no more innocent men and women will meet your fate, that no family will ever again be forced to endure your years in agony.

This policy was not without risk. Sticking with it wasn't easy, especially for a country that cares so deeply about every American held against his will. But we've learned that it works. It helped end the agony, and I like to feel that it helped bring you home.

Yes, America did its part. Many men and women in this country and around the world, most of whom you'll never meet, worked to secure your freedom. And today, we want to go on. So many of the family members sitting behind you all and aside of you did their part, and boy, did they do it well. And it wasn't just spouses; it was sisters and brothers and plenty of others I might single out here.

But there are others as well. And today we want to recognize the selfless efforts of one man who, at great personal risk, helped bring you to freedom. And I might say parenthetically that one of the first words I heard from Terry Anderson was the suggestion that we honor the man we're about to honor, and the other one as well.

In his years as Special Envoy at the United Nations, Assistant Secretary-General Gianni Picco has sought always to serve peace and to resolve conflict. Today, for his efforts in winning the freedom of our hostages, we honor Mr. Picco with the Presidential Award for Exceptional Service.

Would you come up here, please, sir? Very proud to have you here.

I will ask the major to read the citation please. Please be seated.

*Major Wissler.* "The United States honors Mr. Picco in recognition of his distinguished role in facilitating the release of hostages held in Lebanon. His skillful diplomacy with Middle Eastern governments and officials and representatives of the hostage holders has resulted in freedom for many individuals held in the region outside the due process of law, including six Americans.

"His personal courage in the face of danger and his dedication to the mission represent the best tradition of international civil service."

*The President.* We also honor the man who made your release his personal responsibility, a man whose life work in service to humanitarian ideals has won him honor the world over, Javier Perez de Cuellar.

Before asking the major to read the citation let me just say this: He made peace among all nations his mission. He's taken the principles of the United Nations Charter as a personal code.

He was present at the creation as a delegate to the first General Assembly of the United Nations back in 1946. And we first met in 1971 when each of us received the singular honor of serving our countries as Permanent Representative to the United Nations.

My distinguished colleague went on to represent Peru in the Security Council, and then, of course, as we all know, for the past 10 years he has served the cause of world peace as Secretary-General.

His tenure has marked the rebirth, literally, the rebirth of the United Nations, its emergence as a force for peace. Cooperation now replaces cold war conflict. And across the globe the U.N. now leads the international effort to resolve conflicts that have caused so much suffering. Peacekeeping missions have proliferated. Eleven are underway right now, five begun in the past year alone.

And Mr. Secretary-General, I am personally grateful to you for your strong stand against Iraq's assault on Kuwait, your tireless work to sustain the coalition. In large part because of your leadership, the United Nations now stands closer to its founding

ideal than at any time in history.

And today then we honor this architect of peace, a man we are all proud to call friend, that Barbara and I especially treasure the friendship for the Perez de Cuellar. Mr. Secretary-General, with great pride I now present to you the highest civilian honor this country can bestow, the Medal of Freedom. And I will ask the major to read the citation.

*Major Wissler.* "Javier Perez de Cuellar. For 10 years of exceptionally distinguished service as Secretary-General of the United Nations, Javier Perez de Cuellar presided over the rebirth of that institution. With wisdom, vision, diplomacy, and skill, he forged a U.N. where cooperation in reaching common goals is replacing rhetoric and division.

"His tireless dedication to conflict resolution, and economic and social concerns has contributed to a better world and ensured a strengthened U.N. more capable than ever of fulfilling its Charter.

"His service has been marked by a singular devotion to humanitarian interests, including the life, security, and safety of individual people throughout the world.

"The United States honors a servant of humankind who has advanced the cause of freedom and hope."

*The President.* Congratulations.

*The Secretary-General.* Mr. President, Mrs. Bush, Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, it is a tremendous honor for me to receive the Medal of Freedom, an award that I shall value all the more highly because it has been given to me by my old and very dear friend President Bush.

In my view, it is really more appropriate that this tribute should be paid to the United Nations as a whole rather than to me personally. Today, as never before, the organization is being called upon to fulfill the responsibility entrusted to it by its founding fathers nearly half a century ago. The circumstances in the international arena that have made it possible for the United Nations to carry out this role are deeply gratifying. And much credit is due to President Bush himself, who has a profound understanding of the organization and its goals.

Mr. President, it gives me special pleas-

ure to attend this ceremony after having been greeted by a group of brave and wonderful men who at this moment understand more fully than we possibly can the true meaning of freedom. That these former American hostages have at long last been reunited with their loved ones, and especially during this holiday season, makes the efforts that I and my efficient and loyal assistant, Mr. Giandomenico Picco, have undertaken these many months all the more worthwhile.

At the same time, Mr. President, I cannot but mention with sorrow an American who was kidnaped while serving the United Nations, namely, Colonel William R. Higgins, who was, at the time of his abduction, chief of a peacekeeping observer group in south Lebanon. It is tragic that the life of this innocent man was lost. I am doing everything possible to see to it that his body is returned promptly to his family.

As I prepare to leave office, I would like once again to thank President Bush for the cooperation and support he has extended to me as Secretary-General and to the organization more widely, and particularly in helping to ensure that the United Nations may fulfill the enormous expectations that today exist for greater peace, stability, and respect for human rights to all the world. Thank you, Mr. President.

*The President.* I know some of us are going over to light America's Christmas tree across the way, but Barbara and I just have to say hello to the families. So what we'll suggest is, we'll go out here in the hall, and you all come wandering out. You've got to do that; that's mandatory. You have to say hello to us. And then please take your families and browse through this winter wonderland. The work on all these decorations was done by volunteers from all over this country, and I think you'll feel, as we do, that the White House is blessed by this wonderful dedication and the gift from the American people.

So, it's a fitting time that you all are here. And I think we'll just wander on out now and ask you to come. And please, all of you just come by and say hello. We'd love that.

*Note: The President spoke at 5:03 p.m. in*

*the East Room at the White House. Maj. John Wissler, Marine Corps Aide to the President, read the citations.*

## Remarks on Lighting the National Christmas Tree December 12, 1991

Welcome to this wonderful Washington tradition. And I am particularly proud tonight to have some very special friends here with us to help light our Nation's Christmas tree. America's prayers were answered when these men came home to us; so a special welcome to Terry Anderson and Madeleine Bassil. Here they are: Alann and Virginia Steen; and Thomas and Jean Sutherland; Joseph and Elham Cicippio; and Jesse and Badr Turner.

Have a great evening.

*[At this point, the Christmas Pageant of Peace entertainment began.]*

Well, thank you, Joe. Please be seated all of you, and it's good to see the Secretary of the Interior, so many other special guests here. And of course, a warm thank you to Marilyn Horne; this marvelous Tucson Boys Chorus; the Navy Band; Joe Williams; our favorites, the Gatlin Brothers over here; and all the performers who brought the Christmas spirit to Washington tonight.

And thanks to Santa. His big night is coming up. And we don't have to ask this particular Santa, Willard Scott, what the weather's going to be like on Christmas Eve. He's predicting it. And he is right every once in a while. *[Laughter]*

This is a very special night. And I look over my shoulder here at the very special guests, the brave men who are with us here tonight. And on behalf of our loving country I say, finally, to Terry Anderson, to Tom Sutherland, Joseph Cicippio, and Alann Steen and Jesse Turner, and the others not here: Welcome home.

Welcome home, to this, the most generous and proud and free Nation on the face of the Earth. It is more than just appropriate, it is almost miraculous that we can celebrate with these five the lighting of our Nation's Christmas tree. The idea is so moving because these men have come out

of darkness into the bright light of liberty. And as you hear these remarkable men talk, you realize they were never lost in that darkness of sorrow, anguish, and despair. Even at the worst moments, they were guided by a stubborn spark that cruelty could not extinguish, the spark of the human spirit.

Their precious gift to us is to rekindle our Nation's belief in the light of faith and our belief in ourselves. And when Terry and Tom and Joseph and Alann and Jesse light our Nation's tree tonight, that act will be a reminder of what they and their companions, living and gone, have already done to light our Nation's soul.

There have been special guests at these ceremonies before. Even Winston Churchill helped to light the tree during World War II, but this Nation has never been honored by the presence of men whose spirit meant more to all of us. Your fortitude, your humor, and generosity tell us the true meaning of this season. And at this time of year especially, these men remind us that the glitz and glamour of material things don't matter. The courage, the faith, and the love of these men, that they embody, are all we need to recognize what's really important.

The way they've returned to their families and to us proves they live by the challenge of that beautiful prayer of St. Francis: "Grant that I may not so much seek to be consoled as to console; to be understood as to understand; to be loved as to love. Where there is despair, let us sow hope; where there is hatred, love; and where there is darkness, ever light."

When history remembers Christmas 1991, let it remember that tonight we gathered with men who show us that this is a season of spirit, not a celebration of plenty.

Let history remember that tonight we

stood with these two heroes and asked for God's blessing on this world. And finally, in the words of the carol we'll sing in a few minutes, let history remember that at Christmas 1991, this Nation united to give thanks to God and to ask God for peace on earth, good will to all.

God bless these five men, this wonderful country, and now I'd like to ask them to join me as we light the Nation's Christmas tree.

*Note: The President spoke at 5:42 p.m. on the Ellipse during the annual Christmas Pageant of Peace. In his remarks, he referred to Joe Riley, president of the Christmas Pageant of Peace; Marilyn Horne, mezzo-soprano with the Metropolitan Opera; jazz singer Joe Williams; and country music entertainers, the Gatlin Brothers. Television weatherman Willard Scott was dressed as Santa Claus. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

## Statement on Signing the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty Implementation Act of 1991

*December 12, 1991*

Today I have signed into law H.R. 3807, the "Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty Implementation Act of 1991." The Act supports the United States Government's program to transfer Conventional Forces in Europe treaty-limited equipment within the NATO Alliance. Implementation serves U.S. security interests and achieves Administration objectives.

However, I have concerns over two provisions of the Act. Section 401(c) requires that the Inspector General of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency submit a report on certain matters to the President, the Speaker of the House, and the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Because prior review of executive branch reports is integral to the President's constitutional authority to supervise and control decision-making within the executive branch, H.R. 3807 shall not be interpreted to encroach upon

that authority.

Section 402 requires additional congressional oversight of On-Site Inspection Agency (OSIA) activities. The existing review by the House and Senate Armed Services and Appropriations Committees provides sufficient congressional oversight of OSIA activities. Expanding the review to include other committees of the House and Senate will unnecessarily burden the budget review and oversight process. The requested report and budget documentation for the Committees on Foreign Affairs and Foreign Relations will be submitted merely to provide notice.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
December 12, 1991.

*Note: H.R. 3807, approved December 12, was assigned Public Law No. 102-228.*

## Statement on Signing Legislation for Dire Emergency Appropriations and Disaster Assistance

*December 12, 1991*

Today I have signed into law H.J. Res. 157, the "Dire Emergency Supplemental

Appropriations and Transfers for Relief From the Effects of Natural Disasters, for



Other Urgent Needs, and for Incremental Cost of 'Operation Desert Shield/Desert Storm' Act of 1992."

I am pleased that the Congress was able to approve, prior to its adjournment, a bill that provides urgently needed funding for programs that address the effects of natural disasters in the United States and its territories. I am likewise pleased that H.J. Res. 157 provides these needed funds in a way that does not violate the statutory spending limits mandated by the Budget Enforcement Act (BEA) or the concept of what constitutes an emergency under the BEA.

The Act provides \$800 million for the Federal Emergency Management Agency's disaster relief program to cover costs associated with the unusually high level of disasters that have occurred during 1991. These include Hurricane Bob; the devastating fires in Oakland, California, and the State of Washington; and the northeastern storm that ravaged New England on October 31. In addition, the Act provides \$995 million in assistance to producers of agricultural crops who have suffered losses during 1990

or 1991. Pursuant to section 251(b)(2)(D)(i) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985, as amended, I designate these amounts as emergency requirements. These designated amounts include the amount I designated as an emergency requirement on June 28, 1991, in my supplemental and amendment requests for FEMA.

The Act also includes funds for the incremental costs of Operation Desert Shield/Storm. Such expenditures continue to be financed by foreign contributions to the Defense Cooperation Account.

I am appreciative of the fact that the Congress deleted or significantly limited the availability of over \$2.5 billion in funding that I have not designated as "emergency requirements."

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
December 12, 1991.

*Note: H.J. Res. 157, approved December 12, was assigned Public Law No. 102-229.*

## Statement on Signing the Resolution Trust Corporation Refinancing, Restructuring, and Improvement Act of 1991

*December 12, 1991*

Today I have signed into law H.R. 3435, the "Resolution Trust Corporation Refinancing, Restructuring, and Improvement Act of 1991." This Act reorganizes the Resolution Trust Corporation (RTC) while providing only stopgap funding to allow the RTC to resume the resolution of failed thrifts.

H.R. 3435 provides only a part of the funds requested by the Administration which are urgently needed to protect depositors' accounts. This manner of funding risks a repeat of the start-and-stop process that has already cost American taxpayers millions of dollars.

The Administration requested \$80 billion to allow the RTC to fulfill the Federal Government's deposit insurance commitments

and complete the job of closing insolvent thrifts.

I am approving this legislation in view of the RTC's critical need to receive funding immediately so that we can make good on our Government's deposit insurance obligations. I urge the Congress, upon its return, to move quickly to provide the remaining necessary funds to allow the RTC to complete its mission without increasing the burden on America's taxpayers.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
December 12, 1991.

*Note: H.R. 3435, approved December 12, was assigned Public Law No. 102-233.*

## Exchange With Reporters on the Situation in the Soviet Union December 13, 1991

*Q.* Mr. President, now that it appears that Gorbachev is on his way out, what are your feelings?

*The President.* Well, we're watching that situation very closely. Secretary Baker made a very good speech talking about administration policy. We're looking forward to his trip. And this is not a helpful time to editorialize on personalities inside the Soviet Union.

We're supporting those who are reformed. We're supporting those who are for democracy, whoever they are, wherever they are, in whatever Republic they are and in the center. And that's been our policy, and we will continue to watch this question of self-determination evolve in the Soviet Union. And that's exactly what's happening. And we have some interests, interests in the peaceful reconciliation. We've got fundamental interests in responsibility to the whole world for the nuclear weapons question. So we want to see that that is

handled with the ultimate, maximum amount of safety, and the assurances from the center and from the Republics has been very good on that, incidentally.

So we're watching it very, very closely, and I think the leaders there understand our position as to let them sort these matters out. It's not for the United States to dictate these matters, but we do have interests, some of which I've mentioned here.

Thank you all very much.

*Q.* Have you been in contact with Yeltsin or Gorbachev?

*The President.* We'll let you know when we reveal the personal contacts I've had. But we're in close contact with the different factions.

Thank you.

*Note: The exchange began at 9:18 a.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.*

## Exchange with Reporters December 13, 1991

*The President.* Listen, this meeting is on our drug strategy, and I'm very grateful to so many members of the Cabinet and other leaders who are here today. I have great confidence in the work that Bob is involved in. And indeed, there is some very good news on the drug front. That doesn't mean we've won the battle by a long shot, but I'm sure he'll be reporting to us in just a minute on the problems that remain and on the progress that's been made.

This has got to be, as we turn the corner, remain as one of our key priorities. And when you talk to some that he's enlisted in the private sector, I'm encouraged. I mean, I've talked to quite a few of them, Jim Burke and many others, and they are very, very positive as to how we're doing here. When I look at the international situation

that Bob's been engaged in, in the interdiction, working with Justice and many others, Don Atwood's department, why, there's reason to be optimistic there.

So, it's a good message, but we've got to do better, and we've got to continue to fight. So thank you all very much. And now—

*Q.* Mr. President, can I just ask you to follow up on something you said in the other session?

*The President.* No, we've got to get going, honestly. We really do. We've been in there, interrupted, you know, when we did a meeting, that I deviated from the rules. So, thanks.

*Soviet Union*

*Q.* Could you just explain—I mean, why

are you satisfied with assurances that there's no nuclear threat because of the Soviet—

*The President.* We will explain all that in time. I can't do it at a photo opportunity. It's very complicated.

Q. Are you satisfied there's no problem?

*The President.* I can certify to the American people that the assurances we've been given are very positive. And we are continuing to stay engaged in it. So, please let us have this time. I only have a little bit, limited—

*Note: The exchange began at 10:03 a.m. prior to a meeting with the Domestic Policy Council. In his remarks, the President referred to Bob Martinez, Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy; Deputy Secretary of Defense Donald J. Atwood, Jr.; and James E. Burke, Chairman of the President's Drug Advisory Council. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.*

## Teleconference Remarks to the 1991 Congress of Cities December 13, 1991

*The President.* Thank you, Commissioner Hood. And I understand you're the incoming president of that wonderful organization, the National League of Cities. Thank you for inviting me to be with you. To President Sidney Barthelemy, the mayor of one of my favorite cities, New Orleans, welcome to you, sir. I look forward to your help most of all, officials who have enriched our cities and helped our cities enrich America; I greet all of you.

I am very pleased that Lamar Alexander was able to address you this morning. A former Governor, a great Secretary of Education, he's doing a great job. And we are on to something with this America 2000. And I hope when he finished that you had a feel for this marvelous program.

Our mayors are doing a great job in helping make American education number one. I was hoping today to be with you in person, but at least I can say America has produced two Presidents in a row who have made it to the big screen. This is a good way to do it if you can't be there in person.

It's an honor to join this year's NLC annual Congress of Cities, even if it is by video hookup, and to salute you soldiers on the front lines. You man the front lines of our assault on falling scores and failing grades in education, our war on drugs, our defense of the American family, and our battle against crime. And you know why we've got to crusade to protect American principles and work to solve America's

problems.

As the elected officials out there hearing the needs of day-to-day, ordinary people, you understand those problems. And you know them not from a bureaucrat's safe distance but from the hot seat of an elected official whose neighbors call to complain about roads and taxes and the police, you know, you name it.

Many people wonder how a President can know what goes on outside Washington, especially for families struggling to make ends meet. Well, I have read the letters of people feeling the pinch of a tough economy. As a matter of fact, I've traveled to 48 States since becoming President, talking and meeting people and listening and, yes, learning at every stop. And I've listened to the guidance and advice of leaders, many of whom are right there in that room.

And when I deliver my State of the Union Address in a few weeks, I'm going to ask the Congress to lay aside partisan interest just long enough to focus on America's interest and to enact a commonsense series of economic growth measures. Also, because each additional billion dollars in manufactured goods and trade means another 20,000 American jobs, I'm going to continue fighting to crack open foreign markets to create domestic jobs. And that's the message I'm going to be taking with me on my upcoming trip to Asia. We go down to Australia, Singapore, Korea, and Japan.

In the meantime, I will make sure that our agencies do everything they can to help the people, from getting those unemployment checks out to easing the credit crunch. Already, we've taken steps to help those in need, speeding up a number of Government payments that will put \$9.7 billion into the economy that wouldn't have been there during the first and second quarters of the fiscal year.

And I'm especially proud of the transportation bill which I'll be signing in just a few days that will keep our traffic on the move and our economy on the rise, building roads and fixing bridges and creating jobs.

And still, it isn't enough. We have to build on these beginnings. So I hope our other initiatives are also helping you. For example, our administration has boosted State and local law enforcement funding to \$495 million. That's in addition to the \$250 million in cash and property seized last year from drug dealers through what we call the asset forfeiture program. Overall, Federal aid to States and localities to fight drugs has grown under this administration to nearly \$3 billion a year. I think the total spending I jotted down here is \$11.7 billion.

Our Healthy Start program to cut infant mortality got a big boost this year, from \$21 million to \$65 million. And that's also true for AIDS research and treatment. Under the Ryan White Act, \$200 million in AIDS prevention in fiscal '92 goes directly to cities. And I also ask your support of something which can help every city: enterprise zones to unleash a new generation of entrepreneurs to attract new business to those areas.

President Kennedy once said, "We will neglect our cities at our peril, for in neglecting them we neglect the Nation." I do not intend to neglect our cities, nor do I intend to burden them with Washington's version of help: Taxes, rules, regulations, and no money. We've learned the wisdom of keeping government closest to the people. My administration wants to give local power and local responsibility to local officials. We want to free you to do what you do best.

I do want to do my part. To do so, I need your counsel and your wisdom. So, let's work together to find new solutions to old

problems. Only then can we prepare our cities and our country for the new American century ahead.

It is great to be with you all. I'd be glad to take a couple of questions. But thank you for what you've done. Thank you for what you are doing. And at this special time of year, God bless you all. I just wish that each and every one of you could have been at the White House yesterday as we welcomed home those five hostages. I can only say that Barbara and I count our blessings for family every day of the year. And this was a most moving occasion. And then we took them out to light the Nation's Christmas tree, we modestly call it, across from the White House. And I flipped the electric switch and nothing happened. *[Laughter]*

But in any event, it was a great and wonderful, moving day for our whole country. And I wish each of you leaders could have been with us in the White House.

And now I'll be glad, Commissioner, to take any questions.

#### *War on Drugs*

*Q.* Mr. President, more than 20 years ago, former President Richard Nixon declared a Federal war on drugs. Three years ago, you announced a similar war. Yet today the problem of drugs and drug-related violence on our streets is just as pervasive as ever. In fact, murders are at record levels. Mr. President, we have a very enthusiastic audience here—*[laughter]*—I wish you were here to see how wonderful this audience is and how concerned this audience is. However, over the last 20-year period, the Federal Government has been unwilling to spend one single dime and send it directly to those of us who are on the front lines that you mentioned.

In the Gulf war you went to the front lines to meet with the troops to ensure that they had the necessary tools and support in order to win. Can we count on you, Mr. President, in your new budget and legislative agenda to provide for direct assistance to cities and towns?

*The President.* Well, let me simply say that from an overall standpoint, fighting the Nation's drug war from an overall standpoint, Federal funding is up by 80 percent

since I've become President, 80 percent, to \$11.7 billion. I think it is \$11.7 billion. And nearly \$3 billion will go to State and local governments. I am familiar with the age-old argument as to whether the Governors get it or whether the mayors get it. And I've been around the political track long enough to be aware of it. In our program, we are trying to recognize this and trying to get the job done.

Let me just say, though, you had a very pessimistic assessment of where the matter stands. And there's plenty of reason to be pessimistic, but there's also some reason to be somewhat optimistic. Drug use amongst the young people have gone off—this awful cocaine amongst young people is down over the last 2 years by something like 11 percent. The war isn't won, but progress is being made.

We're working with a media campaign, all private; they're spending a million a day on advertising which gets right into your communities, trying to educate people against the use of drugs. So in addition to the Government money—that means the taxpayers' money—in addition to the Government money, there is a lot going on. And frankly, if you canvassed that hall, though everyone could use more funds for fighting drugs, I think that you'd find that a lot of people out there in what we call the volunteer sector are doing an awful lot. We've honored a lot of them here at the White House, and I am terribly impressed by how community action is making an enormous contribution to the fight against drugs.

But yes, in our budget I think you'll see the amount of money I said for State, for local governments, and I also think that you'll see what I would think is pretty full funding, in tough financial times I might add, for the fight against drugs.

Let me give you another side of it that I think is important. We're doing better on the interdiction side as well. Much better on that. And then you mentioned the crime problem. I would like to enlist the support of everybody in that room. You are on the front line. You are on the cutting edge, and I'd like to enlist your support for a tough, a meaningful, tough anticrime bill. We've been trying to get that through Congress

for a long, long time. And again, let's put the politics aside and let's give the support that we need to the police officers that are out there on the beat.

But thank you. It was a good question.

*Q.* Thank you for taking time to be with us, and thank you for the tree you planted 2 years ago in memory of Ryan White. It's still standing in downtown Indianapolis.

*The President.* Is it growing, though? [Laughter]

#### *Block Grant Program for Cities*

*Q.* There's a strong feeling here, Mr. President, that when the cities hurt, America hurts, and when the cities are healthy, America is healthy. Many central cities and small towns are facing severe fiscal distress today. Their tax bases have eroded while poverty, crime, and health care needs and demands have accelerated.

We believe the idea of direct assistance to cities and towns from the Federal Government has merit. And the question I would ask you, sir, is: Can we prevail upon you to consider a proposal this year to put together a package of Federal relief for unfunded mandates and targeted fiscal assistance to cities and towns, and would you be willing to meet with a group of local officials to discuss this subject?

*The President.* That was two questions. Bill, you know, and I don't know whether you helped formulate the general idea of an enormous block grant proposal that we have; it's about finished. What we've tried to do on this block grant proposal—I believe it's in the \$15 billion range—was to work it out in a way that it will get support in the Congress. And we've tried to take into consideration some of the congressional concerns without making this block grant into some other mandated program by having a lot of strings attached.

So, we are finalizing now—and it will be ready in time to send up as soon as Congress goes back—a substantial block grant program that will go out there without strings attached, and I believe it will get passed. So, I'm very interested in this. It's taken a long time to get the legislation drafted in a way to answer some of the—well, I'd put it this way—understandable

concerns in the Congress. But we're going to be pushing it, and it's going to be a part of our overall economic package.

Inasmuch as you made the request—and I never say no to Hudnut, that's my motto—I think it would be useful to sit down with you and a handful of others that you might bring into the White House to talk about these problems.

I wasn't just, as we say, "blowing smoke" when I made my remarks. We are in touch with mayors. We had the mayor of New York City down here just the other day. Wasn't heralded as a great public relations event, but I learned from that. A long talk with other mayors as we go along.

But bring them in here. We may have to wait until after the first because we're going off, as you know, coming into this marvelous Christmas season, and we might all need a little bit of rest. But I'd like to do it, and you can consider this a formal acceptance of what I thought was a relatively formalized request.

Q. Mr. President, this is Glenda Hood again, and we accept that, and we will be there to visit with you. And we appreciate the time that you have given us this morning. We want to work with you. We're counting on you, as you're counting on us. And let me, on behalf of all of the delegates here this morning, not only once again thank you but wish you and Mrs. Bush a very happy holiday.

*The President.* Well, same to all of you. And let me end by making one additional comment. These are tough times, and there's a lot of people at work and there's an unsatisfactory number of people out of work. A lot of people are worried. Their confidence is not there. And they worry about tomorrow, even though they have a job today. And I understand all that, and we're going to try in the State of the Union Message to make a proposal that won't make matters worse out of good intentions but will make them better and come forward with a strong program there. I believe we'll have that. I hope it will have the support, enthusiastic support across party lines, not only in the Congress but out there.

But let me just say this at the end of this year, inasmuch as you were gracious and

really kind enough to wish Barbara and me a merry Christmas. You know, we have a lot to be grateful for in this wonderful country of ours. I touched on the hostage matter. This morning I had a long conversation with Boris Yeltsin over in Moscow, and you know there's great and interesting change going on there.

But the underpinning of that change is freedom, and it is democracy, and it is reform. And you look around at the fact that in this very day in Washington Arabs are talking to Israelis, something that might not have happened. You look abroad and you see the newfound credibility of the United States as a result of what your sons and daughters did in Desert Storm. The United States can use that credibility now to get into these foreign markets and create jobs, and our voice is more credible around the world.

So, I cannot neglect my responsibilities for world peace, for managing on behalf of the only superpower in the world that other countries look to not just for that but because of our values. I'm not going to forsake those responsibilities. But I am going to do what is necessary and stay involved with you at that level that I know so well, in order to try to help alleviate the concerns that I mentioned in the very beginning that the American people have.

Having said that, we have a lot to be grateful for in the United States of America. And thank you for your greetings, and Barbara will appreciate it. And I hope that you and all your families have the best Christmas ever and a wonderfully prosperous, exciting, forward-moving 1992. Good luck to each and every one of you. And thank you for letting me come in this way.

*Note: The President spoke at 1:17 p.m. from Room 459 of the Old Executive Office Building to the annual Congress of Cities, sponsored by the National League of Cities, meeting in Las Vegas, NV. In his remarks, he referred to Glenda E. Hood, first vice president of the National League of Cities; Ryan White, a teenager who died of AIDS in 1990; and William Hudnut, mayor of Indianapolis, IN.*

Letter to Congressional Leaders on the Designation of Don E. Newquist as Chairman of the U.S. International Trade Commission  
December 13, 1991

*Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)*

Pursuant to the provisions of 19 U.S.C. 1330(c)(1), this is to notify the Congress that I have designated Don E. Newquist as Chairman of the United States International Trade Commission, effective December 13, 1991.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

*Note: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Dan Quayle, President of the Senate.*

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on a Comprehensive Safeguards Agreement Between Argentina, Brazil, and the International Atomic Energy Agency  
December 13, 1991

The President has congratulated Presidents Menem and Collor for their statesmanship in signing a comprehensive safeguards agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). Presidents Collor and Menem have shown great energy and leadership in fulfilling the commitments they undertook in the November 1990 declaration in Foz do Iguacu to devote their nuclear programs exclusively to peaceful purposes and to submit all their nuclear activities to IAEA safeguards.

This action will contribute greatly to peace and stability in the Western Hemisphere and throughout the world. We wish

Presidents Menem and Collor continued success as they work toward the final objective of the Iguacu declaration: The full entry into force of the Treaty of Tlatelolco in their national territories. We call on all nations that need to take steps for the treaty to enter into force throughout Latin America to do so at an early date, freeing the continent from the dangers of a nuclear arms race.

*Note: The statement referred to President Carlos Saúl Menem of Argentina and President Fernando Collor de Mello of Brazil.*

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Telephone Conversation With Soviet President Gorbachev  
December 13, 1991

President Bush spoke by telephone this afternoon with President Gorbachev concerning events in the Soviet Union and the Republics. The nearly 30-minute conversation ranged over several issues including the economy, the status of the Common-

wealth effort, the safety of nuclear weapons, and other issues. President Gorbachev assured President Bush that the command and control system for nuclear weapons remains secure. President Bush had received

similar assurances from President Yeltsin in a telephone call at 10:50 a.m. this morning.

President Bush assured both Presidents of support for humanitarian and medical needs. He summarized the United States program of support, including the loan

guarantees, direct aid, and financial assistance in the elimination of nuclear weapons. President Bush emphasized once again our general support for democratic and economic reforms.

## Letter Accepting the Resignation of Samuel K. Skinner as Secretary of Transportation

*December 13, 1991*

*Dear Sam:*

I regret that the Department of Transportation will no longer have the benefit of your dynamic leadership, but I am delighted that you have agreed to continue to serve in my Administration as Chief of Staff.

Your hard work as Secretary of Transportation has produced a long list of remarkable accomplishments. You developed a comprehensive statement of National Transportation Policy, which set the Department's priorities and strategies for years to come. You took vigorous steps to ensure that America's commercial aviation system will remain safe and competitive. You shepherded landmark aviation and surface transportation legislation through the halls of Congress. You persuaded the legislature to act swiftly to end the April 1991 national railroad strike—a strike which, had it persisted, might have brought the Nation's economy to a virtual standstill. And you masterfully managed every crisis that came your way: the Eastern Airlines strike; the mammoth oil spill in Prince William Sound; Hurricane Hugo; the Loma Prieta earthquake in California; and the transportation requirements of Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm.

These marvelous accomplishments are, however, only part of your legacy. Your well-known personal commitment to the 106,000 employees of the Department of Transportation has improved the morale and efficiency of its dedicated work force. Years after you have left the Department, that commitment will continue to pay dividends.

Barbara and I deeply appreciate all you have done for my Administration and look forward to having you at our side in the months and years to come.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

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*Dear Mr. President:*

I respectfully submit my resignation as Secretary of Transportation, effective December 16, 1991. It has been a great honor to serve in your Cabinet, and I look forward to working even more closely with you as your Chief of Staff.

These have been challenging times at the Department of Transportation, and the Department has accomplished a great deal under your leadership. During our first year we developed your statement of National Transportation Policy, which emphasized increased investment in transportation infrastructure and greater reliance on market principles. In the second year we passed the most comprehensive aviation legislation since the deregulation of the airline industry. In our third year we successfully guided through Congress landmark surface transportation legislation—legislation that will restructure the Nation's Federal surface transportation programs for the post-Interstate era and improve America's productivity and competitiveness well into the 21st century.

At the same time, the Department has, at your request, successfully responded to several unforeseen challenges. We put in place measures to improve the security of civil



aviation in the wake of the tragic bombing of Pan American flight 103. When Eastern Airlines' employees went on strike, we sought to minimize the impact on the traveling public and to ensure that safety was not adversely affected. We managed the massive cleanup of the oil spill in Prince William Sound. We provided emergency assistance and began the process of rebuilding after Hurricane Hugo and the Loma Prieta earthquake. We successfully marshalled the resources of the aviation and maritime sectors in support of Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm. And we worked with Congress to pass legislation ending a national railroad strike just 18 hours after it commenced.

I will be forever grateful that you asked me to lead the dedicated men and women of the Department of Transportation through one of the most demanding periods in its history. Your firm commitment to our Nation's transportation system made all our successes possible.

Mr. President, it has been an honor and a privilege to serve you.

Sincerely,

SAMUEL K. SKINNER

*Note: These letters were made available by the Office of the Press Secretary on December 16 but were not issued as White House press releases.*

## Remarks on Signing the Proclamation Commemorating the Bicentennial of the Bill of Rights in Orange County, Virginia December 16, 1991

Thank you all very, very much. And it is a pleasure to be with you on this beautiful Virginia day. Let me first thank Mr. Robert Bass and Mr. Jack Walter of the National Trust for Historic Preservation for hosting this event. And we are fortunate to have the Secretary of the Interior with us, Manuel Lujan. I understand Virginia's two great Senators are here, John Warner, Chuck Robb; Congressman George Allen; and other Members of Congress. I am delighted to be with you on this special day.

It's an honor to be here with the people of Orange County, for this is the community that nurtured the father of our Constitution, James Madison. Citizens of this county launched Madison's political career, sending him to the Virginia House of Delegates when he was just 25 years old. In 1789, Orange County, almost by itself, provided Madison's margin of victory in gaining a seat in the First Congress of the United States.

Here is the home where Madison developed and sustained his deep love of liberty, of religious freedom, economic freedom, intellectual freedom. Here at Montpelier, Madison immersed himself in the historical

and philosophic study that shaped our Constitution. And here he promised his constituents he would work to enact a Bill of Rights. I am especially pleased to announce that our fiscal year '93 budget will seek \$1 million in Federal support for the restoration of Montpelier.

Two hundred years ago this week, the Virginia General Assembly ratified the Bill of Rights. And with this action, three-fourths of the States had approved the Bill of Rights, thus making it a part of our Constitution. Americans have celebrated all of 1991 as the bicentennial year of the Bill of Rights. And thanks to efforts by schools and foundations and corporations, government bodies, active individuals, we've marked the year with many outstanding educational programs including a national tour exhibiting Virginia's own original copy of the Bill of Rights. Next year, an exhibit on the Bill of Rights organized by the U.S. Information Agency, will be the centerpiece of the United States pavilion at the Expo in Seville.

Congress has resolved that we observe the Bill of Rights bicentennial with a Year of Thanksgiving for the Blessings of Liberty.

As a gesture of my esteem for James Madison and his home community, I am signing here at Montpelier the Presidential proclamation of this bicentennial celebration.

May God bless all of you, and may He always keep the American people free and dedicated to Madison's ideals of a just society.

Thank you all very much, and now I will

sign this proclamation.

*Note: The President spoke at 11:48 a.m. In his remarks, he referred to Robert Bass, and Jack Walter, chairman, and president of the National Trust for Historic Preservation. The proclamation entitled "Year of Thanksgiving for the Blessings of Liberty" is listed in Appendix E at the end of this volume.*

## Remarks at a Luncheon Commemorating the Bicentennial of the Bill of Rights at Montpelier in Orange County, Virginia December 16, 1991

Thank you, Senator Warner, for those very kind words. And let me thank Robert Bass and Jack Walter of the National Trust for Historic Preservation for hosting this event, indeed a historic event and a wonderful one to attend. We're fortunate to have the Secretary of the Interior with us, Manuel Lujan over here. Virginia is fortunate, I think, to have two great Senators, both friends of the Bush family, and I mentioned John and Chuck Robb sitting over here. Senator Strom Thurmond is with us; and also the new Congressman, George Allen; from Virginia and my old friend and classmate in the House of Representatives—we didn't like that remark about it, John—[laughter]—John Paul Hammerschmidt over here. And other Members that might be with us today.

And may I single out my luncheon partner, Mrs. Smith, whose commitment to Montpelier is contagious. It didn't keep me from eating that excessively high-calorie dessert—[laughter]—nor push away from the chicken, but I learned a lot about Montpelier, and I go away even more enthused than I thought I possibly could be when I came down here today.

I hesitate to give a serious speech about the Bill of Rights, looking around the room with all the lawyers and experts, people who understandably have great pride in Virginia's contribution to the history of this Nation. But I'll try anyway.

We are here in the pastoral beauty of Virginia's Piedmont to celebrate 200 years

since the Virginia Assembly ratified the first 10 amendments to the Constitution. This action brought into force our Bill of Rights.

It is fitting that we meet at the home of James Madison, framer of the Constitution, architect of the Bill of Rights. In Madison we honor a learned man with a scholar's appreciation for political philosophy. We remember also a practical politician whose skill and leadership helped persuade the free people of America to embrace the Constitution and the Bill of Rights as our basis for government.

I want to thank the National Trust and others who have worked to organize this fitting commemoration. The trust, which administers this beautiful estate, deserves the highest praise for its innovative plan to make Montpelier a living center for constitutional studies. And I will repeat what I said out here: I am pleased that our fiscal year 1993 budget requests \$1 million in Federal support for the restoration of Montpelier.

I am honored to welcome some very special guests, legal scholars and statesmen from Eastern and Central European nations which have won new freedom. I want to take this occasion also to say that an exhibit on the Bill of Rights will be the centerpiece of the U.S. pavilion at next year's Expo in Seville.

The ideas and action of the American founders were rooted deeply in human nature and experience. Though 200 years have passed, the understandings on which

our Constitution and Bill of Rights are based still make a reliable guide. Whether the issue is health care or protection of the environment, the proper roles of parents and the state in educating our young, or the rise of interest groups and their power in lawmaking and litigation, we can make sound decisions today if we heed the wise counsel imparted by our founders.

Two centuries ago, our new Republic was free and dynamic and hopeful and growing. Our founders were determined to preserve those qualities. But as Madison observed, "men are not angels." The framers of our Constitution confronted problems not unlike those that the Central and Eastern European constitution writers face today. The framers had to grapple with ethnic and religious differences, regional interests, issues of where power should lie and of how to contain conflict. Madison saw such problems of faction as the greatest threat to our national survival.

The men who gathered to write the Constitution were businessmen, farmers, and lawyers, mostly in their thirties and forties. And they had a passion for learning. They mastered the state of the art in engineering and agricultural sciences. And they steeped themselves in the wisdom of the Greek and Roman classics, in the faith and philosophy of the Judeo-Christian tradition. Neither cynical nor naive, they held a hopeful and pragmatic vision. Having seen human nature in the public square, they experienced both its frailty and its aspirations.

The framers sought to strengthen civil society by encouraging public habits of freedom, justice, and cooperation. And they worked to give us a charter that would serve, as Madison put it, "not only to guard the society against the oppression of its rulers, but to guard one part of the society against the injustice of the other part."

The framers had the humble genius to recognize that manmade laws and government are not a panacea for human problems. They believed law and government, like good medicine, should seek first and foremost to do no harm. Taxation, public works, civil litigation, law enforcement activity are part of the framework of a just and civil society. They do give health to the social organization when provided in small,

measured, and necessary doses. But when taken needlessly or to excess, such medicine could sicken or kill a society.

The Constitution, therefore, became primarily a plan for uniting the Nation while preventing concentration of power and preserving the inalienable rights and liberties of individuals. The framers were so committed to this ideal that they decided after signing the Constitution to add a Bill of Rights, to impose clear and stark limits on the exercise of Government power.

The Federal system seeks to keep government close to the people whenever practical, in the States and not in the Nation's Capital. Within the National Government we have our system of checks and balances, with powers shared among the executive, legislative, and judicial branches. The judiciary's independence is vital to any country's governance by the rule of law.

The founders believed freedom was the key to economic as well as social well-being. They made the Constitution a powerful legal instrument for economic opportunity and growth. I do not believe our Republic could have survived, much less could it have prospered, without the commerce clause preventing the States from setting up trade barriers one against the other. Through the takings clause and the due process clause, the Bill of Rights protects people's earnings and property.

The genius of the Bill of Rights is that it limits its attention to truly important things and to things over which a just and limited government can exercise some actual control. Two centuries ago, just as now, politics tempted some to take flight from moderation and realism. Edmund Burke complained at the time of those who "are so taken up with their theories about the rights of man that they have totally forgotten his nature."

The framers, however, were practical men. They gave us not a declaration of rights but a Bill of Rights, not a piece of propaganda but a set of legally enforceable constraints on government. Most important, they drafted a Bill of Rights that reflected the higher nature and the aspirations of the American people, a bill that grew out of the American character, not one grafted onto it

for the sake of some abstract theory.

There's a lesson in this for today's writers of national constitutions and international treaties, some of whom are with us today. Today, one often hears the concept of rights attached to specific social services or material standards of living. The framers, however, did not elevate acquisition of even the most vital goods and services to the status of rights. They trusted people to make the most of their liberty and to respond to the challenge of assuming responsibility for themselves, their families, their communities, and their government. And they understood that paternalism is just a sugar-coated tyranny.

Madison was his era's greatest champion of freedom of conscience. It is appropriate, therefore, that the very first article of the Bill of Rights guarantees Americans' freedom to worship, to assemble, to speak, and to publish. Today, respect for the founders' ideals of freedom of conscience still drives us as we seek to restore the freedom of voluntary prayer in the public schools. It still guides us in such efforts as protecting the rights of parents to choose schools and facilities for child care.

The Bill of Rights offers a highly-developed system of protection for persons facing criminal charges. The Bill protects suspects from arbitrary search and seizure. The Bill respects the human dignity of criminals convicted of even the most heinous offenses by banning cruel and unusual punishment. The protections of personal rights, the safeguards against arbitrary actions of the military against private property, and the guarantee of the right to keep and bear arms have enhanced the public's respect for our law enforcement and military authorities. They protected our people from government abuses that were common in the 18th century and that persist in some countries today.

The final articles of the Bill of Rights asserts that the central Government should have no powers other than those explicitly given it by the Constitution. All other powers belong to the people or, where government is necessary, to States. It is this principle that leads us today to look first not to big government but to the incentives and efficiency of free markets in addressing

such problems as protecting the environment.

For all the pride we should take in our Constitution and Bill of Rights, this must not be an occasion simply for self-congratulation. Indeed, if Madison could speak to us today, I think I have a good idea of what he would ask. He would ask: Are American citizens and their leaders still living true to the framers' legacy of limited government and ordered freedom? Are Americans still fighting to expand the frontiers of liberty?

As we begin our third century under the protections of the Bill of Rights, I urge my fellow Americans to focus on our Madisonian legacies in need of renewal.

The first is limited government. In many quarters, various groups have tried to replace our founders' vision with a vision of pervasive government. I simply cannot believe that the framers envisioned that the central Government would spend a quarter of the gross national product of this country.

Second is protection of property rights. The takings clause in the fifth amendment is based on a liberating political insight: A person's property serves as a bulwark of individual liberty and that government must pay a fair price whenever it takes private property for public use. By protecting a worker's earnings and savings, a family's home, or a small businessman's stake from unfair confiscation or ruinous overregulation, this principle seeks to protect the whole of society from gluttonous government.

Third is equal application of the laws. It was alien to Madison's ideals that legislators would exempt themselves from laws they impose on everyone else. He made this explicit in the famous Federalist Paper Number 57. Laws that do not apply equally to everyone offend the fundamental sense of American justice and fairness, and they threaten the public trust upon which free government depends.

And finally, we must renew our protection against the destructive forces of what Madison called factions. Factions, not the States or regions but what we today call special interest groups. That is why I urge sweeping reform of our campaign finance

laws. And that's why I urge profound reform of Congress's cumbersome committee system and its vast and powerful staffs. Unreformed, these systems support selfish lobbying and pressure groups at the expense of true popular sovereignty. And that's why I also seek comprehensive reform of our tort law system, to rein in the excessive litigation that is draining our economy and straining our national civility.

If we fail to heed Madison's warning against faction, we will reap a whirlwind of social conflict, litigiousness, and coercive Government action. It's up to us to choose: Do we want to live in freedom and harmony, or will we become slaves to factional feuds pitting women against men, race against race, every sort of fevered single-issue activist against the common good?

The Constitution and the Bill of Rights have endured for 200 years, far longer than most nations' charters for government. And they've enabled us, 10 generations of Americans, to govern ourselves and keep ourselves free. Their greatness is that they harmonize our national law with American

civic virtues: hard work, commitment to family, commitment to community, postponement of gratification for the sake of larger and longer term good. They are not simply dry ink markings on a brittle, old parchment; they are the spirit that animates the American Nation. This spirit will keep America alive for new generations only if each of us renews the habits of liberty and justice. The Republic that Madison gave us will live for years to come only if we keep our culture committed to the civic virtues that he cherished.

Thank you very much for permitting me to join you on this historic occasion. And may God bless you in this important work of cultural preservation. And may God bless our country at this very special time of the year. Thank you all very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 1:30 p.m. In his remarks, he referred to Robert Bass and Jack Walter, chairman and president of the National Trust for Historic Preservation and Joan Smith, member of the board of trustees.*

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Revocation of Resolution 3379 by the United Nations General Assembly December 16, 1991

We welcome today's vote in the United Nations General Assembly to revoke the 1975 determination that equated Zionism with racism. The United States rejected this determination from the day it was passed because it branded as illegitimate the national aspirations of the Jewish people and the national existence of Israel. This action also worked to undermine the UN's moral standing and its ability to contribute to peace in the Middle East.

The President is gratified that his call for repeal in his speech to the UNGA in September has now received the overwhelming support of the international community. We commend those governments that co-sponsored or supported this resolution, and we salute the United Nations. Today's vote has enhanced the UN's credibility and

serves the interests of peace that have been advanced significantly by the Madrid conference and subsequent bilateral negotiations.

Prime Minister Shamir called the President to express his gratitude for the President's efforts to revoke the determination. The Prime Minister said the Jewish people are grateful for the President's leadership and rejoice in the outcome of the UN vote.

Last Friday and again today, the President spoke with Dutch Prime Minister and EC Council President Ruud Lubbers. On Saturday, he spoke with Chancellor Kohl and today with Prime Minister Major. These conversations centered on GATT and the Uruguay round. All the leaders agreed on the need to achieve a successful conclusion to the round and reaffirmed their

countries' efforts in this direction.

In addition, the President spoke with President Mitterrand on Sunday concerning GATT and the Uruguay round. They also discussed the situation in the Soviet Union and the Republics and the United States' call for an international conference. The

President noted that the United States will continue working with and consulting with all its allies on humanitarian needs for the Soviet Union and the Republics. The two also discussed the situation in Yugoslavia and the need to work urgently for an end to the violence.

## Presidential Determination No. 92-9—Memorandum on Assistance for Yugoslav Refugees

December 16, 1991

### *Memorandum for the Secretary of State*

*Subject:* Migration and Refugee Assistance for Yugoslav Refugees

Pursuant to section 2(c)(1) of the Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1962, as amended, 22 U.S.C. 2601(c)(1), I determine that it is important to the national interest that up to \$7,000,000 be made available from the U.S. Emergency Refugee and Migration Assistance Fund (the Fund) to meet unexpected urgent needs of refugees and other displaced persons resulting from the civil conflict in Yugoslavia. These funds may be used to provide U.S. contributions to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Committee of the Red Cross, other international organiza-

tions, governments and governmental organizations, and private voluntary organizations, as required.

You are authorized and directed to inform the appropriate committees of the Congress of this determination and the obligation of funds under this authority and to publish this memorandum in the *Federal Register*.

GEORGE BUSH

*[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, January 2, 1992]*

*Note: This memorandum was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on December 17.*

## Exchange With Reporters Prior to Meeting With Foreign Minister David Levi of Israel

December 17, 1991

### *Repeal of U.N. Resolution 3379*

*The President.* It was very significant. It was an action that I think will make the United Nations much more effective. And it is long overdue. And that resolution shouldn't have been passed in the first place, but I think we all heralded the repeal of it, and I know it was a great day for Israel as well as for the United States and many, many other countries. So, we're very pleased. And I had a lovely call from Prime

Minister Shamir about it yesterday afternoon.

### *Middle East Peace Talks*

*Q.* What are you doing to prod the peace talks, Mr. President? They seem to be on dead center.

*The President.* We're going to talk about that in a minute, so I won't take any questions. We unfortunately have a short amount of time here. But I've been looking forward to—

*The Economy*

*Q.* Could you comment on the polls and the economy, sir?

*The President.* Oh, you know me, I don't comment on polls. But on the economy, we've got to get it straightened out. Everybody has to pitch in and get that going. But no polling. We're not going to live or die by polls.

*Q.* What about the fact that—

*The President.* No, I said no more. Hey, you didn't hear what I said, Rita [Rita Bea-mish, Associated Press]? I'm not going to take any more.

*Q.* What about the fact that—

*The President.* No, you didn't hear what I

told Rita. [Laughter]

Thank you very much, though. Welcome, everybody. It's a great day, and we're very pleased to see you.

*Q.* It sounds like you're giving the polls a new—you've taken a new look.

*Q.* None of the Arab countries in the peace process, however, joined with the United States in fighting the resolution. Do you have a reaction to that?

*The President.* Some have a little difficult hearing.

*Note: The exchange began at 11:04 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.*

## Remarks on Welcoming Prime Minister Anan Panyarachun of Thailand

*December 17, 1991*

May I simply say to the journalists from Thailand, particularly, what a joy it is for me to receive this Prime Minister, a friend of long standing. The friendship goes back some 15 years. He was a most respected figure back then in the United Nations, and he's now a most respected figure on the

world scene. So this is a joy today for us. Thank you all very much for coming.

*Note: The President spoke at 11:45 a.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

## Teleconference Remarks on the New Hampshire 2000 Education Initiative

*December 17, 1991*

*The President.* Hello.

*Governor Gregg.* Mr. President.

*The President.* Judd, can you hear me?

*Governor Gregg.* Absolutely. Very well.

*The President.* Well, you sound like you're right next door here.

*Governor Gregg.* Well, the wonders of communication.

*The President.* The wonders. But listen, I just wanted to check in with you to congratulate you on what I understand from Lamar's people is a fantastic team that you've put together there in terms of New

Hampshire 2000, this educational, national education program, but with your putting the proper emphasis on it for State and local and all of that. And I just really wanted to first hear how it's going because I understand you've got your commissioners there and the local superintendent and the local assistant superintendent and a principal, plus some other friends, all of which I think puts the proper emphasis on this whole program.

But from your standpoint, how is it

going?

*Governor Gregg.* Mr. President, first I'd like to have all these kids here—we've got a big crowd of kids here—all the Derry kids say hello to you.

Can you folks say, "Hello, Mr. President"?

[*At this point, the group greeted the President.*]

*The President.* Go, Derry. Go, Derry. [Laughter]

*Governor Gregg.* I don't think we even needed a telephone line for you to hear that down—

*The President.* No, I heard it outside as well as in.

*Governor Gregg.* We're doing very well up here. Derry's got an extremely energized program for going to a year-round school proposal with some extraordinarily interesting ideas. And we're very excited about that initiative. We've got a lot of other initiatives going on in this State in the area of trying to increase awareness and activity in education. We recognize as a region, and especially New Hampshire recognizes, that education and well-educated kids and adults, quite honestly, are absolutely critical for our ability to be competitive in the world.

And so, we just want to thank you and certainly Secretary Alexander for taking the personal interest that you've taken in New Hampshire by making this call and having Secretary Alexander come up here to talk to us about your 2000 program.

*The President.* I'm delighted he's there. And I don't have to say this to make his ears burn, but he is doing a superb job across the whole country. First place, he's assembled a great team here. But I think even more important, with the help of the Governors, yourself included, I think with our education goals and now this America 2000 program, we're doing something positive. We're doing something new. It gets all across party lines. It's not Democrat or Republican, as you know. And I'm just delighted that you are taking this—not surprised but delighted that you are taking this leadership role up there on this important work.

And let me say this: This is a time when the country is hurting, and I know your State is, in terms of the economy. And

when people are hurting, why, we want to do everything we possibly can do. And this education program, though it is not of what you call short-term benefit, it is a wonderful guarantor for the future that every kid in New Hampshire is going to have the best opportunity to compete in a very difficult world.

In the meantime, we've got to do what we can here to stimulate the economy, get it going. But I look at education as a key to the entire future of this country. And that's why I feel as enthusiastic as I do about this program.

I might ask you to do me a favor and lean over—is Lamar sitting right there?

*Governor Gregg.* No, unfortunately, he's not.

*The President.* Well, if you see him—

*Governor Gregg.* Oh, here he is, right here. I'm sorry. You snuck in on me. [Laughter] Here he is.

*The President.* Well, I'd like just to ask you to ask him, to give him a little homework there, and tell him that I really want to personally keep up with your progress. You and I, I'm sure, will continue to be in touch, but I just would like to hear from our education experts the innovation that New Hampshire brings to this, the local expertise that you're going to bring to bear on all of these problems, and to keep us informed here in the White House of your progress. I know it will be good. But Lamar, if you're listening, please take that on as a personal request from the President.

*Governor Gregg.* He says he will dutifully do that, and we expect to be able to submit a straight-A report card from New Hampshire, hopefully. And I couldn't agree with you more that your emphasis on education as being one of the keys to getting our economy to turn around and, in the long run, is absolutely essential for us to be competitive as a State, certainly as a Nation.

*The President.* Well, you mentioned long run, but we're working to bring around shortrun decisive action that will identify with the people out there that are hurting. Your State is suffering, and I know it. I can feel it. In a sense, I'm a neighbor there. But I believe we just have to stay involved in the shortest run possible to help people



who are hurting. But I also feel that this education initiative can be very, very stimulative, as you point out, and so please keep up the good work.

I understand that our man Bill Zeliff, a great Congressman, is with you. Is that true?

*Governor Gregg.* Absolutely. He's sitting right with us.

*The President.* How's he behaving?

*Governor Gregg.* He says hello to you, too, Mr. President.

*The President.* And Jack Dowd, give him my best. And I understand Representative Pat Skinner is there, and we know each other. So I really want to wish you well and just say thanks for what you're doing and please keep up your leadership.

And to those wonderful kids in Derry, you do absolutely everything that your teachers and principals tell you to do. And you're working in a great State there with a great Governor, and we're going to help. We are going to be a part of the answer in

terms of educational reform in this country.

So, God bless you all. And may I say as I'm looking at the Christmas tree in the Oval Office with the cookies on it and presents already under the tree, I hope each and every one of you kids in Derry have a wonderful, Merry Christmas.

*Governor Gregg.* Thank you, Mr. President. I think they want to say good-bye to you.

Can everybody say, "Bye, Mr. President"?

[At this point, the group said goodbye to the President.]

*The President.* Over and out.

*Governor Gregg.* Thank you very much.

*The President.* Good-bye.

*Note: The President spoke at 12:05 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Jack Dowd, mayor of Derry, NH, and Pat Skinner, chairperson of the education committee in the New Hampshire House of Representatives.*

## Interview With Bill Beutel of WABC-TV in New York City December 17, 1991

### *The Economy*

*Q.* Mr. President, I know you don't address polls, but you are aware of the one that came out today saying that your popularity, your approval rating, is lower than it has been since you've been President. It blames the low approval rating on the recession which the White House admits now is continuing. As you probably know, in New York City nothing is more important than the economy right now. Has the time come, sir, for the administration to jump-start, to try at least to jump-start the economy?

*The President.* Absolutely. And we've been trying, but the time has come to try again. And the economy is in trouble. It's sluggish. It has not responded the way all the experts felt it would, all the economists last summer. And so the answer is to try again, and I would call it try again for our

growth package plus additions.

So one of the things we've done already is to free up some \$9.7 billion worth of spending that would have come later in the year, try to use that to jump-start it. We'll have some other new ideas for the State of the Union Message. But absolutely, people are hurting, and I am trying to help. What I'm going to try to do, Bill, is to get up and over the heads of the Congress, if you will, and take my case to the American people in the State of the Union. And I think there's some things we can do before that. But we are trying very, very hard.

*Q.* Mr. President, you talk about the State of the Union. Here in New York City there is a feeling of greater urgency. The State of the Union does not come for something on the order of a month. People have asked me what would the President say to a man here in New York City who is out of a job,

who has been out of a job, maybe a middle income job, maybe making \$50,000 or \$60,000 a year, and he's been out of work for many months. Christmastime is coming, and he is told by the experts that his job has disappeared. This is not a temporary layoff, but a permanent layoff, a restructuring of the economy. What do you say to a man like that?

*The President.* I say we've got to do better in job training. We've got some very good programs so you can retrain people who get into other lines of work. But the big thing is we've got to get growth restored. I have been pushing for certain growth incentives: IRA's, for example, to stimulate the homebuying industry; capital gains to stimulate new jobs. Some call it a break for the rich. It is a jobs bill. And so, what I've got to do is redouble my efforts to try to get these things through the Congress; that will help stimulate the economy and give that man a job in a new business.

And we're not going to do it by just kind of propping up old businesses. We've got to go for new businesses. And we've got to continue to try to expand our markets abroad. Fortunately, exports have had a big, had a salvation effect on the economy. But we need more exports. So, there's a wide array of things we can do to show that individual we care.

#### *U.S. Manufacturing*

*Q.* Mr. President, the other night, Sunday night, the Democrats, one of whom may be your opponent next year, Paul Tsongas, said that the only way that we will get the economy going is if the engine of the manufacturing sector gets going again. And we do not have a manufacturing sector, do we, anymore?

*The President.* Yes, we do. We've got a good one. But he's right in some ways. I mean, we want to stimulate the manufacturing sector of the economy. And some of the proposals that I've just made here, that we're for, I think would do that. No, but I believe we've got to do better in manufacturing. Frankly, we've got some good manufacturing. And one of the reasons for not pulling back into some isolationistic sphere is our manufacturing goods can compete with foreign manufacturers if we get free

and fair access to their markets. So, we've got to do better in that regard.

But look, I'm not arguing with his point. We've got to do better in manufacturing.

#### *The Homeless*

*Q.* Mr. President, that same man who sits in New York out of a job, and many other people who look at the homeless on our streets and the situation here, ask why is it, how is it that the administration can be so concerned about giving money to the Soviet Union, or what was the Soviet Union, when so many things are wrong in our society?

*The President.* Well, take the homeless, for example. This administration is spending more money on the homeless than any previous administration. We have fully funded what's known as the McKinney Act. This is not simply a Federal problem, however, Bill. As you know, this is a problem that normally is handled by the cities. But the Federal Government is trying to help, and we've done better. I don't think we get much credit for it.

Incidentally, on the question of the homeless, we're also working hard to see if we don't have a better way to help those people who are mentally sick, estimated to be at about a third of the homeless nationally. And, as you know, the law was changed several years ago where you couldn't compel medical treatment for some of these people, and they were turned loose. And I think that's one that's plagued people in New York, and it's one that needs more compassionate handling. So, we're looking carefully to see if we can't do a little better job on getting treatment and compelling treatment for those who are homeless because of mental illness.

#### *President's Dog*

*Q.* Mr. President, a very young person in our newsroom wants to know how Millie is.

*The President.* Millie's doing pretty good. She's got a little lupus disease, but when her medicine is right you wouldn't—she's in a kind of a remission, and she can hunt and run and jump around. But she's doing fine, and at this time of year it's kind of nice.

*Q.* Thank you, Mr. President, very much.

Happy Christmas to you and your family.

*The President.* Well, same to you and yours. And thank you for this opportunity.

*Q.* Thank you, sir.

*Note: The interview began at 1:47 p.m. The President spoke via satellite from Room 459 of the Old Executive Office Building.*

## Interview With Jim Gardner of WPVI-TV in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

*December 17, 1991*

*Q.* Mr. President, this is Jim Gardner from Philadelphia.

*The President.* Loud and clear. See you, Jim.

*Q.* How are you, sir?

*The President.* On a scale of one to ten? About a seven today.

*Q.* Well, that's not so great.

*The President.* It's pretty good.

*Q.* Well, it's not so bad.

*The President.* No, it's not bad.

### *The Economy*

*Q.* Mr. President, we were interested to hear your spokesman, Marlin Fitzwater, this morning proclaim today that the country is, in fact, still in a recession. Until now you have said again and again that the country was technically not in a recession. What changed your mind?

*The President.* Well, I don't know about technically, but I think what we're trying to put the emphasis on is people are hurting. And some people can define it. Some areas will say, "Hey, we're not in recession; we've got a certain amount of growth." Others will say, "Tell us about it. We're in a serious recession."

So, rather than try to define or not define terms, what we're saying is: We are trying to help. And we've got to get this country doing better, to bring pressure on all of us, the administration and Congress, to do what we can to help. And we've done certain things that I think will. We've freed up \$9.6 or \$9.7 billion worth of Government spending. We're signing a jobs-intensive transportation bill that will kick it. And then, as you know, we're going to have some new initiatives at the State of the Union.

So, I'm less interested in what the technical definition is. You might argue technically, are we in recession or not? But when there is this kind of sluggishness and concern, definitions, heck with it; let's get on with the business at hand.

*Q.* Mr. President, many thousands of Philadelphians have been suffering at the hands of the economy for far too long, and many of them would feel that they have been abandoned by your administration and specifically by you. I would assume that you don't see it that way.

*The President.* No, I don't. But I can understand their frustration. For a person that's out of work the unemployment rate is not 6.9 percent or 6.8 percent nationally; it is 100 percent. So, I can understand the frustration, and you know, you've got to take the heat in this job. I don't think there's any quick and easy answers to this economy. There are certain things we can do and that I've tried to do in three separate State of the Union Messages.

But for somebody that's hurting out there, Jim, I can understand their saying, "Hey, the President isn't doing enough. Congress isn't doing enough." And I have to take the heat on that. I've got to take the responsibility. But what I'm trying to do is to lead this country out of this sluggishness to the best of my ability. And, as I say, we've got some proposals, and we're going to have more.

### *President's Approval Rating*

*Q.* The new ABC News/Washington Post poll, out this morning, says that 58 percent of the public think that you care more about serving the wealthy than you do about the middle class. I wonder, does this

point to a failure of your economic policy or an inability of the administration to convey how it does feel?

*The President.* I think it's the latter and possibly the former, because people look at it and say, "Hey, why can't you get Congress to do what you want it to do? You did it in Desert Storm." The difference is I didn't need Congress to move on Desert Storm, as you may well remember. So I think it's a combination of things. And I can understand when people are hurting that they feel that way.

And a good thing happened on this polling, though. I vowed when the polls were sky-high not to live by the polls and saying I didn't believe them. And I'm not going to start now, trying to analyze where I stand. What we're trying to do is help people and get on with this trying to do what the Federal Government can do to help the recovery. It isn't just Federal Government, I might say, but we've got a large role in it, and I want to see us be more effective.

#### *Soviet Nuclear Weapons*

*Q.* The issue about nuclear weapons. Russian President Yeltsin is saying that Ukraine and Byelorussia have agreed to destroy their nuclear weapons. But the Presidents of those two Republics are reportedly saying that they won't get rid of their nuclear weapons or the nuclear weapons on their soil unless Boris Yeltsin gets rid of his. And the President of the Islamic Republic of Kazakhstan is now saying that he wants to keep his nuclear arms. Secretary of State Baker is saying he has no more concern than normal. But aren't Americans right to be concerned about nuclear stability in that part of the world?

*The President.* One of the things that we are trying to do in handling this peaceful evolution in the Soviet Union, in the Republics, is to be sure that the nuclear question is handled well. And one of the reasons I spend a fair amount of time on this question is because I think I owe it to the American people to use the best of our ability to see that this nuclear question is handled correctly.

I hadn't heard the latest that you've just given me on one Republic, but I can tell the American people this through you: We are getting proper assurances from all about the safe disposal of and accounting for and control of nuclear weapons. And that is a key. That's one reason why, when I hear this criticism, "Hey, you shouldn't spend time on foreign affairs," by some of these turning-inward people—we must do it. We owe it to the kids there in the State of Pennsylvania and everywhere else. And I am not going to forswear my responsibilities for leadership in this area.

#### *AIDS*

*Q.* Mr. President, here in Philadelphia, this morning marked the start of a program to make condoms available to juniors and seniors in the city's public schools. How do you feel about that?

*The President.* I'm not enthusiastic about that. I certainly would like to see more in the hands of families; more in the hands of education. And I have expressed myself, and you know, let the local jurisdictions do what they want. I mean, they have rights. States have rights. Local communities have rights. Local school boards have rights. But you ask me, I would much prefer to see this matter handled through better education, through behavior, getting people to understand that in the case of AIDS this is a disease that can be controlled, for the most part, by individual behavior. And I don't think passing out condoms is the way you affect individual behavior, very candidly.

So I'm less enthusiastic about that approach than I am about doing a better job with family, with education, with getting forward with the whole behavioral side of the equation.

*Q.* Mr. President, I appreciate you sharing your thoughts with us today.

*The President.* Nice to be with you. Have a good Christmas.

*Q.* You, too, sir.

*Note: The interview began at 1:53 p.m. The President spoke via satellite from Room 459 of the Old Executive Office Building.*

## Interview With Linda Yu of WLS-TV in Chicago, Illinois December 17, 1991

### *The Economy*

*Q.* My name's Linda Yu. You've acknowledged that as President you've got to take the heat for this economy, and people are blaming you for not doing something about it. Besides speeding up the spending of \$1.9 billion in Federal money for programs, what specifically are you going to suggest can be done for the economy, that the President can do without concurrence by the Congress?

*The President.* Well, \$9.7 billion is the figure, and I think that will help certainly in some areas. I'll be signing a transportation bill tomorrow that's going to free up a bunch of money for construction projects. And then we may have one or two other things that are of significant size before the State of the Union. But a lot of what can be done in Washington relies on congressional action. And so, what I'm going to be doing is taking a package, some new elements, some sound old elements that we have not gotten Congress to pass, and say to the American people, "Look, I need your help now. I want to lay aside partisan politics and pass this job-creating package to help the economy." So, that's the game plan, Linda.

*Q.* A lot of people are going to say, "We hear about all those old elements all the time; they don't seem to be working." What are some of the new elements you're going to propose?

*The President.* I wouldn't tell you about that because we're still formulating the package. But stay tuned for the State of the Union and, as I say, possibly before then. But they shouldn't say "old elements that haven't worked." They should say "old elements that have not been enacted." Because some of the things we're proposing, such as IRA's that would help the first-time home-buyer and stimulate the home industry, or capital gains that would stimulate and create jobs, these things are good ideas that we simply haven't gotten Congress to enact yet. But we're going to keep on trying. We've got to help the economy and

help the people that are hurting.

*Q.* I talked to four Chicagoans who wanted to pose questions to you, and I'm going to tell you about them and tell you their questions.

One is a man from the Chicago suburbs. A veteran of Desert Storm, served in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, laid off when he got back from the Persian Gulf. And he says: "It was almost better when I was in the Persian Gulf. At least I knew where the next check was coming from. My wife and son would receive some money every month. I wonder what the next year's going to hold for me. Mr. President, is it going to be better for me?"

*The President.* I think it is going to be better. I certainly hope so. And I can say that because I really believe that we'll come out of this sluggish economy. Some places clearly are in real decline.

And so, to him I'd say, "One, we're grateful for the service. Two, the country hasn't forgotten that service because of the urgency of the economy here. And three, yes, I think times will be better, and I can guarantee you they'll be better if I am effective in getting through the Congress the proposals that I will pose to them at the State of the Union."

We've had some. We've not been able to get them through the Congress. Three straight years I've proposed growth packages. But I've got to do better. I have got to get the Congress to see that we must help these people you're talking about.

### *Education*

*Q.* Another woman from Chicago who gave up a career for her children. She's a volunteer in the Chicago public schools for the last 10 years. She says: "President Bush, I'm one of your Points of Light. I'm wondering, though, how can we improve math and science in our schools when we don't even have the money in Chicago to buy toilet paper and soap for schools, for our children. Why do you feel money for our children is less important than bailing out

the savings and loan industry?"

*The President.* I don't think money for the children is less important. Federal spending for education is up. But I would remind her, tactfully because she does sound like she's an unselfish person who is out there trying to help as a volunteer and that is an enormous part of the success in education, I would remind her that the Federal Government spends 6 to 7 percent of the total money on education. Educational spending in the last 10 years is up from, oh, by a couple of hundred billion dollars from \$115 billion, or something like this, to well over up around \$300 billion.

So, it isn't always a function of money. Our America 2000 education program offers the best hope from the Federal level. It's not going to replace the State level or the level she's talking about, or what the communities can do for the toilet paper or for the classrooms, but it offers the best hope from the Federal level of getting our kids better educated. I'm excited about it. I believe America 2000 can really fulfill the Federal Government's responsibility.

*Q.* We also have a woman, a mother, who raises her children in the housing projects of Chicago. One's been accused of gang murder. Her children have been shot at. And she says: "Mr. Bush, my family's really no different from your family. I have the same struggles trying to raise my children that you faced raising yours, but my community is very unsafe. I go outside; there are drug dealers on every corner. I look around; the drug dealers have a lot of resources, but I don't have any. What are you going to do about it?"

*The President.* What I think she ought to do is support our anticrime legislation that's hung up in Congress. It's awful hard to ask a person who's struggling at that level. But if more Americans will get in and say, "We want a tough crime bill, one that supports the police officers more and tougher on the criminals," I believe that would help her. In addition, we've got a national drug strategy that is doing better in terms of the interdiction of narcotics. But I really believe the short-term answer is more support for the law enforcement officials. The local police

there in Chicago, they do a first-class job, and they need more support through Federal law, and I think sometimes through State and local law enforcement.

So, that's the advice I would give.

#### *Chicago's Billy Goat Restaurant*

*Q.* You were here in Chicago last week, and everybody wants to know, when you went to Billy Goat's, did you really like the "cheezboygers, cheezboygers"? [*Laughter*]

*The President.* It's your pronunciation I like. Yes, I did. I did. And I got a bum rap. Somebody said I asked for french fries; I didn't. That was the guy that owns the place sitting next to me saying, "chips only," before I even got my mouth open. But, boy, I loved it. I had two "cheez-boygers."

*Q.* Cheezboygers.

*The President.* Oh, yes. They were great. And the people, the people were nice that I sat with. And you know, let me tell you something, Linda, when you do something like that, everybody says show business. It isn't. A couple of those guys were sheet metal workers that had just gotten to work. One was an unemployed writer, a woman who told me of what it felt like to not have a job. Another had a job at a company called Hill and Knolton. Another was a guy struggling but doing, I think, reasonably well in the computer business.

So, I talked to them. And although they had those mics, that you people love, looking over my shoulder, at least I learned something. And I could tell them, "Hey, we care, and we want to help." And I think they know it. I think they know that's what I feel in my heart. So, it was a great visit. A great visit.

*Q.* We hope so, Mr. President. We were glad you visited here. And thanks for talking to us today. Merry Christmas.

*The President.* Thank you, Linda Yu. And have a Merry Christmas to you and your family and all in the area.

*Q.* Thanks.

*Note: The interview began at 2 p.m. The President spoke via satellite from Room 459 of the Old Executive Office Building.*

## Interview With Richard Brown of KGO-TV in San Francisco, California

December 17, 1991

*The President.* Richard, can you hear me?

*Q.* Yes I can, Mr. President. Richard Brown in San Francisco.

*The President.* I see you and hear you loud and clear, sir. Go ahead.

*Q.* I don't know whether being fourth or fifth would be better in this round of interviews, but—

*The President.* In baseball it's considered the best. Clean-up, clean-up hitter.

### AIDS

*Q.* Let's begin by talking about AIDS. Mr. President, drug users now represent the number one risk group for AIDS. Now, if we want to save lives, why not support the distribution of clean needles to drug addicts to prevent the spread of AIDS?

*The President.* Because I think, in a sense, that would encourage the drug habit. And so, I don't approve of that. I don't think that's the answer. I think education is the answer. I think the research that we are doing here at NIH and all across the country will prove to have the eventual real answer. Just as they discovered an antidote through the Salk vaccine to polio, I am confident that we'll get one on AIDS. It's a little ways down the road. I worry that that would encourage drug use when we are trying to educate people off of drug use and treat those who have the addiction so that they won't use drugs. That's the reason I feel that it's not a good idea.

*Q.* What about condoms to teenagers now?

*The President.* Look, it's dealer's choice. Let them try it out there. You asked me my opinion, and I can add to it: Would I want this as a national program, something at the Federal level? No. Excuse me.

*Q.* What about condoms to teenagers, Mr. President?

*The President.* Well, again, dealer's choice, but not for me, and not for the Federal Government. What I want to see is education. I don't think that just passing out condoms, giving up on lifestyle, giving up

on family and fundamental values is correct.

Indeed, I must tell you, I'm worried about it. I'm worried about so much filth and indecent material coming in through the airways and through these trials into people's homes. I think the American people have a right to be protected against some of these excesses. While people have a right to a fair trial, I think the American people have an overriding right to let those matters be decided behind closed doors.

In terms of just national passing out condoms to people, I am not in favor of that. But I am in favor of teaching values that normally were taught in history by the family, by others pitching in, in schools and other places, to instruct and to encourage people to lifestyles that can prevent AIDS or can prevent pregnancy. That's what we need.

*Q.* Mr. President, do you think that Magic Johnson's admission that he's HIV-positive is going to encourage you and the administration to kick in more money for AIDS research?

*The President.* I don't think it's a question particularly of more money. Federal funding for research is up under our administration, and I'm very proud of that. But we have a very good research team, headed by Dr. Tony Fauci and others out at NIH. And though they could use more money, and I'll take a look at that in the budget, they are not saying to me our research is starved out because of lack of funds.

So, it's a question of doing as much as the Federal Government can and taking pride in the fact that we've done more than anyone in the past, but we've got to find the answer to this question. And again, I'm somewhat optimistic about that, having had a thorough briefing the other day.

I'll tell you what Magic's willingness to engage himself in this national commission will do: It will teach people that wayward lifestyles or just kind of unsafe sex at random is not the way it ought to work.

And I think he'll be witnessing to that, and I think that can have a great influence on young people in this country. I think it already has, as a matter of fact.

### *The Economy*

*Q.* Let's talk about the economy for a couple of minutes, Mr. President. Big corporations are now saying that they're restructuring, that these layoffs that they're going through are permanent. If that is the case, and the New York Times suggests that it is, what is the Federal Government going to do to adjust to this and to get people working again?

*The President.* New jobs. New jobs and new industries. And, you know, I keep coming back to it, and I think some of the people in your area understand it better than others do across this country: One thing that would help—not entirely solve the problem—is a capital gains tax reduction. Japan taxes it at 1 percent, Germany at zero. And we are asking our people that start up businesses to create new jobs, to go into the ballgame with their hands tied behind their back.

So, let the Democrats and the liberals tell me that this is a tax cut for the rich. I think it would do just exactly what needs to be done for those people whose businesses are shifting and whose businesses are changing and who lose a job because of changes in industry.

That's one area. We've got some proposals for IRA's to stimulate the economy that we've had to the Congress, and I'll try again on those. We've got a new highway bill tomorrow that won't solve the problem that you're talking about, the white-collar worker thrown out of work, but will help stimulate this economy by substantial amounts of Federal spending for construction projects.

So, there's a lot of things working. I've accelerated \$9.7 billion in Federal spending that would have been spent way back in the end of the year, and that will have an effect. But the answer is, for those people that you talk about, is job retraining and new opportunities, which means economic growth.

### *Education*

*Q.* Mr. President, one final question. How about a Marshall plan for education, to get education moving?

*The President.* Please define what you mean by that.

*Q.* What we basically are trying to do in education is to try to move it along, to try and get it going again. And people are saying, "Well, we need some help from the Federal Government." And the Federal Government seems to be encouraging it, but yet doesn't seem to be indicating there's any money available for it.

*The President.* Well, in the first place, Federal spending for education is way up. In the second place, Federal spending for education represents about 6 or 7 percent of the total money. Historically, and properly in my view, education spending is closest to the people. It's at the local school board level, the community level, and indeed, the State level. The Federal percentage is something like 6 or 7 percent, and it has gone up.

Overall spending for education has gone from something like \$115 billion 10 years ago to about \$300 billion or over. I believe it's over that now.

So, to those who say the answer is spending, they ought to take a look at our America 2000 education program which simply says this: Working cooperatively with Democrats, Republicans, Governors, we've defined six national education goals. And now what we're doing is saying the way to get those goals implemented is through a program called America 2000 that literally reorganizes and revolutionizes American education. And it is a good program. It is getting tremendous support in all of these States, including the State of California.

So, I think the Federal Government is out front and leading. I don't think we ought to preempt the San Francisco schools. I don't think we ought to come in and say, "Okay, here's your curriculum; here's your mandatory test; here's exactly how you ought to run your business."

I think we've got the role defined properly. And I think it's adequately funded, though I wish we had more for it, and I know it's going to be a success.



Q. Thank you, Mr. President. Merry Christmas to you, Mr. President.

*The President.* Same to you and your family, and thanks a lot, and to all the people that listen to your program. Thank you very, very much.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

*Note: The interview began at 2:06 p.m. The President spoke via satellite from Room 459 of the Old Executive Office Building. In the interview, he referred to Magic Johnson, former professional basketball player and member of the National Commission on AIDS.*

## Interview With Harold Green of KABC-TV in Los Angeles, California

December 17, 1991

### *Economic Growth*

Q. Mr. President, I was at the Punch Bowl Cemetery a week ago, covering your speech there. And I was struck, sir, as you talked to the veterans about how America got behind the Gulf war effort as we did the World War II effort. Is it possible in this day and age, sir, to get behind this economic problem we're having in this country? Is there any way you can fire up the troops in this country, so to speak, so that that same sort of enthusiasm moves into that area?

*The President.* I hope so, and I am certainly going to keep on trying. We're going to have a renewed focal point of an effort at the State of the Union Message.

Without sounding defensive, Harold, 3 straight years we've sent growth programs to the Congress in the State of the Union Message. And very candidly, I've not been able to get a partisan Congress to move on these initiatives. They have other ideas.

But I think it is time to set aside, as your question implies, these partisan differences and say, "Look, people are hurting out there in this economy. Let's get this country moving again."

The war and domestic are different. I didn't have to get permission from the Democrats to move troops, to say, "We're going into battle tonight. We're going to give the command to General so-and-so." I didn't have to do that; I have that authority as President. To enact programs, I do have to do that. But your answer is, I've got to succeed in this. I have got to get this country moving again as best we can from the

Federal level. And we have good programs, and I think I can do it.

Q. President Bush, you have called, of course, for a cut in the capital gains tax. Can you be more specific? What other ideas do you have to jump-start the economy?

*The President.* Well, when you use the word "jump-start," let me say that the signing of the transportation bill tomorrow, which will be one of the successes for jump-starting, will be effective. In addition, we've accelerated \$9.7 billion worth of Federal spending. Now, we've got a several-trillion-dollar economy, but \$9.7 billion that would have been spent later is going to be spent sooner because of this trying to jump-start the economy.

There may be a couple of other things of substance that I'll be able to do before the State of the Union. But the big one is to say to the country, "Look, let's set politics aside. Let's get together and now go forward on a growth package." And some of it will have a short-term benefit. For example, IRA's, you know, these IRA's, these savings accounts to stimulate first-time homebuyers, I think once we pass something like that, that will have a psychological effect on the home-buying business.

So, there are other things we can do. We're trying hard to eliminate the excess of regulation. That doesn't require legislation, and we're making some progress there. Financial reform would help enormously. But we didn't get it through Congress. I'm going to try again.

So, these are some of the ideas that I

think can have enormous benefit to those people that are really hurting because they don't have a job.

*Q.* Mr. President, there was a statistic that was released last month by the Government that said that the number of people who have given up looking for jobs has risen. People who have given up looking for a job, sir, I don't know many people here in southern California who fit that description. What do you say to these people? They haven't given up looking for a job; they've just perhaps given up hope that there are no jobs available.

*The President.* I'd say let's get the economy stimulated. You know, Californians seem to understand the capital gains argument better than most. Japan pays 1 percent, when you sell out of a business, of capital gains. Germany pays no capital gains. And we are up in the astrosphere, whatever, stratosphere with capital gains.

So, the Democrats, mainly the liberal ones, accuse this of being a tax cut for the rich. Those businesses in California that started with incentive when you know that capital gains differential is important. And so, there is one area that I think would have a stimulation on new jobs.

The guys get thrown out of work because we're cutting back on defense spending. Now, he's entitled to job retraining, and we've got good programs for that. But he also is entitled to the hope, not the hopelessness of the guy that gives up; he's entitled to the hope that new jobs will be created. And we ought to move all these barriers to creating jobs out of the way, and that's what I'm trying to do.

So, I would tell them, "Don't give up. Don't despair."

#### *Domestic and Foreign Policy Interaction*

*Q.* Mr. President, you've heard the criticism: You're more interested in international problems than domestic problems, more interested in what's happening in the Soviet Union than you are here in southern California. How do you respond to that, sir?

*The President.* I say it's not true. And I touched on that one out at Pearl Harbor. In the first place, it is the growth in exports that have saved a struggling economy. And if you pull back into some isolationistic

sphere and neglect foreign markets, why, you're crazy. So, I've spent a lot of time on trying to get a trade agreement through in the GATT round with Europe, and a lot of time recently on that.

I also believe that—I don't know if you have kids, but I know about my grandkids, and I think they've got a chance now to grow up in a lot safer world. I think there is less chance of nuclear confrontation than there was before we started trying to handle things with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and the Middle East the way we're handling them.

I guess my bottom line on this thing, Harold, is you can't separate foreign policy from domestic. We have a stake in whether these nuclear weapons are handled safely in the Soviet Union. So, I'm not going to neglect that responsibility, but I believe I can do both and should do both: be fully engaged in trying to help this economy and, secondly, not neglect my responsibilities for world peace. This goes with the territory. This is my pay grade.

#### *Education*

*Q.* I do have children, sir. I'm concerned about their education, as you are concerned about education. Another criticism, sir, that you'll bail out the S&L's, but you won't take money and bail out our educational systems.

*The President.* Well, let me address myself to that one. We have the best Federal approach to education that the country has ever seen. It's called America 2000. We started with Democratic and Republican Governors at Charlottesville. It was a couple of years ago. We adopted for the first time six national goals. And now what we've done is enlist the help in States, not just at the Governor level but in the State commissioners of education, in the teacher level, in the district superintendent level, in the principal level, to literally revolutionize our schools.

On the defensive side of the equation, Federal spending for education is up. But the Federal part of education is 6 or 7 percent of the total education bill. Why? Because it is correct that the local communities and the States do what has historically been done. American parents want their

kids' education control closest to them. But we're doing a good job on education. And I can understand the frustration of some: "Please give us more money. Please give us money." That is not the way we're going to revolutionize these schools and give our kids a better chance in math or science or history, or whatever it is.

#### *President's Approval Rating*

*Q.* Mr. President, I would like to say Merry Christmas to you and your family, and I hope you won't let the polls that were released today, those figures, spoil your holiday season, sir. You deserve—

*The President.* They don't help any, but I don't live and die by polls.

You know one thing, Harold? When they were sky-high, thank God I said, hey, don't worry about these polls. And I've learned to take it. And it's not a good time for our country. And of course the President should share his part of the responsibility. And all I can say is we are going to whip this sluggishness in this economy and make things better. I don't care what it means I have to do, but we're going to do it. So I go into Christmas feeling pretty good. But thank you for your thoughts.

*Q.* Thank you, sir.

*Note: The interview began at 2:12 p.m. The President spoke via satellite from Room 459 of the Old Executive Office Building.*

## Statement on Signing the Act Amending Public Health Service and Controlled Substances Acts

*December 17, 1991*

Today I have signed into law S. 1891, an Act that amends the Public Health Service and Controlled Substances Acts.

The Act has two provisions. Section 1 would broaden the authority of the Secretary of Health and Human Services to waive the recovery of Federal funds used in the remodeling, construction, and expansion of community mental health centers. Section 2 of S. 1891 would permit the Attorney General to transfer to States real property that has been forfeited under the Controlled Substances Act. States would have to use the property for recreational or historic purposes or for the preservation of natural conditions.

It is my intent that transfers of property under section 2 will be limited to situations in which the transfer will not breach the

obligations of the United States to any State or local law enforcement agencies entitled by law to a share of the proceeds from the sale of such property. Moreover, I intend that State and local agencies receiving transfers pursuant to section 2 will assume responsibility for the payment of claims by innocent lienholders and for out-of-pocket expenses incurred by the United States in the seizure, management, or forfeiture of the property.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
December 17, 1991.

*Note: S. 1891, approved December 17, was assigned Public Law No. 102-239.*

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Meeting With Foreign Minister David Levi of Israel

*December 17, 1991*

The President met today for approximately 20 minutes in the Oval Office with Israeli Foreign Minister David Levi. Their discussion centered mainly on the United Nations General Assembly's revocation of the "Zionism is racism" determination and on the Middle East peace process. The

President expressed his satisfaction with the repeal, calling it a responsible action on the part of the U.N. The President emphasized the importance of not allowing procedural concerns to dominate the peace talks and of seizing this historic opportunity for peace.

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Meeting With Prime Minister Anan Panyarachun of Thailand

*December 17, 1991*

The President met with Thai Prime Minister Anan Panyarachun in the Oval Office and then hosted a working lunch. They discussed bilateral trade issues, developments in the fight against narcotics trafficking, and key regional issues including implementation of the Cambodia settlement agreement and Burma. The President stated his expectation that U.S. concerns on patents would

be addressed. Discussions also centered on democracy and human rights and steps toward elections next March in Thailand. The President reiterated the U.S. commitment to regional security. The President described his forthcoming visit to Asia and heard the Prime Minister's views on developments in the region.

## Remarks on Signing the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act of 1991 in Euless, Texas

*December 18, 1991*

Thank you all very, very much. Arnold, thank you. You did just great. Thank you all. Please be seated, and thank you so much. Angela Dominguez, over here, thank you so much for being with us. And Dr. Friend, thank you, sir, for your remarks, especially the kind reference to my dad. I know how deeply he believed in one of Eisenhower's greatest legacies, that Interstate Highway System.

To Acting Secretary of Transportation Busey and, of course, I would like to single out my new Chief of Staff, Sam Skinner, who deserves great credit for what we're about to sign here today. He's with us.

Let me single out the Members of Congress, the ones sitting on the dais here. This bill required some very heavy lifting. And I'm particularly grateful to all those Members that are here today, but let me just particularly welcome Senator Moynihan; Senator Reid; Senator Lloyd Bentsen, our own Senator from Texas; Congressman Bud Shuster; Chairman Roe from the House side who did such a superb job on this; Norm Mineta, another Member of Congress; and then my old friend and colleague Congressman John Paul Hammerschmidt from Arkansas.

But there are many more Members here

today. And the point I want to make is this wasn't a Republican effort, a Democrat effort, a liberal or conservative. It was bipartisan, and it was all-American. And I think it's going to be a great thing for this country.

I also want to salute Steve Bartlett, a former Member of Congress who has long been interested in this, the new Mayor of Dallas. We have other leaders here from Fort Worth as well. I'm told that Charlotte Mays, the newly elected city councilwoman from Dallas, came over with us. But in any event, we have a great turnout of local and State officials which I think bodes well or speaks well of the kind of legislation we have.

We also have with us the Federal Highway Administrator, Tom Larson; Urban Mass Transit Administrator Brian Clymer; the Federal Railroad Administrator, Gil Carmichael. Arnold Oliver is the executive director of the Texas DOT. James Morris, chairman of Mothers Against Drunk Driving, is here, and that's important. Other representatives of MADD are with us here today.

Honored guests and fellow Texans and fellow Americans, welcome to all of you, particularly those working in this construction project.

That great observer of democracy, de Tocqueville, once called America "a land of wonders in which everything is in constant motion and every change seems an improvement." Well, today we celebrate an improvement that can keep America in motion: The most important transportation bill, as Dr. Friend said, since President Eisenhower started the Interstate System 35 years ago.

This bill will launch the post-interstate era of America's surface transportation system. It will enable us to build and repair roads, fix bridges, and improve mass transit; keeps Americans on the move, and help the economy in the process. But really, it is summed up by three words: jobs, jobs, jobs. And that's the priority.

Yes, these are tough times, and yes, there are layoffs. And many families are having a rough go of it. And the American people want action. And action is what they'll get. And I want every American to know that

getting the economy back on track is my number one priority, and I expect I speak for the Members of Congress here from both sides of the aisle. It is their number one priority as well.

Today we're taking action: \$11 billion pumped into the economy, supporting 600,000 jobs. Tomorrow I'll meet with the trade mission that I'm leading to Japan to help open the giant markets there to more American exports. And that means the same three words: jobs and jobs and jobs.

We Americans are inspired by the idea that tomorrow can be better than today. And shortly I will sign a bill that puts that idea into action. Its full name is the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act. And that's shorthand for progress: Progress for our infrastructure, for the economy, and I'm proud to stand here and say this bill is progress for working Americans all across this great country.

This act will pump \$11 billion into the economy immediately, supporting more than 600,000 jobs in fiscal 1992; in Texas alone, more than 41,000 jobs. Many of those workers will develop sites like these, demonstrating the combination of transportation planning, high tech, and teamwork that America needs to prevail in the world marketplace.

Today's event confirms that America will prevail. As a result of this bill, on this site alone it means 150 jobs and \$31 million in spending. And the benefits won't stop at this site. Not far from here, over in Plano, Texas, a company called Luminator Mark Four makes products for mass transit systems. I understand that Luminator hopes to use funds provided by this act to expand its work force by 35 percent. That would be another 150 jobs, jobs right here in our State of Texas.

Across America, the transportation act will help companies put people back to work. And it's in addition to the Government programs I've ordered speeded up, putting a \$9.7 billion extra into the economy during the first two quarters of the fiscal year.

And this bill also means investment in America's economic future, for an efficient transportation system is absolutely essential

for a productive and efficient economy. Give Americans the tools to compete, and I'm confident that we can outthink, outperform, outproduce anybody, anywhere.

Our bill gives the private sector new incentives to support our road system. For instance, this land has been donated by local business, and I'm especially proud that Congress accepted our proposal to help private firms build and operate new private toll roads. Private toll roads can pay their way, creating higher State and local revenues, better services, more investment, and once again, more jobs.

Here's another part of the bill I like: It authorizes a new incentive program to improve occupant safety and to prevent drunk driving. Especially in the holiday season, it just breaks my heart to see needless tragedy on our Nation's roads. It's time we got the drunk drivers off the roads once and for all. And I know the people of MADD, Mothers Against Drunk Driving, agree with that. And on behalf of a grateful Nation, this is a good time to thank them for what they're doing for everybody all across this country.

As much as anything, by improving our transportation system, today's signing will help America compete in the global marketplace. When we move America, America moves the world.

And it doesn't require genius to know that in an international marketplace, a nation moves no more rapidly than its infrastructure permits. And yet, too often goods are held up or workers are late to their jobs because our surface transportation system simply isn't up to the job. I'm glad to say this bill is going to start changing that.

Each year, 8 billion hours, it's estimated, are wasted in traffic delays. This act, in combination with State and local efforts, will help curb congestion through projects that link highways like SH 360 and mass transit like the light rail and high-speed systems between Dallas/Fort Worth, and the DFW Airport. We have to help the employee who's stuck in traffic so that he or she can get to work and help the economy. And the place to start that one is right here; the time to begin, right now.

All of us know the state of some of our highways. And I'm reminded of them when I read the Isaiah verse of the admonition

that "The crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain." I'm not sure Isaiah had that in mind, thinking about the shape of our Interstate System. But nevertheless, this transportation act will smooth out and streamline our Nation's highways. And it will enhance our transportation efficiency by investing in our 155,000-mile National Highway System.

I'm pleased that the increased funding will improve road conditions, ease traffic congestion, and reduce delays for the trucking industry, thus letting them move those consumer goods more quickly and at lower cost, and reducing our dependence on foreign oil. The new National System will represent only 4 percent of all public roads but will carry 75 percent of intercity truck traffic and 40 percent of all travel. This system will increase access to American products and services and then, ultimately, prosperity. And that's good for Dallas, good for Texas, good for Fort Worth, good for Tarrant County, good for Dallas, good for America. And I'm proud, very proud, that the bill will make that happen.

Transportation is an \$800-billion-a-year business. And as the world trade grows larger and as our planet, because of communications, becomes smaller, an efficient transportation system will become even more important than it is today.

So, I want to congratulate Secretary Skinner. I want to single out and congratulate all of the congressional leaders who got the job done on this legislation. And to the rest of you here, our many partners in this process, my appreciation for the tireless effort, the long hours, and determination that all of you invested in supporting this forward-looking legislation.

I also want to thank the State highway and transportation administrators, indeed, every American. You knew that transportation can help keep America "a land of wonders," and you made your voices heard.

The future of American transportation begins today. And so when we look back years from now to this landmark day for America's transportation, we'll be able to say, "Mission defined. Mission accomplished."

So to all of you, may God bless you at this

very special time of year. And now let me sign this bill so we can get some projects under way and get people back to work.

And thank you for being with us, all of you.

*Note: The President spoke at 10:07 a.m. at a construction site on State Highway 360. In*

*his remarks, he referred to Arnold W. Oliver, executive director of the Texas Department of Transportation; Angela Dominguez of the Austin Bridge Construction Co.; and Dr. Theodore W. Friend III, president of the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc. H.R. 2950, approved December 18, was assigned Public Law No. 102-240.*

## Remarks to the American Association of State Highway and Transportation Officials in Dallas, Texas December 18, 1991

Ray, thank you very much for that introduction. It's nice to see the former AASHTO Presidents Hal Rives and Kermit Justice; AASHTO Vice President Wayne Muri; Frank Francois, the director. And I really must acknowledge somebody that's very special to this occasion, and to thank the new Chief of Staff in the White House, but the Secretary of Transportation just gone out of office, Sam Skinner, who is with me here someplace. Over here: Sam. I know that everyone realizes what he's had to do with all of this. Acting Secretary of Transportation Busey is with us, the admiral. And out in the audience, of course, I want to single out our good friends from the Mothers Against Drunk Driving.

It is great to see so many familiar faces here, including many, as Ray mentioned, who were with us in Washington this summer. I can't help but remember Yogi Berra's great words, you've all heard it, "Déjà vu all over again." Here we are.

I also want to single out the Members of the Congress that are with us today because, as I said out at the site, this isn't a Republican bill or a Democrat bill, or a liberal or conservative; it is an American achievement. And the Members of Congress that are with us today deserve special credit from the American people for their leadership, for their stick-to-it-iveness in getting this legislation passed. So I salute them, the ones I see over here, and I'm sure there may be others scattered through the audience.

Yogi Berra, he always had a way with

words, as I told you. But since you and I met in the Rose Garden last June a lot of things really have happened, the most important for you, the first stirrings of a real revolution in transportation.

Earlier today, as I mentioned, not far from here, I signed the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act. We've got to get a better name for this thing—[*laughter*—]but that's a law that will bring our transportation policy into the 21st century and will let us build, literally, a road to the future.

This law culminates more than 2 years of hard work by our administration, and it illustrates my strategy for getting things done: First, define a mission and accomplish it. Early on, we defined our mission: To lay the foundation for the most significant revolution in American transportation history. We understood from day one that America can't move ahead in the international marketplace any more rapidly than its infrastructure will allow. Ideas fly around the globe at the speed of light because the infrastructure can handle the traffic. We need that kind of competitiveness in surface transportation. After all, mobility is the lifeblood of the modern economy.

Second point: Don't define your missions in isolation. We pursued this law because it moves us closer to our three top domestic priorities: jobs, jobs, and jobs.

Our national transportation policy begins with a big dose of common sense. It acknowledges that you don't get anywhere in a traffic jam. A worker can't do much for

the economy, the family, or for the community by sitting on a highway listening to the radio. A vital piece of equipment trapped on a truck, trapped in traffic, won't do much for the factory that needs it. And a loved one rushing for an airport can't rejoin the family if the backups on the expressway or the mass transit system put everything in gridlock.

You have to move to improve. And let's face it, we're not moving as fast as we should.

Last week, we had a distinguished visitor at the White House, Jay Leno. *[Laughter]* And he did a little comedy performance there with Marlin Fitzwater in the press room, and then he was over at the National Press Club. And I know that the press does a good enough job with political comedy on its own, but nevertheless. At any rate, he was making fun of a proposal to put microwave ovens in cars. That's right, microwave ovens so drivers can feed themselves while they wait. *[Laughter]* I think we better dedicate ourselves, as everybody here has, to a microwave-free future for our highways. *[Laughter]*

The reason's simple. Every hour wasted on overburdened transportation systems costs us a piece of our future. Congestion, congestion caused more than 8 billion hours of delay on our roads. And that's the amount of time 4 million workers spend on the job each year.

In other words, Americans nationwide waste more time each year in traffic delays than workers spend on the job at all our auto companies, all our electronic companies, all our textile companies, all our lumber companies, and all our furniture manufacturers combined. And people wonder why the AASHTO members get so worked up about the importance of their work.

The waiting exacts other costs, too. You're familiar with them: \$34 billion in wasted fuel expenses in our 39 largest metropolitan areas. And the point is simple: We cannot afford, or put it this way, we can't afford not to invest in transportation. No matter how much people might want to ignore the rest of the world, we must make a choice: Take the lead, or let others pass us by.

Well, I prefer to lead, and I demanded a

national transportation strategy that builds a foundation for the future. And I wanted a transportation law that would address road and bridge needs around the country; a law that would complete important mass transit projects; a law that would encourage innovation in every aspect of our transportation network, from road construction to high-tech rail systems.

This law accomplishes that mission. It will establish a 155,000-mile National Highway System. Roads that will comprise only 4 percent of our total public road mileage, but that will carry 75 percent of our intercity truck traffic and 40 percent of our highway traffic. That is efficiency.

Our law accomplishes that mission. It will establish a 155,000-mile National Highway System. Roads that will comprise, as I say, 4 percent. This law also encourages States to build the roads they need, not the roads that some faraway central planner thinks that they ought to have. And that's just plain common sense.

The Highway System created by Dwight Eisenhower in '56, 1956, revolutionized American life forever. It spawned suburbs, cultivated more than 200 new centers of commerce and culture, edge cities, as they're called in the new book. Where bare fields stood 30 years ago, American enterprise now thrives, with office space and shopping centers, entertainment areas; regions that function as workplaces by day and then recreational hubs by night.

Our new transportation law will pump new life into these newest cities and support their further evolution. It will enhance great centers like this Dallas/Fort Worth area, where roads and rails have paved the way to more than 500,000 new jobs in the past decade alone.

This law encourages local governments to invest in innovations such as privately built toll roads. Construction on such a road will begin soon just outside of Washington, and that's just a beginning. Wall Street, they've begun to develop a brand-new market for financing privately built and operated infrastructure. Investors know a winner when they see it.

These roads will pay for themselves and, in addition, they can support other projects.



Operators of the Dulles Toll Road will pay taxes, which can leverage even more transportation financing. In short, private projects get the most bang for the buck and give us a better shot at meeting our vast transportation needs. And that is innovation. And that is good government.

Consider other items, if you will, in our new transportation law:

It authorizes funds for an incentive program to prevent drunk driving and improve occupant safety, two very worthy goals, especially during the holiday season. And it provides \$38 billion to improve our new National Highway System.

It sets aside \$24 billion to fund a variety of highway and transit projects.

It simplifies the means by which truckers register their vehicles: Liability insurance, Interstate Commerce Commission operation authority, and mileage for State fuel tax payments. In so doing, it could save trucking companies \$1 billion this year.

Our law will help States meet their environmental responsibilities without stopping the wheels of progress. Our law will encourage exploration into new transportation technologies such as these high-speed rail systems.

And last, but certainly not least, our law will create good American jobs today and good American jobs tomorrow. And it will build a foundation for creating more good American jobs in the future.

The funding in the law will support more than 600,000 jobs in this fiscal year. But that's just the start. Private projects funded with this money will generate even more work for Americans. And as I've said all along, a good transportation network will support jobs that wouldn't exist otherwise. And that's the biggest benefit of this new law. It sets in motion projects that will give America the ability to move forward as never before.

I've instructed the Department of Transportation to get the money moving now. We will make available the vast majority of State money from the Highway Trust Fund. And we'll accelerate the release of \$300 million for mass transit projects. I encourage you to do your part in making sure this money gets to its destination swiftly, gets used wisely, and helps Americans build the

foundations for the next American century. And moreover, I'd like to challenge you all to look past the old ways of doing business and dare to innovate, to create new means of moving America forward.

Earlier today, out at that construction site not far from here, I stood there, and I thought of the incredible vigor of this region, all fueled by transportation infrastructure. A new kind of exploration and vigor assails the senses, the hustle and the bustle, the tornado of activity. And today I saw a domestic vision in sweat and toil, concrete and steel, not some abstract proposal but a program that will produce real results now.

This law—and you all know this—this law will not solve all our transportation challenges. It's not going to fill every pothole, build every road we require, mend every bridge, create all the new technologies we want to see. Let's face it, it would take billions and billions more to take care of every need. But this law puts us on the move. It commits real resources now. And it encourages the kind of innovation that we will need in the future.

This law will make a huge difference for all of us. It will help young fathers rush their wives to a delivery room. It will enable buses to ferry children safely and swiftly to school. It will help just-in-time manufacturers receive the parts they need when they need them. It will keep America where it belongs, in the passing lane.

Every American understands transportation's importance. Just think about the way we talk. When we talk about progress, we talk about getting things moving. When we talk about roads and rails, we call them arteries. Well, enough talk. Today, we act. We start improving our roads and bridges and railways, our equal opportunity escorts to the future. And so when we look back years from now to this landmark day for America's transportation, we'll be able to say: "Mission defined. Mission accomplished."

Thank you. And may God bless you in your work, and may God bless our great country, especially at this time of year. Thank you all very, very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 12:15 p.m. at*

*the Hyatt Regency Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to A. Ray Chamberlain and Fran-*

*cis B. Francois, president and executive director of AASHTO.*

## Statement on Signing the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act of 1991 *December 18, 1991*

Today I am pleased to sign into law H.R. 2950, the "Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act of 1991." This law provides a new structure for our Federal surface transportation programs—highway, highway safety, and transit—and authorizes funds for those programs for the next 6 years.

H.R. 2950 is landmark legislation. It will carry the Nation into the post-Interstate era and help provide the transportation infrastructure for improved economic productivity and enhanced international competitiveness. In the short term, this bill means jobs for working Americans. It provides more than \$11 billion that can be used this fiscal year to build highway projects. During the coming year, those funds will provide jobs for over 600,000 Americans. The law will continue to support jobs in the highway and transit construction industries over the next 6 years.

When we submitted to the Congress our proposal for reauthorization of Federal surface transportation programs earlier this year, all those involved with the Nation's surface transportation system recognized that it was time to redesign these programs. The Interstate System—the largest public works project in history—is very near completion, and this law provides the final funds to finish it. The Interstate System has fundamentally changed transportation in America. It has become easier and cheaper to move goods, and virtually all Americans benefit from the speed and efficiency with which they can move from place to place on our interstate highways. But our focus must now shift from major highway construction to better maintenance, management, and use of our existing highway and transit facilities.

A key element of our proposal was the

National Highway System. Ours was not a call for a major new construction program, but rather for identification of those key highways throughout the country that are the arteries for interstate and interregional travel or roads that link those routes to major ports, airports, and other critical transportation facilities. It was a call for dedication of sufficient funds to the National Highway System to ensure that projected traffic increases on those highways can be accommodated without deterioration in their physical condition or ability to move traffic. This new law establishes the National Highway System and provides the funds necessary to keep it performing efficiently.

Another major element of our proposal was to provide State and local officials unprecedented flexibility. We proposed to give those officials the discretion to use a major portion of their Federal surface transportation funds on the improvements that would best meet local needs, whether highway projects or public transit projects. State and local officials have played an ever more important role in project monitoring as the Federal programs have matured. The day has clearly come for the Federal Government to step back and let its partners play the lead role, as this law provides.

We all also recognized the need for a larger role for the private sector in helping to meet surface transportation needs. This legislation establishes that new private sector role. It is historic because of the changes it makes to encourage privatization of our transportation infrastructure. It removes a number of Federal barriers to private sector involvement. It lifts the current general prohibition against financing highway improvements with a combination of Federal funds and private investment to be repaid with toll revenue. Federal funds will

be available to help entrepreneurs who, under contract with appropriate public authorities, are willing to build or improve roads that motorists want and are willing to pay to use. The Act will leverage more dollars into the transportation infrastructure and create even more jobs.

The new law extends the current Federal highway traffic safety program, which has proven to be so successful: the fatality rate on our Nation's highways was lower in 1990 than in any year since records have been kept. In addition to extending our current efforts, the law establishes new incentive grant programs to encourage the States to fight drunk driving and promote the safety of vehicle occupants.

Title VII of the bill is intended to resolve the current inability of the Metropolitan Washington Airports Authority to pursue its program of long-term improvements at National and Dulles Airports. The Supreme Court declared a congressional oversight mechanism in the 1986 legislation creating the Airports Authority to be a violation of the separation of powers principles of the Constitution. During congressional consideration of amendments intended to cure the defects found by the Supreme Court, the Administration expressed the view that the new Board of Review created by Title VII would violate the Appointments Clause of the Constitution. We adhere to this view, noting that the matter will now be resolved in court. I strongly support the shift of these former Federal facilities to regional control,

and my Administration stands ready to assist in developing legislative amendments that will not be subject to constitutional challenge.

This new law gives us the means to improve our surface transportation system in the years to come, but it also promotes research into what surely will be revolutionary changes in the next century. Intelligent vehicle-highway systems, magnetically levitated high-speed ground transportation systems, and a new transit research partnership with State and local governments are given new impetus in this law. Further, this law provides new tools to ensure that transportation improvements address the Nation's environmental needs. For example, it provides funds for wetlands mitigation banks and for transportation projects that will improve our air quality.

Any legislation this comprehensive and involving this much change is sure to raise serious policy issues about which reasonable people will disagree, and this new law has been no exception. I commend the major sponsors of this legislation, however, for staying the course, striking compromises among the many conflicting views over the shape of these new programs, and producing this much-needed bill.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
December 18, 1991.

*Note: H.R. 2950, approved December 18, was assigned Public Law No. 102-240.*

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Resignation of Frederick D. McClure as Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs

*December 19, 1991*

President Bush today accepted with regret the resignation of Frederick D. McClure, 37, who has served as Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs since the beginning of the administration. Fred is resigning to become a director and member of the management committee of First

Southwest Co. in Dallas, TX. First Southwest is a diversified investment banking firm. His resignation is effective February 1, 1992.

"Fred McClure has served with dedication and creativity," President Bush said when accepting his resignation. "Fred has

directed enormous victories in legislative efforts ranging from the Americans with Disabilities Act, the Clean Air Act, the Persian Gulf resolution, the civil rights bill, extending fast track negotiating authority for the North American free trade agreement, and the recently signed highway legislation. He

also has been a crucial member of my team in ensuring that none of my 24 vetoes have been overridden when I have been forced to use this tool to ensure the passage of sound legislation. I am enormously grateful for his advice and support throughout this administration."

## Letter to Congressional Leaders Reporting Budget Deferrals *December 19, 1991*

*Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)*

In accordance with the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974, I herewith report three new and two revised deferrals of budget authority for FY 1992 now totaling \$3,944,898,210.

These deferrals affect International Security Assistance programs as well as programs of the Agency for International Development and the Departments of Agriculture and State. The details of these defer-

als are contained in the attached report.  
Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

*Note: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Dan Quayle, President of the Senate. The report detailing the deferrals was published in the Federal Register on December 30.*

## The President's News Conference With Foreign Correspondents *December 19, 1991*

### *Free and Fair Trade*

*The President.* Today I sat across the table from a number of America's toughest competitors. They weren't the Japanese or Koreans or the Germans; they were, in fact, the leaders of some of America's finest businesses. And they were here with me today because they care about American jobs. And they were coming with me to Asia 10 days from now for the same reason, American jobs.

The meeting we had today and the mission that we will embark upon soon demonstrates that we will relentlessly pursue our mission to create jobs and restore prosperity for all Americans.

Now, every one of these business leaders knows that right now during tough times exports are our strong suit. They know that the Asian market is growing and largely untapped. They also know better than anyone

that American goods and services are higher quality and more competitive than ever before. New exports mean new jobs, good jobs: 20,000 new jobs for every billion in new manufactured exports.

When the playing field is level, when our trading partners provide U.S. companies the same kind of opportunities that their firms enjoy here, our workers can compete with anybody, anytime, anywhere. And that's not just free trade, that's fair trade. And I will continue to insist upon that kind of relationship with the nations that I visit in January.

The changes around the world these last 2 years present a tremendous challenge to all of us. And they also present an extraordinary opportunity to promote democracy, peace, and yes, prosperity. America is a Pacific nation. We have a broad range of interests throughout the region, including important security arrangements and political

relationships.

During this upcoming trip, we will not neglect those security and political relationships. I know every American cares deeply about the prospects of a freer and safer world. And I also know that America benefits when our citizens and our companies play an active role in world markets. Engagement in the global marketplace affects the prices we pay for goods and services as well as the strength of a vibrant and growing economy, the kind where everyone who wants to work has a good job at a good wage. And that's why we must stay engaged overseas, because it matters so much right here at home.

We want markets that are fully open to American goods and services. And I will stress that we're looking for a true economic partnership on this trip, one of shared responsibilities for promoting open markets and financial services. And then I'll urge them to join us in redoubling their efforts to help all the world's economies, help them grow, by achieving a successful conclusion to the Uruguay round of trade negotiations.

The U.S. is by far the largest open market in the entire world, and that's been good for the United States, no question about that. But our friends and allies have benefited greatly from this and must share the responsibility for an open trading system. This trip alone obviously will not solve all the trade frictions between our countries. It will not create a new American export boom overnight. What it will do is demonstrate that trade is a two-way street; that our relationships around the world are important to us; and that in a world more hopeful of a peaceful future than ever before, the United States will continue to lead.

This will be the first trip by me to Asia since the end of the cold war. And so, the security concerns will be discussed. But what I've talked about here will be leading the agenda.

Now, we'll begin to start right here with Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International], and then we'll move over here.

*Q.* Mr. President, what makes you think you'll succeed with Japan on the trade question where all of your predecessors have

failed? What is your leverage? What are your goals? What has changed?

*The President.* I was talking to these businessmen today, and each of them appears, maybe not every one of them, but most of them have been contacted by those with whom they do business in Japan. And all of them that spoke at the meeting indicated they felt the time was right to move forward in terms of open markets. So, there's a climate that I think might be helpful. I'm concentrating here on Japan. It's not only Japan where we have problems. But I think Mr. Miyazawa, the very able Prime Minister of Japan, understands this, understands the need to move forward. So, when you talk to the outside experts, I think they're telling me, anyway, that there is a much better climate. And so, we'll see when we get there whether that works. But I am determined.

*Q.* Do you have a pressure point—

*The President.* What's that mean?

*Q.* —in any way in terms of retaliation?

*The President.* Well, we're going over there to try to get some things done. And I don't need to go into exactly—

We'll go to the AP, and then we'll start over here because this is a press conference primarily for journalists from other countries that are here.

*Q.* You're talking about a much better climate. But just today, the Japanese Prime Minister, Miyazawa, closed out the possibility of improving or changing their ban on rice imports. And yesterday the Korean Ambassador said that you shouldn't be pressing Korea at this time on trade disputes because they have their own internal economic problems. It sounds like a lot of intransigence there. How do you expect to accomplish anything with these kinds of attitudes?

*The President.* What I expect to do is try to be assisting the American—making clear what's at stake in terms of the American market, what's at stake in terms of jobs for the American people. And I wouldn't judge from those two examples that everything is going to be intransigent. But I would say that the trip is to break down intransigence where we find it and have freer and fairer trade. And that message I will carry very,

very forcefully. We have shown a lot of forbearance, and I want to see fairplay.

#### *Auto Parts Exports*

*Q.* Mr. President, you have just emphasized the economic partnership. And how much would you be looking for in Tokyo, with regard to auto parts issues, while in Tokyo to discuss with the Japanese leadership?

*The President.* I'm not sure I would quantify it for you, but there's an area where we should be doing much, much more business. We are good. We are efficient. We have quality. And we should do better in terms of auto parts. So without setting numbers for you, that is a subject that is going to be on the table. That's a subject where the Japanese had some forthcoming statements, as a matter of fact. So now let's see exactly how it's going to work out in practice. We want action in that area.

*Q.* Are you satisfied with the statements by the Japanese auto industry about reaching out to the American auto parts makers in terms of what you just described as economic partnership?

*The President.* Well, I think the tone of the comments was extraordinarily good. Now, I want to see what exactly that means. But yes, let's give credit where credit is due. There's been some forthcoming statements. But what does it mean? I'm going to be talking about what does this mean in terms of American product that has fair and equal access. We've got quality products in this field. But I think, in fairness, there have been representations that we can make more progress in that area.

Yeah, back here, we'll just start right with this row; three in a row: one, two, three.

*Q.* Thank you very much.

*The President.* No, you've got it: one, two, three. Here we go.

#### *Multilateral Trade Negotiations*

*Q.* Thank you, Mr. President. We learn today that you announced today that you sent a letter to Prime Minister Miyazawa—

*The President.* Yes.

*Q.* —December 7th. And what was the purpose of this letter? And have you received a response yet from Prime Minister

Miyazawa?

*The President.* In the first place, the letter related to Japanese help in finalizing the Uruguay round. All the big trading nations must be involved right up to the hilt in getting a successful conclusion to the Uruguay round of trade. And I can't tell you. I personally haven't seen the response if there is one. Knowing him, I'm sure there will be a very thorough and forthcoming response. But I haven't seen it through our system yet.

#### *Federal Role in International Trade*

*Q.* The fact that you are taking a business delegation with you on this trip will clearly demonstrate the closer cooperation that he has tried to forge with the American industry for promoting export. But ironically in the past, however, this is precisely what the Japanese Government and industry have been accused of by many American observers as somewhat unfair government assistance. So, I wonder if philosophically you feel uncomfortable about what could look like a Government intervention into the affairs of the private industry.

*The President.* Good question. The answer is no, I don't feel uncomfortable at all. I think this is long overdue. And we're going there in a constructive spirit. Many of the people that are going with me have done a considerable amount of business in Japan. They know the Japanese market. They have affection and respect for the Japanese people. And so, I feel nothing but pride that these successful and strong people will be there to help me make the points that I've made in the opening statement here.

#### *Middle East Peace Conference*

*Q.* Mr. President, do you still take the position that the Soviet Union will sponsor for the Middle East peace process? And as relates to the first question, what role will the United States take in the next round of talks, especially as we are seeing now their latest talks didn't achieve any progress?

*The President.* The answer is yes. We still view it that the Soviets will sponsor the talks. Mr. Yeltsin reiterated to Jim Baker, I believe, that they wanted to. That was an

agreement. They were very useful, forthcoming, and helpful in bringing about the original conference in Madrid.

And then what was the second part, sir?

Q. What role will the United States play?

*The President.* The United States will continue to have the same role, a catalyst, not attempting to dictate solutions. We want to be an honest broker, and I think the parties see us in that role. And that's the role that we will continue to play at this point.

Q. And do you think the talks which ended yesterday—

*The President.* I was disappointed. Yes. Well, I'm told some progress was made. Don't quiz me on what. But I felt that a lot of time was spent talking about modalities and locations, and obviously we would have liked to see more progress. And we have shared those observations with the various participants.

#### *Russia and the Commonwealth*

Q. Mr. President, what is your opinion about the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States on the U.S.S.R. territory? Are you going to give full recognition to this community and to the Republics of which it's comprised? And will you agree that Russia should become a successor of the Soviet Union for international agreements and take its place in the United Nations Security Council?

*The President.* Well, first, on the Commonwealth itself, that is a matter for the various Republics to work out. That isn't a matter for the United States to attempt to dictate. We couldn't do it anyway. But what our view has been: Engage with democratic reformers, those two key words. Those who favor democracy and those who favor reform. And Jim Baker, on his trip, has been doing that. I have been doing that over the months.

And so, they will sort all this out. He has talked to them. They've talked to him about recognition. He has made clear that certain steps have to be taken particularly in this nuclear question, which is vital and where the United States is uniquely qualified to lead, in my view.

So, that one has to be done. Peaceful borders is another one. The CSCE principles, which includes human rights and respect

for minorities in each of these Republics, that's another one. So, they're sorting all this out now. It's in the process of being worked out. And then we will treat, as Jim has told them, with this whole question of what the role of the United States is when whatever evolves has evolved.

That would include, then on Russia again, they have some sorting out between the Republics. As you know, the Soviet Union today has three seats, one in the Security Council and then two, in addition, at the United Nations. Now, they've got a lot of sorting out to do as this new Commonwealth is born. And we are not fixing to get into the middle of that until they've gone further with the process.

Way back there, and then I am coming over here. I'm looking for those who I might recognize as coming from some of the countries we're visiting, which is hard to do, I'll tell you.

#### *Middle East Peace Conference*

Q. Mr. President, I would like to ask about the Middle East also, Mr. President. In spite of the good relations the United States has with Israel and the potential leverage it has, it hasn't been able to convince Israel to stop the settlements activities. Now, the Arabs claim that without a halt to the settlements there cannot be peace. Now, can the United States do anything more than to say that they are an obstacle to peace and to ask of Israel to stop them in order to promote the idea of peace more energetically, so to speak?

*The President.* What we would like to do is see those matters discussed in substance. That's one of the reasons I expressed frustration about talks that talk only about where the next meeting is going to be. But we have problems that everyone in this room knows, and I think around the world knows, about the settlements, feeling they are an obstacle to peace. And we have made that clear to our Israeli friends. We have problems with some of the Arab positions, the boycott for example. We have made that clear to some of our friends in that part of the world.

So, we cannot wave a wand and dictate. We can make suggestions as to what would

facilitate the peace process, and we have tried to do that.

Now, where's this voice from Australia? We can't have too many voices speaking from Australia. It's two against one. Go ahead, and then we'll get this one on the aisle.

#### *Australia*

*Q.* President Bush, could I ask you how you feel about Bob Hawke's demise as Australian Prime Minister after several years in office? Are you aware that the new Prime Minister, Paul Keating, doesn't play golf? So might that affect your plans while you're in Australia? And do you think you'll still see Hawke while you're there?

*The President.* Well look, I think everybody knows of my friendship and affection for Bob Hawke. And I'm not one who turns my back on friends. Now, having said that, the process is working. The party has selected a new leader. The foreign policy of the United States has not been and will not be set on individuals; it's set on, in this instance, a historic, good relationship between countries. And so I look forward to dealing with the Government. I have met Mr. Keating. I know him, respect him. And that's their problem. They'll sort that out. So, I would leave it right there, and say I'm looking forward very much to the trip.

*Q.* Will you still see Hawke, though?

*The President.* Well, I certainly hope so, and I'm sure I will.

I might say to the Japanese journalists here, I had a good and friendly relationship with Mr. Kaifu. The process moves on. You have another very able man as Prime Minister. I will be dealing primarily with him. But I would just say to any of you guys setting the schedule, I'd like very much to see former Prime Minister Kaifu, and I'm sure I will.

*Q.* Are you aware of the Australian wheat farmers' anger regarding the export enhancement programs?

*The President.* Yes.

*Q.* And are you going to meet with them while you're in Australia as they have requested?

*The President.* I don't know about the schedule. I am aware of it. I think they know that the export program, enhance-

ment program, passed by the Congress—it is part of our law—is not aimed at Australia. Indeed, I am prepared to tell them what's happened to our own markets in terms of total world market percentage. And I look forward to talking to whoever it is I talk to. I just don't know about the schedule. I don't set the schedule, and I don't know what's going to happen.

Korea, right here.

#### *Korea*

*Q.* Mr. President, could you say simply yes or no—[laughter]—

*The President.* I could, but I seldom do that because I get in trouble when I do that. Could I have your question?

*Q.* Do you have a nuclear bomb in the Korean Peninsula at the moment? And my followup is that, what is your future nuclear policy to that area? Regardless, you have or you have not nuclear bomb presence?

*The President.* Well, as you know, we never confirm or deny it. I'm glad I said before you asked me the question, "Do I answer yes or no." I made a statement, I believe it was in September, about removal of U.S. tactical nukes and nukes from surface vessels. And I'll just leave it right there. I also heard what the Prime Minister said, and I'm not about to argue with him. So, those statements speak for themselves.

*Q.* Thank you, sir.

*The President.* I'm looking for some Singaporeans around here. [Laughter.] You're next.

#### *ANZUS*

*Q.* This is still Pacific.

*The President.* I understand.

*Q.* How important, sir, is the ANZUS relationship in this evolving nonnuclear world? And is the U.S. closer to a rapprochement with New Zealand, or do you still want New Zealand to change their antinuclear law first?

*The President.* Well, in the first place, it troubles me because we have had a strong relationship with New Zealand. And I really honestly believe there is great affection in this country for New Zealanders, and I think there is in New Zealand for the United States. I've been there. And you can



sense it, and you can feel it. The difficulty we have had hopefully is well on its way to resolution because of the position that I just mentioned to this journalist from Korea. And let's hope now that the people of New Zealand see this, appreciate that step and that we can get back to normal.

*Q.* On the ANZUS relationship and also—

*The President.* That requires more than just the U.S., doesn't it? So, that will be a good subject for discussion when I am talking to our friends in Australia. No, but I think the groundwork is there because of the forward position that we took.

#### ASEAN

*Q.* [Inaudible]—from Indonesia. My question is—

*The President.* False colors. I thought you were from Singapore. Go ahead. [Laughter] Close enough, close enough. [Laughter]

*Q.* Is it true, correct to say that your visit to Singapore, which is a sounding board to ASEAN, is primarily on trade issues, or is it also related to security and human rights issues? And the second is whether now with the demise of the cold war, whether you are now supporting the idea of ZOPFAN, zone of peace, freedom, and neutrality. Thank you.

*The President.* Good question. And you're right, it does affect the ASEAN area. I wish I could go to all those ASEAN countries. I couldn't. I've been to most. But in this case I can tell you that the visit will be on a wide array of subjects. We are not neglecting—and this is a point I will make to our friends in Singapore and hopefully to the rest of Asia—we're not neglecting our security responsibilities. I think there's been some concern about what position the United States will be in when we come out of the Philippines.

And I would use this trip to reassure the Singaporean leaders as well as those around that we are not going to pull back. I also think, and this is a broad subject, but I think it is one that should resonate at home. We are not neglecting the Pacific. As we have coped, and I hope with some degree of world leadership, with the Middle East, with the changes in the Republics, with the unification of Germany, with the evolution

in Eastern Europe, I think there has been some feeling in Asia, and you all are the experts on it, that perhaps we are neglecting. And so, one of the things about this trip is that we are not, we don't intend to, nor will we neglect our role as one who's blessed by having the largest trading partners being the Pacific Rim.

And so, it's partially that. We will have discussions, we always do, of all these other questions that you raise.

#### Indonesia

*Q.* What will be your course of action, sir, toward Indonesia now that, through the witness of two American journalists, it has become apparent that there are problems with the human rights in East Timor? And what would be your advice, sir, to the Government of Portugal as the administering power and the future chairman of the EC to actually rectify the situation in East Timor, sir?

*The President.* Well, a lot of discussion is going on, on the tragedy in East Timor. We have expressed ourself in terms of the pure human rights part of it. And I don't know that on this trip we will be directly involved in any way in that particular question. We pride ourselves, and I think properly so, on standing up for human rights, and I think we've made clear to the parties that are interested there the U.S. position. I don't know how it will come out, frankly, at forthcoming meetings. I just can't help you on that.

#### Recognition of Soviet Republics

*Q.* Mr. President, today the Swedish Government recognized Russia, Byelorussia, and Ukraine. When will the U.S. do the same?

*The President.* We are taking these things under advisement. We don't know; can't give you an exact date. I have said what our responsibilities as a—I think I feel a certain custodial responsibility on this whole question of nuclear weapons, nonproliferation. I think we have a disproportionate responsibility for that. And so we want to see these questions that I mentioned to you, mentioned to the gentleman back here, resolved or moved well on the way to resolu-

tion. Then we, at our time, will make the determination that you ask about, the official stamp of recognition.

I've already indicated that as these people self-determine, we are very flexible and open about the question of recognition. But we also want to see adherence to these principles that I've outlined. So, I can't give you an exact date. But that's going to be right on the frontline of the agenda to discuss with Secretary Baker, whom I talked to just a few minutes ago. And he filled me in a little on this question of his talks on all of these different Republics. But I need to sit down with him, with General Scowcroft and others, and then we will be talking more about timing.

*Q.* But there will be a recognition sooner or later?

*The President.* Well, as I've indicated, there will be, I mentioned this about the Ukraine, but there are certain things that have to be resolved. We're not trying to determine with finality how that area is going to look. These people are elected. These people are elected. Now, they sit down with each other and sort it out. They don't need the United States to intervene in the internal affairs of a Republic or in relations between the Republics themselves. So, it's just going to take a little bit of time.

But the Baker trip is very useful. I am in touch, as you know, with Gorbachev, with Yeltsin. We receive visitors all the time here. And we're watching it very, very closely, and hopefully, in terms of humanitarian aid and medicines, playing a very constructive role.

This gentleman was on his feet, and I had recognized two at once.

#### *North American Free Trade Agreement*

*Q.* Thank you, Mr. President. Talking about jobs, how soon do you want the free trade agreement with Mexico and Canada to be completed, and are you going to talk with the Asian leaders about the construction of trading blocs, like the North America trade bloc, or—

*The President.* Well, I'm sure they'll be interested in our view on that. And yes, I'm perfectly prepared to discuss it with them. I believe this agreement, this getting a fair trade agreement with Mexico, what we call

the NAFTA, the North American fair trade agreement, should be reached as soon as possible. And with the able President of Mexico, Carlos Salinas, I agreed this week, just a few days ago, that we would try to get a bracketed text to present and to work with by the end of January or sometime in January.

There was a wild bunch of stories around here that did not reflect my views, saying that we didn't want to get this trade agreement finished. And this gives me my first press conference opportunity, although I think I've responded to questions on it, to say that that is not true. We want an agreement, a good agreement, as soon as possible. I am not going to send an agreement to the Congress that can't be passed. I'm not going to send, in other words, a bad agreement. We're in close touch with Congress, but I want to get it done. And do you know why? I'm all for more trade with Mexico, but I want to help the American economy, and one way to do it is to create the additional jobs that will come from expanding our own markets abroad. And I also think that it's in Mexico's interest.

So, put me down as still very enthusiastic and pressing forward just as fast as we can on this matter for a good agreement. And I cite that because we're not going to just kind of get an agreement for agreement's sake.

Does that answer it?

*Q.* Yes. What is your strategy to deal with the Democrat leadership in Congress, to deal with the Democrat leadership in terms of the NAFTA negotiations or the NAFTA agreement?

*The President.* As you know, many of the Democrats in the Congress strongly supported this Fast Track authority which at least gave some visibility to the fact that they agree with me that a fair trade agreement would be in our benefit. And I think they also know that Mexico has come a long, long way. They're doing a first-class job down there, that administration. And so, I don't immediately start from the assumption that Congress doesn't want an agreement. I think they're like I am on this question. They want an agreement, but they want to be sure it's fair.

Now, there are some forces, I would cite organized labor, who are opposed to the very concept of a fair trade agreement. But we have to take that on. And the way to take it on is to get a good agreement and get Congress to understand, which I'm convinced they will if we get a good one, that this is in the interest of the American worker as well as better environment and many other things that I think will come from a fair trade agreement.

*Q.* Mr. President, I'd like to ask you a question about Haiti and then one about Cuba.

*The President.* Isn't that what they call a follow-on?

*Q.* Yes, sir.

*The President.* Neighborhood follow-on. [Laughter]

*Q.* Neighborhood call. May I thank you for giving a press conference for the foreign press. We appreciate it. Thank you, sir.

*The President.* Well, I thank you, sir. Well, let me put it this way then—I'll get to your two questions—it's very helpful for me to have this opportunity to at least spell out why we are doing this, to have the peoples to whom we'll be visiting particularly understand. And then for the rest of the press corps that come from other countries, I'm glad to have this opportunity to express the broad foreign policy objectives. So as far as I'm concerned, it's a plus, but thank you for your kind words, and shoot. Haiti and then Cuba.

#### *Haiti*

*Q.* On Haiti, will we see a solution, sir? The problem is the Haitian refugees are not being sent back. But is there a solution to the problem?

*The President.* Well, the solution to the problem, and it is one that I personally have been working on. I spent I don't know how many minutes on the telephone yesterday, but closer to an hour than a half, with Carlos Andrés Pérez of Venezuela. Talked at length to Brian Mulroney in the last few days, Canada trying to be helpful in this regard. And the answer is to have the duly-elected leader of Haiti returned to Haiti. Our interest is not in trying to say who's going to run Haiti. Our interest is this: There was a democratic process. A man was

elected. He was overthrown. The hemisphere's moving towards democracy, and Haiti started moving back towards totalitarian dictatorship. We have a keen interest in that. So does Carlos Andrés Pérez, a great leader, democratic leader, to our south.

And so what I'm talking to him about is: How do we facilitate Aristide's return? Now that boils down also to another, there's another part of that, and that is: Who is the government going to be? Who will be the Prime Minister? And therein we have some difficulties. I say "we do"; therein Haiti has some difficulties. And that is something that's being talked about right now. We are backing the OAS. We backed them in sanctions. We've backed them in their diplomacy, and we will continue to thank them and back them in that regard.

The United States, once again—and again, I don't want to sound chauvinistic. We have a disproportionately important role here for a lot of reasons, trade being one of them. And we are trying to use that influence, if you will, working with the democratic leaders for the return of Aristide. Therein lies the answer.

And our policy on immigration is well known: Those who flee for political persecution should be granted haven. Those who leave for purely economic reasons are not entitled to harbor under our laws. But the answer to it is not that. The answer is this solution that I've just told you about: The return of Aristide under conditions that democracy has a chance to continue and to strengthen.

#### *Cuba*

*Q.* The Russian empire is collapsing; we don't know what will come out of it. Fidel Castro has lost his patrons definitely. He has no petroleum. They are importing bicycles—difficult. Doesn't this present the United States, as it does for Cuba, an opening for a new dialog or new relations or new solutions, whatever?

*The President.* You say you don't know what will come out of it? At the risk of sounding pretentious, I think I do know what will come out of it. What will come out of it is democracy and freedom for the people of Cuba. And you just have to look

at the neighborhood, look at the countries to the south that have moved towards democracy away from totalitarianism. Fidel Castro is swimming against the tide. There is no way that you can oppress people forever and keep down their aspirations for freedom.

And the beautiful thing about Cuba is because of the industry of those people and because of the affection that a lot of Americans have for the people of Cuba, Cuba, once free and once under democracy, will have a real shot at forward movement in terms of helping their people through at a reinvigorated economy. There's no question about that. It could be the success story of the nineties, if Castro would permit the freedom and democracy that the people want.

And in the meantime, dialog, there's no point in my talking to Castro about that. I mean, he knows the United States position. He knows the pressures he faces all over the world to permit his people the very freedom that others have died for around the world. So, what's the point of my talking to him? All I'd tell him is what I'm telling you, to give the people the freedom that they want.

And then you'll see the United States do exactly what we should: Go down and lift those people up and say, "We want to help you." And it wouldn't be just the Government. You'd have all kinds of private investment move into Cuba that would offer those people an increased standard of living, great hope for their families, freedom of religion, freedom of elections, all these things.

So, it's not all bleak. The man cannot sustain swimming against the tide. He'll get tired. Something will happen. And then these people will be free.

#### *Job Creation*

Q. A question on GM, sir?

*The President.* What country do you represent? [*Laughter*] One American. Shoot.

Q. As you know, Mr. President, General Motors announced yesterday that they were closing 21 plants and eliminating 74,000 jobs. A similar restructuring was announced a couple of weeks ago by IBM. Do you expect this trend towards downsizing

among major corporations to continue? And if so, where will the jobs that are being eliminated come from?

*The President.* Well, one thing it'll come from is creating new businesses, probably more small businesses. And that's why we do need to put more incentive into our own economy. I don't know what individual businesses are planning to do. I did notice that Mr. Stemple talked about attrition, a downsizing due to attrition, which I think is—I hope it works out that way because it is the compassionate approach and the correct approach. But I can only tell you that we can create an awful lot of jobs, more jobs, just through what I am talking about here today. And therein lies the answer: job retraining, but then creation of new jobs.

Now I'm going to take two more questions and then leave.

#### *Middle East Peace Conference*

Q. Mr. President, your administration has linked before the progress of the peace process to the flexibility of Israel in these negotiations and to the freezing of building settlements on the West Bank. What is your assessment, Mr. President, to the Israeli flexibility in these talks, and are you going to approve the \$10-billion loan guarantee next January, especially now that Prime Minister Shamir continued to build settlements on the West Bank?

*The President.* Well, no decision has been taken on the last matter, no final decision at all. What was the first part of it? I'm sorry, I missed the first part of the question. I know it related to settlements, but—

Q. That the administration has linked the progress in the peace process and the flexibility of Israel to the \$10-billion loan guarantee.

*The President.* Well, no, we haven't made such linkage, but we've stated very clearly what our position is on settlements. I don't think I'll reiterate it because I tried to spell it out to this gentleman back here. We have said the settlements are counterproductive to peace. And some in Israel happen to agree with us on that, as a matter of fact. But having said that, there are things that the Arab countries should do on their own to move forward towards getting the cli-

mate ready for a successful conclusion of the peace talks.

Q. Mr. President, you talked of the democracy the Republics and the Soviet Union are entitled to. And you talked about the freedom the people of Cuba are entitled to. What about the Palestinians who are 2 million living under Israeli occupation?

*The President.* One of the reasons we brought the parties together in a historic meeting in Madrid with Palestinians present was to have that question addressed and resolved in a peaceful manner. And so I would simply refer you to those talks, and therein lies the real answer. It isn't going to be done by acts of violence on one side or another. It isn't going to be done by the enormous frustration that leads to terrorism or whatever. It is going to be done at the negotiating table, and thank God it has started. And our role: Keep the parties there and have them discuss the final resolution of the question. That has now been asked of me three times, and it has been asked of me three times because it really gets to the heart, one of the subjects that gets to the heart of the peace process. So, our role will be to try to continue to be the catalyst for peace.

And now we've run over by several minutes, but this is the final question.

#### *Taiwan*

Q. Mr. President, I'm going to ask you a question about the most populated country in Asia, China. There's an election going on in Taiwan right now. The core of the debate is independence of Taiwan. If such a thing became a reality, do you think the United States would change its China policy, "one China" policy?

*The President.* That question is too hypothetical. Everyone here that keeps up with these matters is familiar with our obliga-

tions under the Shanghai Communique. I also believe when you take a look at—well, we'll wait and see what happens in the elections. But that question will be resolved, it seems to me, hopefully by these differing parties talking, and we'll just see what happens. But I'm not going to guess what might or might not take place in an election. That's for them to decide over there and then we will see.

The big thing is we want peace in that area. We don't need any more tensions in that area. And I know that there's strong feeling on Taiwan, continues to be, that it is, as they have said all along, a part of China. They've maintained they were China for a long time, as you know. So, that has to be sorted out over there, not here in the United States.

May I say this to all of you, whatever—no, no, too late, too late, sorry. This is a happy, merry Christmas or a happy holiday send-off to you all. But really, I mean it.

You follow the debate in this country, and you know that the United States has got some tough economic times. And you know the problems that exist out there with some of the countries whose journalists are here today, thank heavens. But it is a very special time in the United States, and I just wanted to wish all of you a very merry Christmas, very happy new year, very happy holidays. Whatever your religion, I hope you feel when you are in this country the spirit of peace on Earth and good will that we Americans think come about no matter what our problems are.

So thank you, and have a great holiday. And I've enjoyed this opportunity very much. Thank you.

*Note: The President's 113th news conference began at 1:38 p.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building.*

## Statement on Signing the Coast Guard Authorization Act of 1991 December 19, 1991

Today I have signed into law H.R. 1776, the "Coast Guard Authorization Act of 1991," notwithstanding reservations about several of its provisions.

Section 37 purports to require the Secretaries of Transportation and State to undertake discussions with the Canadian Government regarding alternatives to improve commercial vessel traffic safety. The Constitution vests the authority to conduct U.S. foreign policy, including negotiations with other nations, in the President. Consistent with my responsibility under the Constitution for the conduct of negotiations, I will construe that provision to be precatory rather than mandatory.

Section 33 authorizes the Coast Guard to investigate casualties involving foreign vessels in international waters under certain circumstances. Customary international law would preclude assertion of jurisdiction by any but the flag state of the vessel involved in the casualty. I can envision virtually no circumstances under which it would be necessary for the Coast Guard to conduct a unilateral investigation contrary to customary international law.

Section 2(b)(2) prevents the Department of Transportation from procuring certain items from foreign sources where it is to

the Government's advantage to do so. Such provisions are counter to the Administration's trade policy. They not only constrain the Federal Government in its efforts to best utilize its resources, but encourage foreign governments to erect or retain similar barriers against American goods.

Finally, several provisions mandate that surplus Federal property be transferred to specific entities. The General Services Administration has issued regulations under the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 designed to assure that all competing uses are fairly considered in disposing of surplus Federal property. Allowing these regulations to work would be more likely to assure that surplus Federal property is disposed of in a manner that best serves the interests of the Government and the public.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
December 19, 1991.

*Note: H.R. 1776, approved December 19, was assigned Public Law No. 102-241.*

## Statement on Signing the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation Improvement Act of 1991

*December 19, 1991*

Today I have signed into law S. 543, the "Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation Improvement Act of 1991." This legislation falls far short of the truly comprehensive reform proposal that my Administration sent to the Congress early this year. Our proposal squarely addressed the fundamental problems of the banking industry—the need to recapitalize the Bank Insurance Fund; the need to make banks safer, stronger, and more competitive; the need to attract private capital into the industry; and the need to protect the taxpayer from a costly deposit insurance bailout.

Unfortunately, the narrow legislation produced by the Congress does little more than provide critical funding to the Bank Insurance Fund. While it includes some of

the regulatory reforms we proposed last February, it does nothing to restore the competitiveness of the banking industry. While it demands that banks increase capital and pay higher deposit insurance premiums, it gives no additional tools to banks to meet these demands. This shortsighted congressional response to the problems we face increases taxpayer exposure to bank losses. The Congress must shoulder its responsibility for not adopting proposals to make banks stronger and more competitive. The Congress must also assume responsibility for exacerbating the "credit crunch" that has restrained banks from lending to even their best customers.

Certain provisions of S. 543 present constitutional difficulties. Two provisions could

be construed to infringe upon my constitutional responsibility to supervise my subordinates and to ensure that the executive branch speaks with one voice. Sections 215(b) and 421(c) contemplate that certain executive agencies may present views differing from those of the Administration in reports to the Congress. I shall interpret these provisions in a manner consistent with my constitutional authority, as head of a unitary executive branch, to resolve disputes among my subordinates before their views are presented to the Congress.

Section 305(b)(2) could be construed to require certain Federal banking agencies to discuss revisions of capital standards for insured depository institutions with the Bank for International Settlements, based in Switzerland. I will construe section 305(b)(2) in a manner consistent with my constitutional authority to conduct the international rela-

tions of the United States.

I have decided to sign this legislation today because of the critical need to replenish the Bank Insurance Fund. But I call on the Congress to ignore the pleadings of special interests that have stalled truly comprehensive banking reform. The Congress stands ready, willing, and able to work for comprehensive reform. It is now up to the Congress to address squarely next year the problems that it could not come to grips with in the legislation before me today. The taxpayers deserve no less.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
December 19, 1991.

*Note: S. 543, approved December 19, was assigned Public Law No. 102-242.*

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Telephone Conversation With Prime Minister Mulroney of Canada and President Pérez of Venezuela *December 19, 1991*

On Tuesday, December 17, the President was called by Prime Minister Mulroney and Venezuelan President Carlos Andrés Pérez. The President and the two leaders discussed the situation in Haiti, including the

OAS efforts at restoring democracy. They reaffirmed their support of the OAS effort at restoring democracy and stressed the need to continue to work with all partners to accomplish this goal.

## Statement on the Federal Reserve Interest Rate Reduction *December 20, 1991*

Today's lowering of the Federal Reserve discount rate from 4.5 percent to 3.5 percent is a significant step. It is clear that the economy in the last quarter has been flat and sluggish. Too many people are out of work. Lower interest rates are important to spurring economic growth and creating jobs and investments.

We have pointed out on several occasions in recent months the important role of in-

terest rate reductions in creating new jobs. The discount rate cut will help when it is passed on to consumers and businesses. These rates are the lowest in more than 25 years. But inflation is low and under control. I commend this latest Federal Reserve Board action which will significantly help our efforts to turn the economy around and get America back to work.

## Memorandum of Disapproval for the Morris K. Udall Scholarship and Excellence in National Environmental Policy Act *December 20, 1991*

With great regret, I am withholding my approval of S. 1176, the "Morris K. Udall Scholarship and Excellence in National Environmental Policy Act." Although the bill has a worthy goal and attempts to honor a respected public servant, it would violate the Constitution.

Under this bill, determinations about eligibility for Federal funds would be made by the Board of Trustees of a Foundation created by the bill. Of the Board's nine voting members, four would be appointed by the leadership of the Congress, and one would be appointed by the President of the University of Arizona. Under the Appointments Clause of the Constitution, however, the Congress may not reserve to itself the power to appoint those who execute the laws, nor may it vest such power in a person outside the Federal Government.

In addition, the legislative history indicates that the members of the Board to be appointed by the congressional leadership might themselves be Members of Congress. Such appointments would raise serious problems under the Incompatibility and Ineligibility Clauses of the Constitution.

Accordingly, I have decided not to sign

the bill within 10 days after presentment. Because the Congress is adjourned, this means that the bill will not become a law. I stress that I am withholding my signature for constitutional reasons alone and not because of any objection to the substantive goals of this bill or any lack of regard for Mo Udall. Representative Udall has had a long and distinguished public career. He has brought humor, intelligence, and dedication to the discharge of his duties and earned the esteem of his colleagues on both sides of the aisle.

Since funds appropriated to the Foundation will not be available until September 30, 1992, sufficient time remains for the Congress to present me a bill without constitutional defects. My Administration will work with the Congress to enact such a bill promptly.

I hope to sign legislation, early in the next session of the Congress, to honor Representative Udall in a constitutionally permissible fashion.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
December 20, 1991.

## Statement on Signing the Telephone Consumer Protection Act of 1991

*December 20, 1991*

Today I have signed into law S. 1462, the "Telephone Consumer Protection Act of 1991." This legislation is designed for the laudable purpose of protecting the privacy rights of telephone users. However, the Act could also lead to unnecessary regulation or curtailment of legitimate business activities. That is why the Administration opposed it when it was pending before the Congress. Indeed, the Administration is firmly opposed to current congressional efforts to re-

regulate the telecommunications industry.

I have signed the bill because it gives the Federal Communications Commission ample authority to preserve legitimate business practices. These include automated calls to consumers with whom a business has preexisting business relationships, such as calls to notify consumers of the arrival of merchandise ordered from a catalog. I also understand that the Act gives the Commission flexibility to adapt its rules to changing



market conditions. I fully expect that the Commission will use these authorities to ensure that the requirements of the Act are met at the least possible cost to the economy.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
December 20, 1991.

*Note: S. 1462, approved December 20, was assigned Public Law No. 102-243.*

## Christmas Address to the Nation December 23, 1991

*Merry Christmas!*

I'd like to offer a special greeting to the men who were held hostage so long and to their families who never surrendered hope through the long years of isolation and hardship. These valiant people sustained themselves through faith and friendship, character and courage. They demonstrated the strength of American ideals, character, and determination, a strength that inspired the entire world in 1991.

Nineteen ninety-one has been a year of dramatic change and challenge. It was about 1 year ago, in the interest of world peace, that I decided Saddam Hussein's aggression would not stand even if force had to be used. We tried diplomacy and economic embargoes, and then we moved against the brutal dictator and liberated Kuwait. When our troops returned home, we felt whole, proud of their courage, confident in ourselves. And that was just the beginning of a momentous year.

Who would have thought 12 months ago that the Soviet Union as we have known it would no longer exist. Who would have thought that Arabs and Israelis in the Middle East would sit down to discuss ways of forging a permanent peace. And who would have thought that we would see democracy and freedom sweep the globe so dramatically. Who would have thought that American ideals would triumph with such startling suddenness.

In 1991, the impossible became history. And now we must capture that same spirit of belief in ourselves as we overcome hard times at home and build a foundation for lasting prosperity and peace.

And we've already started. Just last week

I signed a transportation bill that will put hundreds of thousands of Americans back in good jobs. This year we unleashed a revolution in education. And I can tell you, by the end of this decade we will have the world's best schools. And our children will lead the next generation to a better future.

And next week I'll travel to Asia to fight for open markets and more opportunities for American workers because exports abroad mean more jobs right here at home. Let there be no mistake, my number one priority is jobs and economic growth. And I'm confident that we will succeed.

Let us remember that American ideals, faith, fellowship, family, freedom, are the values that will shape the world dawning before us. Already, Americans have banded together to help those in need, and that's appropriate for this season of faith. It's also the way Americans are: decent, helpful, full of ambition and hope, united in their devotion to community and family. Thank God for our families.

When I lit our National Christmas Tree in Washington nearly 2 weeks ago, thousands of lights illuminated the towering spruce. Thousands of warm beacons transformed the night. Each day we can light the darkness by helping someone in need, working to see that no elderly person goes to bed hungry; that no homeless person spends another night shivering on the streets; that no child sits alone, unloved, unknown.

Americans have the talent and power to do anything. And so when history remembers Christmas 1991, let it remember that we promise to bring God's light to our brothers and sisters in need. Let it record that on Christmas, 1991, this Nation united

to ask God for peace on Earth, good will to all. And let it record that a new age of goodness and hope began here and now.

God bless you, and may your Christmas be bright with love.

*Note: The President recorded this address at 11:45 a.m. in the Blue Room at the White House for broadcast at 2:30 p.m. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this address.*

## Statement on the Resignation of Mikhail Gorbachev as President of the Soviet Union

*December 25, 1991*

Mikhail Gorbachev's resignation as President of the Soviet Union culminates a remarkable era in the history of his country and in its long and often difficult relationship with the United States. As he leaves office, I would like to express publicly and on behalf of the American people my gratitude to him for years of sustained commitment to world peace and my personal respect for his intellect, vision, and courage.

President Gorbachev is responsible for one of the most important developments of this century, the revolutionary transformation of a totalitarian dictatorship and the liberation of his people from its smothering embrace. His personal commitment to democratic and economic reform through *perestroika* and *glasnost*, a commitment which demanded the highest degree of political and personal ingenuity and courage, permitted the peoples of Russia and other Republics to cast aside decades of dark oppression and put in place the foundations of freedom.

Working with President Reagan, myself, and other allied leaders, President Gorbachev acted boldly and decisively to end the bitter divisions of the cold war and contrib-

uted to the remaking of a Europe whole and free. His and Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's "New Thinking" in foreign affairs permitted the United States and the Soviet Union to move from confrontation to partnership in the search for peace across the globe. Together we negotiated historic reductions in chemical, nuclear, and conventional forces and reduced the risk of a nuclear conflict.

Working together, we helped the people of Eastern Europe win their liberty and the German people their goal of unity in peace and freedom. Our partnership led to unprecedented cooperation in repelling Iraqi aggression in Kuwait, in bringing peace to Nicaragua and Cambodia, and independence to Namibia. And our work continues as we seek a lasting and just peace between Israelis and Arabs in the Middle East and an end to the conflict in Afghanistan.

President Gorbachev's participation in these historic events is his legacy to his country and to the world. This record assures him an honored place in history and, most importantly for the future, establishes a solid basis from which the United States and the West can work in equally constructive ways with his successors.

## Address to the Nation on the Commonwealth of Independent States

*December 25, 1991*

*Good evening, and Merry Christmas to all Americans across our great country.*

During these last few months, you and I

have witnessed one of the greatest dramas of the 20th century, the historic and revolutionary transformation of a totalitarian dic-

tatorship, the Soviet Union, and the liberation of its peoples. As we celebrate Christmas, this day of peace and hope, I thought we should take a few minutes to reflect on what these events mean for us as Americans.

For over 40 years, the United States led the West in the struggle against communism and the threat it posed to our most precious values. This struggle shaped the lives of all Americans. It forced all nations to live under the specter of nuclear destruction.

That confrontation is now over. The nuclear threat, while far from gone, is receding. Eastern Europe is free. The Soviet Union itself is no more. This is a victory for democracy and freedom. It's a victory for the moral force of our values. Every American can take pride in this victory, from the millions of men and women who have served our country in uniform to millions of Americans who supported their country and a strong defense under nine Presidents.

New, independent nations have emerged out of the wreckage of the Soviet empire. Last weekend, these former Republics formed a Commonwealth of Independent States. This act marks the end of the old Soviet Union, signified today by Mikhail Gorbachev's decision to resign as President.

I'd like to express, on behalf of the American people, my gratitude to Mikhail Gorbachev for years of sustained commitment to world peace and for his intellect, vision, and courage. I spoke with Mikhail Gorbachev this morning. We reviewed the many accomplishments of the past few years and spoke of hope for the future.

Mikhail Gorbachev's revolutionary policies transformed the Soviet Union. His policies permitted the peoples of Russia and the other Republics to cast aside decades of oppression and establish the foundations of freedom. His legacy guarantees him an honored place in history and provides a solid basis for the United States to work in equally constructive ways with his successors.

The United States applauds and supports the historic choice for freedom by the new States of the Commonwealth. We congratulate them on the peaceful and democratic path they have chosen, and for their careful attention to nuclear control and safety

during this transition. Despite a potential for instability and chaos, these events clearly serve our national interest.

We stand tonight before a new world of hope and possibilities for our children, a world we could not have contemplated a few years ago. The challenge for us now is to engage these new States in sustaining the peace and building a more prosperous future.

And so today, based on commitments and assurances given to us by some of these States concerning nuclear safety, democracy, and free markets, I am announcing some important steps designed to begin this process.

First, the United States recognizes and welcomes the emergence of a free, independent, and democratic Russia, led by its courageous President, Boris Yeltsin. Our Embassy in Moscow will remain there as our Embassy to Russia. We will support Russia's assumption of the U.S.S.R.'s seat as a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council. I look forward to working closely with President Yeltsin in support of his efforts to bring democratic and market reform to Russia.

Second, the United States also recognizes the independence of Ukraine, Armenia, Kazakhstan, Byelarus, and Kyrgyzstan, all States that have made specific commitments to us. We will move quickly to establish diplomatic relations with these States and build new ties to them. We will sponsor membership in the United Nations for those not already members.

Third, the United States also recognizes today as independent States the remaining six former Soviet Republics: Moldova, Turkmenistan, Azerbaijan, Tadjikistan, Georgia, and Uzbekistan. We will establish diplomatic relations with them when we are satisfied that they have made commitments to responsible security policies and democratic principles, as have the other States we recognize today.

These dramatic events come at a time when Americans are also facing challenges here at home. I know that for many of you these are difficult times. And I want all Americans to know that I am committed to attacking our economic problems at home

with the same determination we brought to winning the cold war.

I am confident we will meet this challenge as we have so many times before. But we cannot if we retreat into isolationism. We will only succeed in this interconnected world by continuing to lead the fight for free people and free and fair trade. A free and prosperous global economy is essential for America's prosperity. That means jobs and economic growth right here at home.

This is a day of great hope for all Americans. Our enemies have become our partners, committed to building democratic and civil societies. They ask for our support, and we will give it to them. We will do it because as Americans we can do no less.

For our children, we must offer them the guarantee of a peaceful and prosperous future, a future grounded in a world built on strong democratic principles, free from the specter of global conflict.

May God bless the people of the new nations in the Commonwealth of Independent States. And on this special day of peace on Earth, good will toward men, may God continue to bless the United States of America. Good night.

*Note: The President spoke at 9 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. The address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.*

## The President's News Conference December 26, 1991

### *Secretary-Designate of Commerce*

*The President.* Good afternoon, the day after Christmas. Let me just say I am very pleased to announce my intention to nominate Barbara Hackman Franklin as the next Secretary of Commerce. I've known Barbara for many years, and I am confident that her outstanding record of achievement in both the public and private sector will serve her well as she tackles this tough and important assignment.

Barbara has dealt with a broad range of domestic and international issues. She's a recognized leader in her field. She served on the board of directors of seven major industrial companies, manufacturing and service, providing advice and guidance on how to successfully innovate, manage efficiently, and stimulate economic growth. In fact, in 1990 the American Management Association named her one of our Nation's 50 most influential corporate directors.

Currently in her fourth term as a member of the President's Advisory Committee on Trade Negotiations, she understands firsthand the challenge America faces in the international trade arena. She knows that currently exports are our strong suit and that we must continue to press

hard to open more markets to quality American goods and services.

And that's why she's been a determined advocate of free and fair trade, keenly aware that when the playing field is level, American workers can compete with anyone anywhere.

Her first priority is the same as mine: jobs and economic growth. And she's shown a deep commitment to public service, from serving on the Consumer Product Safety Commission to working as an alternate public delegate to the United Nations.

In addition to her corporate and international trade experience, Barbara is an entrepreneur, founder and owner of her own management consulting firm. As one of the first women to earn an M.B.A. from Harvard University, she's also been a leader and role model for many women in business. As we address the tough economic issues before us, I look forward to Barbara Franklin's sound, experienced counsel. And she will undoubtedly be a valued member of our economic team.

Let me just add that I am grateful for Bob Mosbacher's service at the Department of Commerce. I mentioned it here the other day, but as I name Barbara Franklin

to this new position, I again want to express to Bob Mosbacher my sincere appreciation for a job so well done. And I have every confidence that Barbara will continue that fine tradition of exemplary public service.

And now, Madam Secretary-Designate, if you would like to say a word or two, and then we'll be, either, both of us, be glad to take some questions.

*Ms. Franklin.* Thank you very much, Mr. President. I am deeply honored, almost beyond putting that into words, but I am absolutely thrilled to be a new part of your team. And I'm particularly honored that you have chosen me to follow my friend Secretary Bob Mosbacher, who really has done a wonderful job. And I admire very much what you and he have done to forge a partnership between Government and business and to promote exports. And I look forward to working with everyone on your team in the administration, to continuing that momentum.

As Secretary of Commerce, when confirmed by the Senate, of course, I look forward to and will be very proud to be an advocate for American business—small business, big business, medium-sized business, start-up business, manufacturing, service, whatever kind of business we have in this country—because it is the economic backbone of America and really the envy of the world. I believe today that American business is more competitive, more innovative, and more responsible than a lot of people realize. And we have a great story, and I'm thrilled to have this opportunity to begin to tell it.

I appreciate your confidence in me, Mr. President. Thank you.

*The President.* Well, both of us, either of us, will take questions. Tom [Tom Raum, Associated Press], I believe, has the first one.

#### *Russian Nuclear Weapons*

*Q.* Thank you, Mr. President. Despite the assurances that you've gotten from Boris Yeltsin that he'll do what he can to not ever use the nuclear button, how satisfied are you that he can control the vast arsenal that's now spread out over four independent Republics, particularly given the continued economic instability there?

*The President.* Well, we have had proper assurances from all the Republics, the ones that I have said last night we were going to recognize, those that have nuclear weapons. And our experts that have been in touch at the expert level see no reason to be concerned about this. I had proper assurances, obviously, from Boris Yeltsin on this on several occasions.

Similarly, in my conversation with Mikhail Gorbachev, he raised the subject and expressed his satisfaction at the way this process or this, well, this process is going. And so I have no reason to be anything but satisfied at this point.

#### *Future Arms Negotiations*

*Q.* Mr. President, a followup, if I may. In the past it's been hard enough to negotiate arms control agreements with the one central power. What does this say, now that there will be as many as 12 different voices speaking, what does this say for enacting new arms control agreements and enforcing the old ones?

*The President.* I think it's going to be very easy, much easier. And the reason I say that—let me say much easier because we don't have the concept on their part of viewing the United States as an enemy, as happened over all the years of the cold war.

From the representations that have been made by the various Presidents of the Republics, I think it will be far easier now to hammer out whatever additional arms control agreements are in the world's interest, and certainly in the interest of the United States, than it was before. So, I think this whole change towards commonwealth will facilitate further progress in arms reductions.

#### *The Economy*

*Q.* Mr. President, speaking of trust, why do you trust your economic advisers when they've been so wrong? And I have a—

*The President.* That's a very good question, Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International]. [Laughter] I was kind of hoping you would bring that up. [Laughter]

*Q.* I have another part, another related question.

*The President.* Well, look, you go back

and look at not just my economic advisers but the blue chip prognosticators, and I think many, including this noneconomist you're talking to, have been wrong. And so I'm not recriminatory about it, but I think that everybody would recognize, given the way the economy failed to recover as was widely predicted 3 months ago, that this science of economics is inexact at best. But I have no recrimination on it, but I simply think that it is very hard to—what I've learned from this is that economists can be wrong. It's very hard to predict accurately events on a complicated thing like this economy.

#### *Corporate Executive Salaries*

*Q.* Mr. President, you're taking with you a delegation, many of whom pulled down multimillion-dollar salaries while their companies have fired hundreds, perhaps thousands of workers. What is your feeling about that? Do you think they should make that kind of money when they're firing everybody?

*The President.* I don't think the Federal Government has a role in all of this, but I do think that it's good that these business people are going along, regardless of what their salaries are. They represent large companies in various fields including the automotive business, and there are a lot of workers who would like to see what I'd like to see: more access to Japanese markets. So on the whole, I'm very, very pleased that that's taking place.

*Q.* You have no feeling about these salaries that go through the roof?

*The President.* I think when times are tough there's more focus on that, and everybody ought to be dealing from their conscience. And these boards of directors should be looking very carefully at these matters. But I stop short of saying this is where the Government ought to get in. I've seen pieces of legislation that somehow hook things into the Government mandating what compensation should be, and I'm strongly opposed to that.

#### *Commonwealth of Independent States*

*Q.* Mr. President, last night in your speech you warned that there was still a potential for instability and chaos in the

Commonwealth of these Republics. Just what is it precisely that you're concerned about? And given the economic constraints here in the United States, what specific steps are you ready to take today to see that doesn't happen?

*The President.* Well, I'm concerned about economic deprivation; that's one thing. Secondly, I'm concerned that when you put into effect bold new free-market economic systems that there will be dislocations. The managed economies have failed, but as you have a transition to market economies, there could be consumer woes out there. And I think Boris Yeltsin himself has mentioned his concerns about that in the Russian Republic. You already hear concerns being expressed in the other Republics. And so, it isn't easy when you make the shift from a highly centralized economy, even though it's in the failing state, to something as bold and innovative as a market economy. And it's going to take a while to attract the investment they want.

So, what I think we ought to be doing is helping where we can with food, helping where we can with medicine, and helping where we can with private investment. And of course, that's one of the categories, that's one of the headings that will be addressed by our new Secretary of Commerce.

We're just beginning now in all of this. And it's very important we succeed. I'm not predicting disaster; I am just saying we've got to be alert to the pressures that are going to be brought to bear on the Republics. I saw a report today of oil shortages in the Baltic States, for example. And there's no easy answer to all of this. But I just hope that they will continue to solve these problems, for the most part, in a very, very peaceful way. We've seen some areas where it hasn't been so peaceful.

*Q.* But can the United States do anything more specific to head off this kind of instability and turmoil?

*The President.* I think, in something this complex, I don't think there's one easy formulation, if that's what you mean. We are going to stay involved in those areas that I mentioned. I think that will guard against the real worst-case scenario.

I've been criticized for not getting to the

back of the room. So we'll do these two, and then we'll go way back there somewhere, although I do not hear from my fellow Texan back there. [Laughter]

### *The Economy*

*Q.* In your Christmas address you did promise that you would use the same determination on the economic problems at home that you used on ending the cold war. What will you do between now and your State of the Union Address?

*The President.* I'm going on a foreign trip to Japan, Singapore, Australia, and Korea. And one of the things that sustained us in difficult economic times is our exports, and I want to be sure during this period of time that we do everything we can to set the ground work for expanded exports. So, that's one thing I'll be doing.

The other things we'll be doing is working out the final phases of a highly complex Federal budget. And the third thing will be putting the final touches on a State of the Union that will include some suggestions that I've already made and some new suggestions as to what to do in a stimulatory sense for this economy.

*Q.* And you've ruled out any unilateral administration action between now and the State of the Union?

*The President.* Well, there may be other steps we can take. I've mentioned three things we will be doing, but in terms of other steps, there may be. We're going to be talking today, as a matter of fact, on some things here.

### *Budget Agreement*

*Q.* Mr. President, one of the issues that your economic advisers have stuck by closely is maintaining the budget agreement. Are you at this point ready to ditch that agreement if it suggests that you might be able to get the economy underway?

*The President.* Well, by the budget agreement, what I think of when I think of it is keeping caps on discretionary spending. And one of the things that has kept the long-term interest rates from going out through the roof is the fact that discretionary spending is capped. And I have no desire to change that at all. I am not going to do that. And I think the markets will

receive what I've just told you right now with great feeling of satisfaction.

*Q.* But if it's not discretionary, you are willing to entertain some changes?

*The President.* The nondiscretionary spending is going at leaps and bounds. And I don't know of many Americans who say, "Spend more money, please, from Washington." But you know, when you take a look at some of the entitlement programs, therein lies the real expansion of Government spending. What can be done about them? We're talking about that right now.

*Q.* Possibly some cuts, sir?

*The President.* We're just talking about a wide array of things.

### *Cuba*

*Q.* Mr. President, now that the Soviet Union is dead and that communism seems to be dead or is dead already, what do you foresee in Cuba? What is your forecast or your outlook?

*The President.* I've got a pretty pessimistic prospect there for Fidel Castro down there in Cuba, very pessimistic for him, because it is so hard to be the only one that still thinks communism is a good idea. And that's what he thinks. And he's hurting his own people. And the Soviets—the Republics will be, if not cutting him off entirely, cutting him back considerably.

So, what he ought to do is brighten the future for Cuba and brighten the future for the Cuban people by permitting them to have the same kinds of freedoms that the Republics now enjoy, the Republics in the former Soviet Union. And that's what Fidel Castro ought to do. So Castro, in its existing model, no hope for him. It's a dead end. He's swimming against an inexorable tide.

### *Latin America*

*Q.* For the future of Latin America, now that there are so many countries that need aid—

*The President.* Very optimistic about the future of Latin America. I want to hammer out a fair trade agreement with Mexico that will create more jobs in the United States and will be of enormous benefit to Mexico. Then I want to go beyond that for more opening of trade with Central and South

America. And I want to help those countries every way we can strengthen their fledgling democracies and strengthen those democracies that have been in effect for a long time.

So, Latin America, South America presents at year's end a very exciting prospect. And the United States is fully engaged. We will continue to be engaged. Haiti remains a problem, but if you ask me if I'm pessimistic or optimistic about the lives of the people south of our border being better this coming year, I would say because of the political change down there they have every opportunity for much better lives.

#### *The Economy*

*Q.* Mr. President, I wanted to ask you about public anxieties about the economy. On paper, if you compare the economy now with the '82 recession, for instance, it doesn't look that bad. Unemployment isn't as high; interest rates are relatively low. Yet, the public anxiety seems to be very high, and Alan Greenspan last week said there is a deep-seated concern out there that he hasn't seen in his lifetime.

Now, you've said that if you're unemployed the unemployment rate for you is 100 percent. But beyond that, there must be something out there that is causing this anxiety. How would you explain it?

*The President.* I think it's somewhat the nature of this sluggish economy. I think there's a lot more white-collar unemployment and concern. It's hard for me, beyond that, to explain it because you are correct in what you say about these statistics. And yet, you're also correct in what you say about confidence being far lower than it was during the depths of the '81-'82 recession when, as you point out, conditions in some areas were a heck of a lot worse.

So, I haven't really been able to sort out exactly why there has been this degree of pessimism. But I will say this: I believe that's going to change. And I think what the Fed did last week was a good step. I think it will work its way through to the job creation part of this which is most fundamental. But it's hard for me to explain exactly—I mean, to have it explained the way that I can understand it, exactly why there is the degree of pessimism. But there cer-

tainly has been, and I want to do my level-best to turn that around.

#### *Tax Cuts*

*Q.* Mr. President, as you put your economic package together for next year, the Fed has lowered the interest rates, and some economists say that that has pretty much erased the need for a tax cut for the middle class that the Democrats are clamoring for. What's your current thinking on whether that package will indeed contain a tax cut for the middle class?

*The President.* I will not say to you what is going to be in our proposals. I have read some speculation of that nature, but what I want to do is find the answers that will really help the economy without doing long-run damage to the economy. And beyond that, I simply would respectfully ask that I just address myself to that when I go into it with the State of the Union.

*Q.* Republicans joined the Democrats in ridiculing the idea of a tax rebate, that it really wouldn't do that much good. Are you playing around with some idea in that way?

*The President.* Well, we've got some ideas that I think will be stimulative, and I think that is what is necessary. We've had some that I felt would be stimulative, and we haven't been particularly successful in getting them through Congress, but we are going to try some more. I think we owe that to the American people, and I think Congress owes it to the American people.

#### *Visit to Asian/Pacific Nations*

*Q.* Mr. President, why are you taking corporate CEO's on your trip to Asia and not working people, representatives of working people, union leaders?

*The President.* I think the problems we're trying to solve is to have the counterparts, the people that run the business enterprises in the various countries we are going to, understand how difficult things are for the American worker, for the job-holder in this country, union or nonunion, and how important it is to gain access, further access to these foreign markets. So, I think it is the people that are actually running these various businesses who are in the best position to discuss it in that level.



I hope they understand from studying this country as much as they do that the workers you're talking about are hurting and are concerned. And so, I hope that this approach will benefit our common objectives. That is why I want them to be with us.

I might say there are other things we are going to be talking about on this trip. We're going to be talking about the U.S. role in the Pacific. Some have felt that the United States was pulling back from its responsibilities in the Pacific, given what has happened, for example, in the Philippines. I will reassure the leaders of the four countries that I am visiting that that isn't the case, that we remain a Pacific power.

We've got some other things we'll be talking about with these various countries, the need to work in global partnership with them in terms of helping South and Central America or seeing what we can do to help alleviate the suffering that might take place in these Republics. So there's a wide array of subjects, but right up in the forefront will clearly be the economic questions.

*Q.* Does it trouble you, sir, though, that a lot of these executives have protectionist views that are quite at odds with your own?

*The President.* They know my views, and I am not going to change my views to become a protectionist. But I think we have a common view that we ought to have more access to these foreign markets, and I think therein there is a total common view. But I am not going to turn protectionist. I just believe that we need to expand markets, not contract them. This country went through a disastrous experience with protectionism years ago, and we're not going to do it again.

Karen [Karen Hostler, Baltimore Sun], the last one, I am told.

*Q.* On the trip, you've raised expectations pretty high with all this talk of jobs, jobs, jobs, and going to Japan. What do you realistically expect to accomplish? Are you hopeful of getting some concessions from the Japanese on trade barriers or changing some of the unfair trade practices?

*The President.* Well, one thing we will get is that they will have a much clearer feel for the state of the U.S. economy and what the President and some business leaders

think need to be done to improve the state of the U.S. economy, to help create jobs in this country. We've been talking to world leaders for many years about this, but I think they'll understand when this trip is over that to the degree there are barriers that make this trade less than fair, that they'd better do something about it.

So, I would leave it general. There are some things that I could cite for you that we might get, but I'm not going to do that, set up goals for this trip. I notice some of the political leaders up on the opposition in this country have already done that for me, so we'll just leave it there. But that doesn't bother me. We're going to stay on this free trade approach, but we're also going to try to do our best to be sure the trade is fair and fairer and continuing to get fairer. That is what's essential here at this turn of events. We must not go back into this isolationistic sphere that inevitably will shrink markets and throw more people out of work.

So, we're going to be taking a broad message on this subject of jobs and a strong message in terms of the need for the United States to stay involved in the Pacific area. It's an important trip in that regard.

Listen, thank you all very much, and have a great New Year. And I hope you had half as good a Christmas as the Bush family did; then you'd be very, very happy.

*Q.* What did you get for Christmas?

*The President.* What did I get for Christmas? I can't tell you.

#### *Meeting With Russian President Yeltsin*

*Q.* Mr. President, would you like to meet with Boris Yeltsin soon?

*The President.* We talked about that, as a matter of fact, and I think it's important. I think he thinks it's important. No date was set. But clearly, as the leader of the largest Republic, one who I said last night we wanted to help get the—who we'd like to see sit in that Security Council permanent member seat, it is important we stay in a very, very close touch.

And as you know, President Yeltsin and I have been in close touch and will continue to be. But I would say that a meeting before too long is important; and I think he

agrees with that.

*Q.* Sir, would you consider inviting him here to Washington for—

*The President.* Sure, sure—well, for what? *Q.* In January?

*The President.* I don't think that would fit, but I think it's important that he come here or that I meet him somewhere because we want to handle this relationship as best we can to see that it's peaceful, to see

that all the things they've represented to us in terms of Helsinki principles and nuclear weapons and all of those things are handled well. I'm confident they will, but it doesn't hurt to have that personal contact.

Thank you all very much.

*Note: The President's 114th news conference began at 2:07 p.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.*

## Notice of the Continuation of the National Emergency With Respect to Libya

December 26, 1991

On January 7, 1986, by Executive Order No. 12543, President Reagan declared a national emergency to deal with the unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States constituted by the actions and policies of the Government of Libya. On January 8, 1986, by Executive Order No. 12544, the President took additional measures to block Libyan assets in the United States. The President has transmitted a notice continuing this emergency to the Congress and the *Federal Register* every year since 1986. Because the Government of Libya has continued its actions and policies in support of international terrorism as evidenced by its involvement in the destruction of Pan Am Flight 103, the national emergency declared on January 7, 1986, and the meas-

ures adopted on January 7 and January 8, 1986, to deal with that emergency, must continue in effect beyond January 7, 1992. Therefore, in accordance with section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)), I am continuing the national emergency with respect to Libya. This notice shall be published in the *Federal Register* and transmitted to the Congress.

GEORGE BUSH

The White House,  
December 26, 1991.

[*Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 5:03 p.m., December 26, 1991*]

*Note: This notice was published in the Federal Register on December 30.*

## Letter to Congressional Leaders on the Continuation of the National Emergency With Respect to Libya

December 26, 1991

*Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)*

Section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)) provides for the automatic termination of a national emergency unless, prior to the anniversary date of its declaration, the President publishes in the *Federal Register* and transmits to the Congress a notice stating that the emergen-

cy is to continue in effect beyond the anniversary date. In accordance with this provision, I have sent the enclosed notice, stating that the Libyan emergency is to continue in effect beyond January 7, 1992, to the *Federal Register* for publication.

The crisis between the United States and Libya that led to the declaration on January

7, 1986, of a national emergency has not been resolved. The Government of Libya continues to use and support international terrorism as evidenced by its involvement in the destruction of Pan Am Flight 103, in violation of international law and minimum standards of human behavior. Such Libyan actions and policies pose a continuing unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and vital foreign policy interests of the United States. For these reasons, I have determined that it is necessary to

maintain in force the broad authorities necessary to apply economic pressure to the Government of Libya to reduce its ability to support international terrorism.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

*Note: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Dan Quayle, President of the Senate.*

## Statement on Foreign Direct Investment Policy

December 26, 1991

I am today reaffirming the unequivocal and long-standing support of the United States for a policy of free and open foreign direct investment among all nations.

The United States open investment policy is based on the principle of national treatment: Foreign investors should not be treated differently from domestic investors. This policy provides the means for economies to grow and to prosper. All countries, both sources and recipients, benefit from foreign direct investment. The United States, the world's largest source and recipient of direct investment, has a major interest in fostering open investment climates. We are committed to our open investment policy in the United States, and we are aggressively seeking to open markets abroad.

Like domestic investment, foreign direct investment stimulates growth, creates jobs,

fosters competition, and facilitates the creation and exchange of goods, services, and innovative techniques. It helps our economy maintain investment, which is vital to our economic performance and international competitiveness.

Since 1983, the last time the United States issued an investment policy statement, the world has witnessed enormous changes in the treatment of foreign investment. Many countries are dismantling inefficient economic systems and are actively seeking investment from abroad.

As other nations around the globe join us in embracing the concept of free markets, it is important to reaffirm our commitment to an open investment policy. It is an essential element of our Nation's effort to compete fully in the global economy and is a constant contributor to worldwide growth and the prosperity of nations.

## White House Statement Announcing United States Foreign Direct Investment Policy

December 26, 1991

### 1. *Foreign Direct Investment in the United States*

The United States welcomes foreign direct investment. Foreign direct invest-

ment is beneficial to the U.S. economy. Like domestic investment, foreign investment creates jobs, promotes innovation, generates increases in productivity, and

thereby raises U.S. living standards. It strengthens U.S. firms and makes them more competitive in the global economy.

The United States provides foreign investors fair, equitable, and nondiscriminatory treatment as a matter of both law and practice. While there are exceptions, generally related to national security, such exceptions are few; they limit foreign investment only in certain sectors such as atomic energy, air and water transport, and telecommunications. These exceptions are consistent with our international obligations.

Consistent with this policy, the Exon-Florio amendment to the Defense Production Act provides the President with authority to suspend or prohibit foreign mergers, acquisitions, and takeovers where there is credible evidence of a threat to the national security.

### 2. *U.S. Direct Investment Abroad*

The United States believes that U.S. investment abroad should also receive fair, equitable, and nondiscriminatory treatment. The basic tenet of our policy is that U.S. investors should be accorded the better of national or most-favored-nation treatment. U.S. investors should receive the most favorable treatment offered by the host country to any investor, foreign or domestic, at the time of establishment and thereafter.

Accordingly, the United States continues to seek the reduction and elimination of practices by governments which restrict, distort, discriminate against, prohibit, or place unreasonable burdens on foreign direct investment.

Foreign direct investment can help ease the adjustment problems facing countries moving from centrally administered to market-oriented economies. For developing countries, particularly those that have embraced free market principles, foreign direct investment is vital to increase growth and reduce debt service burdens.

The adoption by all countries of open foreign direct investment policies would contribute significantly to improved worldwide economic health and would diminish distortions in an increasingly integrated world economy.

### 3. *U.S. Initiatives*

The United States has a number of initia-

tives underway to enhance the free flow of foreign direct investment in accordance with market forces.

—In the Uruguay round, the United States is negotiating key multilateral agreements to eliminate trade-related investment measures; to protect trade-related intellectual property; and to promote trade in services, an area where many investment rules have prohibited highly competitive U.S. service industries from doing business abroad.

—The United States, Canada, and Mexico are negotiating the North American free trade agreement, in which we are seeking to liberalize investment principles consistent with U.S. bilateral investment treaties.

—In the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative, the United States and its partners are working with the Inter-American Development Bank to help nations of Latin America and the Caribbean to liberalize their investment regimes. To assist in carrying out these reforms, the United States has spearheaded the formation of a multilateral investment fund for Latin America and the Caribbean which will be administered by the Inter-American Development Bank. Japan, Canada, Spain, Portugal, and several of the largest Latin American countries have agreed to join the United States in contributing to this fund. Others are actively considering joining.

—The United States has signed bilateral investment treaties with 16 countries in Eastern Europe, Latin America, the Caribbean, Africa, and Asia and is negotiating such agreements with a number of other countries. These treaties represent important commitments to investment reform. They incorporate the principle of nondiscriminatory treatment; affirm international law standards for expropriation including the principle of prompt, adequate, and effective compensation; provide for freedom of financial flows; and permit investors to take investment disputes to international arbitration.

—The United States is also vigorously promoting the adequate and effective protection of intellectual property rights.

Such protection is essential for the flow of investment into both developed and developing countries.

- At the initiative of the United States, member countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development are studying ways to strengthen multilateral commitment to open, nondiscriminatory treatment of investment.
- The United States will continue to encourage Japan to remove its investment barriers as an important goal of the Struc-

tural Impediments Initiative talks.

#### 4. Conclusion

Throughout our Nation's history, foreign direct investment has played an important role in increasing economic growth and raising living standards. In order to meet the economic challenges of the 1990's, the United States will continue to implement its open, nondiscriminatory investment policy at home and its policy of opening markets abroad.

## Remarks on Disaster Relief Efforts in Beeville, Texas

December 27, 1991

Let me just say first, I'm pleased to be back here in Beeville. But last night I signed a statement declaring a major disaster in the State of Texas due to the severe thunderstorms and flooding that began last week. This declaration will allow Federal funding to be made available to affected individuals and local governments in a five-county area which includes Bastrop, Bosque, Brown, Dallas, and Travis counties.

Grant Peterson with me here today, the Associate Director of FEMA, of the Federal Emergency Management Agency, and he's here to ensure that all aspects of the declaration are promptly implemented. He'll also make sure that the Federal funds are rapidly put into the hands of the families and individuals who need them.

These funds will help to provide shelter, temporary housing, and transportation to individuals and families whose lives have been disrupted by this disaster. The funds

will also help to recover the cost of damaged personal property and allow the victims of the storms and floods to begin rebuilding their lives.

I know that this disaster has been a source of great personal tragedy to many here in Texas, a particularly bitter calamity during this holiday season. And to those who have lost loved ones as a result of this catastrophe, Barbara and I send our deepest sympathies.

We had a chance to see some of the flood damage. We went over Austin and flew by some flooding in Travis County, Bosque County, and it is severe.

So anyway, we wish those families all the best as we approach the new year.

Thank you very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 9:40 a.m. at Chase Field Naval Air Station in Beeville, TX. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

## Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on Extension of Machine Tool Voluntary Restraint Agreements With Japan and Taiwan

December 27, 1991

The President has directed that the U.S. Trade Representative negotiate a limited extension of the voluntary restraint agree-

ments (VRA's) with Japan and Taiwan on machine tools. These VRA's were negotiated in 1986 for national security reasons and

were scheduled to expire on December 31, 1991.

Import restrictions on machining centers, computer-controlled lathes, computer-controlled punching and shearing machine tools, and computer-controlled milling machine tools will be removed progressively over a 2-year period, beginning in January 1992.

To allow sufficient time for negotiations with concerned countries over the phase-out schedule, we are requesting that Japan and Taiwan extend the existing VRA restrictions on machining centers, computer-controlled lathes, computer-controlled punching and shearing machine tools, and computer-controlled milling machine tools, scheduled to expire on December 31, 1991, for an additional 30 days.

VRA restrictions on noncomputer-controlled lathes, noncomputer-controlled punching and shearing machine tools, and noncomputer-controlled milling machine tools will expire as scheduled on December 31, 1991.

The President also has directed that the following steps be taken to assist the U.S. machine tool industry's ongoing efforts to regain international competitiveness:

—The Secretary of Commerce, as chairman of the Cabinet-level Trade Promotion Coordinating Committee, will give special focus to ways to promote machine tools exports.

—U.S. export control regulations will be reviewed to ensure that restrictions on machine tools are kept to the minimum consistent with national security.

—The Secretaries of Defense, Commerce, and Labor will designate officials at the Assistant Secretary level to work together to monitor the industry's performance and to consult regularly with industry's representatives.

—The Secretary of Labor will help the machine tool industry improve technical training, human resource management, and the utilization of new and emerging technologies.

—The Secretaries of Commerce and Energy will examine which research and development efforts in the national laboratories could benefit the domestic machine tool industry and will recommend appropriate investment and technology transfer to realize such benefit.

—The Secretaries of Commerce and Defense will continue to implement the domestic action plan of programs to support the revitalization of the U.S. machine tool industry. Key elements of the domestic action plan are as follows:

—Support for the National Center for Manufacturing Sciences (amounting to \$50 million during fiscal years 1988–91);

—Support by the Defense Department's Manufacturing Technology (MANTECH) R&D program. More than \$33 million has been spent for research on machine tools and related technologies over the past 3 years. Funding for related technologies is estimated at \$82 million over the FY 1991–95 period.

—The Secretary of Commerce will continue efforts under the U.S.-Japan Cooperation Plan, which was begun in May 1990 to help promote U.S. products to Japanese machine tool users and their subsidiaries in the United States.

The President's decision recognizes the importance to U.S. national security of a viable domestic machine tool industry. However, the main responsibility for achieving international competitiveness rests with the industry itself. We expect the industry to continue its efforts to improve quality and product lines.

## Remarks to the Bee County Community, Beeville, Texas December 27, 1991

Thank you for that warm welcome. And let me start off by thanking the A.C. Jones High School Band, well-represented back there with their families; the Taylor Brothers Band; and the Knight-Rider Band who are here with us. And also, I want to pay my special thanks to Holly Dunn who is with us, came all the way over from Nashville, one of the great country stars. And I don't know; has she been on yet? She's fixin' to be on, and you're in for a real treat, believe me.

And let me just single out a couple of other people with us from Washington: Your Congressman, my friend of many, many years, Kika de la Garza, sitting right here in the front row. We refer to him as Mr. Chairman. And, of course, a special guest that my friend Will Farish is entertaining for the weekend and who is entertaining us, my dear friend, the Senator from Wyoming, Al Simpson, sitting right down here.

And I understand that Judge Hayden Head is with us, one of the great Federal judges. I'm going to be in trouble if I mention friends, but I've got a friend from Hebbronville, Tony Salinas, who's up here, been at my side in politics for a long, long time. And of course, there's no way that I can begin to thank Dan and Jay, Dan Ouellette and Jay Kimbrough, for putting on this magnificent event. I am very, very grateful to them. I am grateful to the leaders of Beeville. And I'm grateful to each and every one of you who are here tonight to, in a sense, welcome me back to South Texas. Thank you very, very much.

And I will have a little presentation to make to your outstanding mayor of one year, Mayor Carlos Salazar, who's with us up here. But we'll have a little to do later on in this sense.

Of course, I'm grateful to my old friend Will Farish up at Berclair, who brings us down here from time to time.

Barbara is not with me. She's looking after Millie for the weekend and getting ready for a long trip that we're about to go

on. But if I might say this about Barbara Bush because I know I'm amongst friends here, if you will excuse this familial pride: With all she does in helping families with reading, reading to kids, hugging those kids that are not well, if you might permit this, I think she's an outstanding First Lady of this country, and I—[*applause*].

I was asked out at the airport today to say something about Chase because I know it's the integral part of the lifeblood, has been, here in Bee County. And I remember when I learned to fly, got my wings at Corpus. Of course, Chase Field then was active and one of the satellites, it was in those days, to Corpus Naval Air Station. So, let me just say a few words about it. And I want to put it in a global context, the context that those lovely words of our reverend touched on here this evening.

In the past 3 years, the entire world has changed. The cold war ended, and because we stood firm over the years, we won the cold war. Communism collapsed. The ideals that we defended so long conquered the empty promises and the grinding dogmas of socialism. And so, let there be no question about it anywhere: Freedom works, and tyranny does not work. And the whole world understands that today.

And to the kids here—I know there are many from the schools around here—let me just say, keep in mind this particular week. Write it down. Put it in your diary. What a week it's been. On Wednesday, Christmas Day, Soviet communism and the Soviet State died. President Gorbachev, who deserves great credit for reform, *perestroika*, and openness, *glasnost*, stepped aside. And Russians pulled down the hammer and sickle, that flag that has flown over the Kremlin for so many years, more than 70 years, and ran up the tricolor flag of a free Russia.

Thursday, and some of you may have seen the speech, I went down from Camp David to the White House and gave a speech in which I recognized 12 new States on behalf of the United States, recognized

12 new States and took steps to establish diplomatic relations with Russia and 5 other new democracies: Entire new, independent, sovereign countries recognized now by the United States of America.

And this was a dramatic week. I talked at length to President Gorbachev, former President of the Soviet Union, to President Yeltsin of Russia. And I can tell you that the mood for cooperation now between the Russian Republic, and I also believe between these other sovereign Republics, is good. It's strong. And I think we can then ensure the peace that has escaped us for so long.

And here I am at the end of this marvelous week in world history, back in a place I love very much, back in Beeville, Texas, right here in South Texas. And I'm thrilled to be back with you.

So, let's just think for a minute about where we've been in the last year. And again, our reverend spoke to this a little bit in his beautiful prayer. Last Christmas, if you'll think back—season—to this very day, I was weighing sending American troops into battle against Saddam Hussein, that brutal dictator, that outrageous aggressor.

And many people wanted us to stay here, stay home, play it safe, ignore our duties as the undisputed leader of the free world, ignore the aggression. But I decided and you, the American people, certainly the people of this part of Texas, agreed that Saddam Hussein's aggression should not, must not stand. And we tried everything in our power to free Kuwait peacefully: diplomacy, no avail; economic embargoes, no avail.

And finally, a little less than a year ago, I had to make the tough choice of sending Americans into battle. And they, those magnificent kids, did better than anyone could have possibly imagined. I was proud of them, and I know every American was proud of the job they did, the way they did it, the time it took, and what they stood for around the world.

And we said we'd liberate Kuwait. And with the help of this multinational coalition, we did it. And in the process, the spirits of this country were lifted.

And that set the tone in international affairs for 1991 all around the world. All year

long dramatic changes shook the world, most of them, if you'll look back over your shoulder, very, very positive. Freedom and democracy, on the march. Ancient enemies talking to each other for the first time across the table, one from the other, in the Middle East.

And now, we must wrestle with the victory of our ideals. With this cold war over, our military needs have changed. And this brings me right home to Chase. That bipartisan base closing commission decided that Chase should be shut down. I know that the civic leaders did what they should. They fought hard, fought the decision long and hard because this base has provided a foundation for life in Beeville for decades.

But I said early on I would support the commission, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, the Secretary of Defense, and I did that. And I know that other local institutions have suffered in the wake of closing of Chase, just as they have in the other areas where bases have been closed.

And now we've got to rebuild. And Washington can and will help. The Pentagon's Office of Economic Adjustment—that's the fancy name for the department that has to deal with these, the hardship and the ache of the base closings—has provided a grant of more than \$100,000 for community planning assistance. And that money is going to support efforts to find new opportunities for development right here in Beeville.

That investment can produce huge rewards. The Department of Commerce's EDA, the Economic Development Administration, has \$50 million in funding to assist communities across the country with base closings. And it offers an average of \$1 million for development efforts after the communities go forward and produce sound ideas for creating new businesses and new jobs.

An Assistant Secretary of Labor, Bob Jones, leads a program with \$150 million in defense funds to assist this country's dislocated defense workers in job counseling and training, relocation aid, job placement, and so on. And that could be about \$3 to \$4 million for business efforts in Beeville.

And I'm told that the Pentagon will turn the base over to you sometime late in 1993.



And that deadline, I think and hope, will help everybody get moving.

And then there's still some more: The SBA, the Small Business Administration, will conduct business seminars here, just as it did over at Fort Hood, when deployments and realignments hurt families over there.

In all, we've got in the Federal Government 23 departments and agencies ready to help, right now. And we'll do everything that we possibly can to help Beeville make the tough transition into this post-cold-war world that we're living in. There are many blessings to count, but yes, there are hardships. I'm not singling out here tonight special treatment. I am simply saying to the civic leaders here what is available at the Federal level. And that's how we deal with all base closings around this country.

And still, whatever the Federal Government does, whatever its role, your defense future really depends on you, depends on the heartbeat of Beeville, Texas.

I know Beeville's going to turn things around. When I arrived here in this motorcade, Jay showed me the headlines from the Corpus paper today. I'd like to show it to some of the people that have been reporting the news lately because it did have a nice positive ring about it at the end of the year. And I hope the predictions therein prove to be accurate, because they were predicting rather substantial improvements in this economy that's been sick and sluggish in many places in this country.

But Beeville's going to work. It's going to turn things around. Texas towns like Harlingen and Laredo, Mineral Wells, Waco have been through what you've been through. And they've recovered. And they've expanded their employment bases. And they did it because they were determined to make things better for themselves and for their kids. And I know you're going to do it here. I know you can do it here, too.

Before yielding the floor and getting on to the main event, which is eating the good barbecue and listening to some good country music, I'd like to cover just a couple of other important topics.

First, you have learned, and you might say the hard way, that foreign policy and domestic policy do go hand in hand. And anyone who says that you can divorce for-

eign and domestic policy is living in a dream world, or more accurately, living in a nightmare world.

Twice this century we tried to pull back, to retreat into isolationism, and we got two World Wars as a result. We tried economic isolationism, protectionism, once. And we got—some of you older folks here will remember—the Great Depression.

People these days must make a choice: Join the rest of the world, or get passed by it. And I say that the destiny of the United States of America is to lead. And as long as I am President of the United States, I will not neglect my responsibilities for the national security of this country. And I will do all I can to see that these kids back here have a chance to grow up in a world where they don't have to worry about nuclear conflict or going to war themselves. And I will not be deterred from those responsibilities.

I'm leaving Monday, Barbara and I leave Monday morning early, for a trip to Asia. And while I'm there, I'm going to be talking with leaders of four countries about international security, defending our vital interests in the Pacific. We are a Pacific power as well as a power that looks to our own south and looks to the east across the Atlantic. Talking about our vital interests there; cultural exchanges; talking about overall world economics, talking about getting those countries, those that are doing well in that part of the world, to help us as we try to reinforce and strengthen the fledgling democracies to our south.

And most important, though, on this trip, we're going to be talking about breaking open markets that shut out American products, American business, and in the process deny us the opportunity to create more good American jobs. Those countries must open their markets to American products. So the most important priority is then, if you look at it, is good jobs for Americans. And I am going to Asia to help create those kinds of jobs.

I want a world of free trade where the best of each nation, the best, can compete in free and fair trade, free and fair markets. And that world offers everybody the best goods at the lowest prices. And the exports have saved America as we've gone through

a sluggish economy. And one way to shut those exports off is to resort to protection ourselves.

Trade's got to be fair. I believe this: I believe that we can compete with anyone in the world if we get a fair chance. And that's what we've got to see happens in these world markets.

So, the sum of it is this: Free trade means jobs. Now, this is an agricultural community; listen to this one: Every billion dollars' worth of agricultural exports creates more than 25,000 new jobs here in the United States of America. Every billion dollars' worth of manufactured exports created more than 20,000 good jobs.

Incredible things have taken place all around us. The cold war is over, the Gulf war won. Relations with Mexico and other neighbors to the south have never ever been better. And I want to see them even stronger because that means jobs and better opportunity for all Americans, North Americans and South.

And if you want to put it all in wonderful year-end perspective, if your family is like ours, from Christmas and then again at New Year's we count our blessings. And believe me, we have many, many things to be thankful for. There's a lot of things aren't going the way I'd like to see them in this country, but Barbara and I have an inclination with our kids around us, as we had them there at Camp David, to count our blessings, to thank God for the blessings that we have as a family and that we see in this great country of ours.

So, we have a lot to be grateful for. American leadership, American ideals have literally reshaped the world that we are living in.

And so, I think it is time then that we further seize our destiny. We've got so much to do at home. We're doing not bad in some aspects. In fact, we're doing quite well in some aspects of the drug fight. We've got to continue. We've got to continue it until every family knows that their kids won't be plagued by narcotics.

We've got to make our schools the best in the world. And with this America 2000 program, which is Democrats and Republicans and liberals and conservatives working together, I'm optimistic that we can do just

that: Revolutionize these schools and give our kids the best opportunity for an education that any generation has ever had.

Light a fire under our best inventors, innovators, and workers and liberate the working people from taxes, regulation, and red tape. And then do that, and the rest of the world is going to watch in awe. And we'll create the kind of society we want.

Yes, I still want a kinder and gentler, fast-growing, always improving America. And yes, I will continue to fight against the excesses of Government spending. I believe deficits matter. And I believe we've got to do a better job in Washington in controlling the excesses of Federal spending.

So, in about a month, about a month from now, I will deliver a State of the Union Message that's going to outline a new strategy for building on our international success. We're moving into a partisan year. Everybody here knows that. Certainly, I know it. We're moving into a partisan year. But what I will challenge the Congress to do in this State of the Union Message is to find a window where we just put politics aside and say, "Look, there's some Americans that are hurting out here, far too many all across our country. So now let's set aside the politics, only for a short period of time." That's the only realistic thing that can happen. Set it aside, reach out my hand to the other side, and say, "Let's get some things done that will make this economy grow, that will put America back to work, and will still guarantee that we are the leader of the entire free world. I am convinced we can do it." And that's the approach I'm going to take in the State of the Union Message.

I'm going to outline a new strategy for building on our international success. And it will be about unleashing the creativity, the ambition, and the drive of the American people, about really getting again this sluggish economy on the move. And I'm absolutely confident, I am absolutely confident that we will do just exactly that. We are Americans. We will not fail.

I just want you to know, in the first place, just a couple of comments to friends, and then we'll eat. I like my job as President. Al Simpson was coming down on the plane, he

said, "Hey, you're getting clobbered out there by the media these days." And I said, "Yes, that goes with the territory. It takes one to know one." You talk about Simpson telling me about getting clobbered by the press, why—[laughter].

But we reminisced about it. And we both concluded just as friends, no politics, that it is well worth it. I cannot think of a more exciting period in this century to be President of the United States. I'm working hard. I'm doing my level best. I'm absolutely confident that this country's going to turn around and this economy will be back on track. And I am absolutely confident that you, the American people, want me to continue to lead, to have America be the leader around the world.

So, there's some slings and arrows out there. But don't feel sorry for the Bushes. We love it. We feel privileged every single day that we live in the White House. And I feel honored; I feel the same sense of emotion that Dan Ouellette told me that he had when he walked into the Oval Office maybe for the second or third time. I go there every day, and I still get a little choked up and think, God, what a wonderful country we are living in.

God bless the United States of America. And thank you for this fantastic South Texas hospitality. I will never forget it. Thank you very much.

*[At this point, Mayor Salazar presented gifts to the President.]*

And now, under the theory that some practice that it is better to give than to receive, let me hand this token to Mayor Salazar. And it is simply a certificate from the President of the United States, a certificate of appreciation to Beeville, Texas, in recognition of the kindness and the hospitality shown during this Presidential visit to your wonderful area. And again, thank you all so very, very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 5:54 p.m. in the Bee County Rodeo Arena. In his remarks, he referred to Hayden W. Head, Jr., U.S. District Judge for the Southern District of Texas; Will Farish and Tony Salinas, longtime friends of the President; and co-chairmen of the barbecue, Dan Ouellette, former county Republican Party chairman, and Jay Kimbrough, an attorney in Beeville. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

## Remarks Upon Departure for Asian/Pacific Nations December 30, 1991

Today I leave on a 12-day journey to a region of critical importance to the interests of this Nation. We'll be visiting four Asian/Pacific nations, home to some of the world's most dynamic economies. On my visits to Australia and Singapore, to Korea and Japan, I will get a firsthand glimpse of America's economic future, a world in which we will conduct more and more business and trade with partners in Asia, Europe, and Latin America.

In this new world, old notions no longer apply. The sharp lines that once separated foreign and domestic policy have been overtaken by a new reality. If we want to put people to work here at home, we've got to expand trade and to open markets. These

new economic realities have not eclipsed the security concerns that continue to demand our attention throughout East Asia. I'll make very clear to each country I visit that America remains committed to the cause of freedom and democracy, that America will remain engaged in the Pacific area economically, politically, and militarily. After all, we are a Pacific nation, and we should care about what our allies in that region have to say. Our Asian/Pacific friends will play a crucial role in helping us build a post-cold-war world defined by prosperity and trade, not poverty and isolationism.

But let me make very clear the focus of this trip. My highest priority is jobs, and I

want us to build a foundation for sustained economic growth and an ever-increasing supply of good jobs for American workers. Here at home, all of us are concerned about our sluggish economy. One way to get this economy growing again is to open up markets abroad for American goods and services. The goods we make here in America, the services we provide, are second to none. More exports mean new jobs. Each billion dollars in new manufactured exports supports 20,000 new American jobs.

The markets of East Asia offer great opportunity. Last year we conducted more than \$300 billion worth of two-way trade with the nations of the Pacific Rim. That is more than with the nations of Europe. And yet we know that for many industries and sectors of our economy, the potential of our Pacific markets remain largely untapped.

My message in each country I visit will be this: Free trade is a two-way street. Certainly American companies ought to show greater commitment to these markets. And while nations such as Singapore have taken great strides to build a tradition of free and open trade, there are still too many countries where markets are closed to quality American goods and services. There are still too many countries whose consumers want but cannot buy American products. We seek no special benefits, no rules stacked in our favor, just open markets, trade that is free and fair.

I'll have help driving this message home.

Executives from 21 of America's leading companies and business organizations will travel with me. Some of them now do business in Asia. All of them are ready to work hard in these markets to blaze a trail other American companies, large and small, can follow.

They are also realistic about what we cannot expect from this trip. We cannot expect to achieve complete accord. This trip won't solve all the trade issues that now concern us or produce a new export boom overnight. But we will do all we can to make progress, to drive down the barriers abroad that inhibit the creation of jobs and opportunity at home. Actions such as that taken yesterday by the Central Bank of Japan to lower the discount rate one-half percent certainly do help.

America can meet the challenges of the new world taking shape around us. Some nations fear the future. They see chaos in change. But America is a Nation drawn forward by what is new. I am certain, I am absolutely confident that America can continue to lead and that in the new world Americans will prosper.

Thank you, and may God bless our great country. And now we'll head off to Australia. Thank you very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 6:35 a.m. at Andrews Air Force Base in Camp Springs, MD.*



## Appendix A—Digest of Other White House Announcements

*The following list includes the President's public schedule and other items of general interest announced by the Office of the Press Secretary and not included elsewhere in this book.*

### July 1

The White House announced that President Bush will host a working luncheon for President Gorbachev at the residence of the U.S. Ambassador in London, England, on July 17, following the conclusion of the London economic summit.

The President announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be members of the President's Committee on Mental Retardation for the terms indicated:

*Patricia A. Caggiano*, of New York, for a term expiring May 11, 1993. This is a reappointment. Currently Ms. Caggiano serves as founder and president of the Precious Hearts Association for Exceptional Adults, Inc., in Brooklyn, NY.

*Jack T. Dulworth*, of Texas, for a term expiring May 11, 1993. This is a reappointment. Currently Mr. Dulworth serves as chairman of the board of the management compensation group, Dulworth, Inc., in Houston, TX.

*Marcia Frey*, of Florida, for a term expiring May 11, 1992. She would succeed Jean Gumerson. Currently Ms. Frey serves as a community service volunteer in Winter Park, FL.

*Martin S. Ulan*, of Maine, for a term expiring May 11, 1994. He would succeed William Kerby Hummer. Since 1972 Mr. Ulan has served as administrator of York Hospital in York, ME.

### July 2

In the morning, the President and Mrs. Bush returned to the White House from a stay at their home in Kennebunkport, ME.

The President met at the White House with:

- John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President;
- Rick Mears, 1991 Indianapolis 500 winner;
- the Vice President, for lunch.

In the afternoon, the President participated in the Desert Storm stamp presentation ceremony in the Oval Office.

The President transmitted to the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Select Committee on Intelligence of the Senate and to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence of the House of Representatives a classified report on foreign intelligence activities within the United States.

### July 3

The President met at the White House with: —the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;

—John H. Sununu.

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush traveled to South Dakota.

In the evening, they traveled to Springfield, MO.

### July 4

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush returned to Washington, DC, and watched the fireworks on The Mall from the White House.

### July 5

The President met at the White House with: —the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;

—Secretary of State James A. Baker III.

In the afternoon, the President toured the U.S. Secret Service Training Center in Beltsville, MD. Following the tour, the President went to Camp David, MD, for the weekend.

### July 8

In the morning, the President and Mrs. Bush returned to the White House from a weekend stay at Camp David, MD. The President, then met at the White House with:

—the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;

—John H. Sununu;

—Secretary of the Treasury Nicholas F. Brady;

—John H. Sununu.

### July 9

The President met at the White House with the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff.

In the afternoon, the President traveled to Toronto, Canada.

The White House announced that President Carlos Menem of Argentina will visit Washington on November 14.

The President announced his intention to nominate David A. Colson, of Maryland, for the rank of Ambassador during his tenure of service as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Oceans and Fisheries Affairs at the Department of State in Washington, DC.

The President transmitted to the Congress a request for appropriations for the Department of Defense for FY 1991 and FY 1992 for Operations Desert Shield/Desert Storm.

#### July 10

The President met at the White House with:  
—the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;

—congressional leaders, for a briefing on the upcoming economic summit;

—the Vice President, for lunch;

—Secretary of State James A. Baker III;

—the President's Council of Advisors on Science and Technology.

In the evening, the President hosted a picnic for members of the diplomatic corps on the South Lawn.

#### July 11

In the morning, the President and Mrs. Bush traveled to Walker's Point, their home in Kennebunkport, ME.

In the afternoon, the President met privately with Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu of Japan at Walker's Point.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush hosted a private dinner for the Prime Minister and Mrs. Kaifu at Walker's Point.

The President announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be members of the Advisory Committee on the Arts, John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts:

*Sidney Chan*, of California. He would succeed Jeanette Nichols. Since 1979 Mr. Chan has served as a business consultant and tax practitioner in San Francisco, CA.

*Deanna Freeland*, of Indiana. She would succeed Richard A. Gallun. Since 1972 she has owned a Pizza Hut in Fort Wayne, IN.

*Sharon Lorenzo*, of Texas. She would succeed Millie Pogna. Since 1987 Ms. Lorenzo has served as an adjunct professor of business law at the University of St. Thomas Cameron School of Business in Houston, TX.

#### July 12

The President declared that a major disaster existed in Iowa as a result of severe storms and flooding that began on June 1. He directed the Federal Emergency Management Agency to provide assistance to supplement State and local recovery efforts.

The President announced his intention to nominate the following individuals to be members of the National Advisory Council on Educational Research and Improvement for the terms indicated:

*Marjorie Arsht*, of Texas, for a term expiring September 30, 1991, and an additional term expiring September 30, 1994. She would succeed Robert H. Mattson. Currently Ms. Arsht serves as president of the Arsht Co., in Bellaire, TX.

*Kenneth H. Bastian, Jr.*, of Texas, for a term expiring September 30, 1993. He would succeed J. Wade Gilley. Since 1988 Mr. Bastian has served as headmaster of the All Saints Episcopal School in Lubbock, TX.

#### July 14

In the early morning, the President and Mrs. Bush traveled from their home in Kennebunkport, ME, to France.

In the afternoon, following an arrival ceremony at the Chateau de Rambouillet, the official summer residence of President François Mitterrand of France, President Bush met privately with President Mitterrand.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush traveled to London, United Kingdom. Later that evening, they attended a private dinner hosted by Prime Minister John Major of the United Kingdom and Mrs. Major at No. 10 Downing Street, the Prime Minister's official residence.

Following the dinner, the President and Mrs. Bush went to Winfield House, the residence of U.S. Ambassador to the United Kingdom Raymond G.H. Seitz, which was their residence during their stay in London.

#### July 15

In the morning, President Bush attended a working breakfast with Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany and participated in bilateral meetings with Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti of Italy and with European Council President Ruud Lubbers and European Community Commission President Jacques Delors at Winfield House.

In the afternoon, the President attended the opening session of the London economic summit at Lancaster House.

In the evening, the President went to the Tower of London, where he attended a reception for heads of summit delegations and foreign ministers, participated in a working dinner with other delegation heads, viewed the Ceremony of

the Keys, and attended an afterdinner coffee for summit participants.

*July 16*

In the morning, the President greeted the U.S. Embassy community at Winfield House.

Following the greeting, the President attended the first plenary session of the summit at Lancaster House. He then attended a reception for senior summit participants at Bridgewater House and participated in a summit working luncheon at Spencer House. Following the luncheon, the President returned to Lancaster House, where he attended the main plenary session of the summit.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush attended a reception and state dinner for heads of summit delegations at Buckingham Palace.

The President announced his intention to nominate Ellis B. Bodron, of Mississippi, to be a member of the National Council on Disability for a term expiring September 17, 1993. He would succeed Margaret Chase Hager. Currently Mr. Bodron serves as an attorney with the law firm of Wayfield & Bodron in Vicksburg, MS.

The President announced his intention to nominate Norman Kelson, of Iowa, to be a member of the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science for a term expiring July 19, 1995. He would succeed Frank Gannon. Currently Mr. Kelson serves as president of Universal Financial Services in Davenport, IA.

*July 17*

In the morning, the President attended the final plenary session of the summit at Lancaster House.

The President then returned to Winfield House, where he met with his senior advisers to discuss the U.S. position on START. He then met with Secretary of State Baker and Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, to discuss the Soviet position on START. President Bush and Mr. Scowcroft then met briefly with Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh.

At noon, President Gorbachev arrived at Winfield House for a working luncheon with President Bush, where they discussed the Soviet economy and political reforms. Following the luncheon, the two Presidents met privately to conclude the final agreement on the START Treaty.

In the afternoon, President Bush attended a working session at Lancaster House with President Gorbachev and summit leaders.

In the evening, President Bush attended a dinner at No. 10 Downing Street with President Gorbachev and heads of summit delegations.

The White House announced that the President will travel to The Netherlands in November for consultations with Prime Minister Ruud Lub-

bers, current President of the European Council, and Jacques Delors, President of the Commission of the European Community.

*July 18*

In the morning, the President and Mrs. Bush traveled to Athens, Greece.

In the afternoon, President Bush met privately with President Constantinos Karamanlis of Greece at the Presidential Palace. Later that afternoon, President Bush met privately with Prime Minister Constantinos Mitsotakis of Greece and with Greek and U.S. officials at the Prime Minister's Office.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush went to the residence of U.S. Ambassador to Greece Michael G. Sotirhos, which was their residence during their stay in Greece.

*July 19*

At midday, the President and Mrs. Bush traveled to Crete, where they toured Greek and U.S. naval vessels at the Souda Bay naval facility, participated in a wreath-laying ceremony at the tomb of Greek statesman and former Prime Minister Eleutherios Venizelos, and attended a luncheon hosted by Prime Minister Mitsotakis at his residence. Following the luncheon, the President and Mrs. Bush returned to Athens.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush hosted a reception for President Karamanlis at the U.S. Ambassador's residence.

The President announced his intention to nominate Mary Matthews Raether, of Virginia, to be a member of the National Council on Disability for a term expiring September 17, 1994. This is a reappointment. Currently Ms. Raether serves as a partner with Evergreen Investors.

The President announced his intention to nominate Charles Szu, of California, to be a member of the Board of Trustees of the Barry Goldwater Scholarship and Excellence in Education Foundation for a term expiring February 4, 1996. He would succeed Thomas G. Pownall. Currently Mr. Szu serves as a system engineer with TRW Electronics and Defense Sector in Redondo Beach, CA.

The President announced his intention to nominate Donald R. Livingston, of Georgia, to be General Counsel of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission for a term of 4 years. He would succeed Charles A. Shanor. Since 1990 Mr. Livingston has served as Acting General Counsel for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in Washington, DC.

The President announced his intention to nominate Michael B. McCaskey, of Illinois, to be a member of the Peace Corps National Advisory Council for a term expiring October 6, 1992. He



would succeed Josephine K. Olsen. Currently Dr. McCaskey serves as president and chief executive officer of the Chicago Bears Football Club.

The President announced his intention to nominate C. Payne Lucas, of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the African Development Foundation for the remainder of the term expiring September 22, 1993. He would succeed David C. Miller, Jr. Currently Mr. Lucas serves as executive director of Africare in Washington, DC.

The President announced his intention to nominate Ben-Chieh Liu, of Illinois, to be a member of the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science for the remainder of the term expiring July 19, 1993. He would succeed Margaret Phelan. Since 1982 Dr. Liu has served as a professor of management and information systems in Chicago, IL.

#### July 20

In the morning, the President and Mrs. Bush traveled to Ankara, Turkey.

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush participated in a wreath-laying ceremony at the Ataturk Mausoleum. President Bush then met with Prime Minister Mesut Yilmaz at the Prime Minister's residence and with President Turgut Özal at the Presidential Palace. Following the meetings, the President and Mrs. Bush went to the residence of U.S. Ambassador to Turkey Michael Abramowitz, which was their residence during their stay in Ankara.

#### July 21

In the morning, the President and Mrs. Bush toured the Esenboga Airport, where they viewed Turkish F-16 aircraft. Following the tour, they traveled to Istanbul, where they visited the Blue Mosque, the Hagia Sophia Museum, and the Topkapi Palace. They then took a boat tour of the Bosphorus Strait.

In the afternoon, the President went to the Ciragan Palace Hotel, where he held separate meetings with Endal Inonu, Social Democratic Party leader, and Suleyman Demirel, True Path Party leader.

#### July 22

In the morning, the President and Mrs. Bush had breakfast with President Özal at the Ciragan Palace Hotel.

The White House announced that King Hassan II of Morocco will visit Washington on September 26.

The President announced his intention to nominate the following individuals to be members of the Board of Directors of the Commission on National and Community Service for the term indicated:

#### For terms of one year:

*Gayle Edlund Wilson*, of California. Currently Mrs. Wilson is the First Lady of California.

*George Wilcken Romney*, of Michigan. Since 1974 Governor Romney has served as the founding chairman of VOLUNTEER—The National Center in Arlington, VA.

*Karen Susan Young*, of California. Since 1990 Ms. Young has served as the national meetings director of the Campus Outreach Opportunity League in St. Paul, MN.

*William J. Byron*, of the District of Columbia. Since 1982 Dr. Byron has served as president of the Catholic University of America in Washington, DC.

*Glen W. White*, of Kansas. Currently Dr. White serves as training director of the Research and Training Center on Independent Living at the University of Kansas in Lawrence, KS.

*Thomas H. Ehrlich*, of Indiana. Since 1987 Mr. Ehrlich has served as president of Indiana University in Bloomington, IN.

#### For terms of 2 years:

*Richard Frederick Phelps*, of Indiana. From 1971 to 1990, Mr. Phelps served as head basketball coach at the University of Notre Dame in Notre Dame, IN.

*Leslie Lenkowsky*, of Indiana. Currently Dr. Lenkowsky serves as president and chief executive officer of the Hudson Institute in Indianapolis, IN.

*Alan Khazei*, of Massachusetts. Currently Mr. Khazei serves as cofounder and president of City Year in Boston, MA.

*Paul N. McCloskey, Jr.*, of California. Since 1983 Mr. McCloskey has served as a partner with the law firm Brobeck, Phleger & Harrison in Palo Alto, CA.

*Reatha Clark King*, of Minnesota. Currently Dr. King serves as president and executive director of the General Mills Foundation in Minneapolis, MN.

*Wayne W. Meisel*, of Minnesota. Currently Mr. Meisel serves as executive director of the Corella and Bertram F. Bonner Foundation in Princeton, NJ.

*Shirley Sachi Sagawa*, of Virginia. Currently Ms. Sagawa serves as an attorney with the National Women's Law Center in Washington, DC.

#### For terms of 3 years:

*Daniel J. Evans*, of Washington. Currently Mr. Evans serves as president of Daniel J. Evans Associates in Seattle, WA.

*Maria Hernandez Ferrier*, of Texas. Currently Ms. Ferrier serves as director of special guidance and special programs for the Southwest Independent School District in San Antonio, TX.

*Frances Hesselbein*, of Pennsylvania. Currently Ms. Hesselbein serves as president and chief executive officer of the Peter Drucker Foundation in New York, NY.

*Patricia Traugott Rouse*, of Maryland. Currently Ms. Rouse serves as cofounder, secretary, and treasurer of the Enterprise Foundation in Columbia, MD.

*Jack A. MacAllister*, of Colorado. Currently Mr. MacAllister serves as chairman of the board of US WEST, Inc., in Englewood, CO.

*Robert L. Woodson*, of Maryland. Currently Mr. Woodson serves as president of the National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise and chairman of the Council for a Black Economic Agenda in Washington, DC.

*Joyce M. Black*, of New York. Currently Ms. Black serves as executive director of the Governor's Office for Voluntary Service in New York, NY.

The President announced his intention to nominate William Ho-Gonzalez, of Virginia, to be Special Counsel for Immigration-Related Unfair Employment Practices for a term of 4 years. He would succeed Lawrence J. Siskind. Since 1987 Mr. Ho-Gonzalez has served as Assistant United States Attorney in Washington, DC.

The President announced his intention to nominate James C. Kenny, of Illinois, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the National Corporation for Housing Partnerships for the term expiring October 27, 1993. He would succeed James Coles. Currently Mr. Kenny serves as vice president of the Kenny Construction Co. in Wheeling, IL.

#### July 23

The President met at the White House with:

- the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
- John H. Sununu;
- the Cabinet;
- the President's Commission on Environmental Quality;
- John H. Sununu.

The President appointed the following individuals to be members of the President's Commission on Environmental Quality:

*Edwin Lewis Artzt*, chairman of the board and chief executive for Procter & Gamble Co. in Cincinnati, OH.

*Dr. Marguerite Ross Barnett*, president of the University of Houston in Houston, TX.

*Riley P. Bechtel*, president, chief executive officer, and a director of the Bechtel Group, Inc., in San Francisco, CA.

*Dean L. Buntrock*, chairman and chief executive officer of Waste Management, Inc., in Oak Brook, IL.

*Richard A. Clarke*, chairman and chief executive officer of Pacific Gas and Electric Co. in San Francisco, CA.

*Derrick Crandall*, president and chief executive officer of the American Recreation Coalition in Washington, DC.

*Michael R. Deland*, Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality, Executive Office of the President, in Washington, DC. He will serve as Chairman of the Commission.

*Kenneth T. Derr*, chairman and chief executive officer of Chevron Corp. in San Francisco, CA.

*Robert Fri*, president of Resources for the Future in Washington, DC.

*Kathryn S. Fuller*, president of the World Wildlife Fund and the Conservation Foundation in Washington, DC.

*John A. Georges*, chairman and chief executive officer for International Paper Co. in Purchase, NY.

*Dr. Paul Edward Gray*, chairman of the corporation for the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Cambridge, MA.

*Gilbert M. Grosvenor*, president and chairman of the National Geographic Society in Washington, DC.

*Allen F. Jacobson*, chairman and chief executive officer of Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co. (3M) in St. Paul, MN.

*Fred Krupp*, executive director of the Environmental Defense Fund in New York, NY.

*Kenneth L. Lay*, chairman and chief executive officer of Enron Corp. in Houston, TX.

*Richard P. Mayer*, chairman and chief executive officer of Kraft General Foods North America in Glenview, IL.

*N. J. Nicholas, Jr.*, president and cochief executive officer of Time Warner Inc. in New York, NY.

*Patrick F. Noonan*, president of the Conservation Fund in Arlington, VA.

*Harold A. Poling*, chairman and chief executive officer of the Ford Motor Co. in Dearborn, MI.

*Frank Popoff*, president and chief executive officer of the Dow Chemical Co. in Midland, MI.

*William D. Ruckelshaus*, chairman and chief executive officer of Browning-Ferris Industries, Inc., in Houston, TX. He will serve as Vice Chairman of the Commission.

*Adele Simmons*, president of the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation in Chicago, IL.

*Dr. P. Roy Vagelos*, chairman, president, and chief executive officer of Merck & Co., Inc., in Rahway, NJ.

*John F. Welch, Jr.*, chairman and chief executive officer of the General Electric Co. in Fairfield, CT.

The White House announced that the following individuals will represent the President at the dedication of the Polish-American Children's Hospital in Krakow, Poland, August 9-13:

#### Head of Delegation:

*Edward Derwinski*, Secretary of Veterans Affairs, and his wife, Bonnie Derwinski.

#### Delegates:

*Ronald Roskens*. Currently Dr. Roskens serves as Administrator of the Agency for International Development in Washington, DC.

*Davis Robinson*, and his wife, Suzanne. Currently Mr. Robinson serves as a partner with the law firm of LeBoeuf, Lamb, Lieby & MacRae.

*Rev. Thaddeus Garrett*. Currently Reverend Garrett serves as president of Garrett & Co. and as an associate pastor at Wesley Temple A.M.E. Zion Church in Akron, OH.

*Andrew Falkiewicz*. Currently Mr. Falkiewicz serves as a senior adviser on Eastern European and Soviet affairs at the U.S. Agency for International Development in Washington, DC.

*Thomas W. Simons, Jr.* Currently Ambassador Simons serves as the U.S. Ambassador to Poland.

The President announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be members of the Joint Federal-State Commission on Policies and Programs Affecting Alaska Natives:

*John Binkley*, of Alaska. Mr. Binkley served as an Alaska State senator, 1987–1991.

*Perry R. Eaton*, of Alaska. Since 1981 Mr. Eaton has served as president and chief executive officer at the Community Enterprise Development Corp. of Alaska in Anchorage, AK.

*Frank Pagano*, of Alaska. Since 1984 Mr. Pagano has served as president of Koniag, Inc., in Anchorage, AK.

The President announced his intention to nominate Mary Cracraft, of Kansas, to be a member of the National Labor Relations Board for the term of 5 years expiring August 27, 1996. This is a reappointment. Since 1986, Ms. Cracraft has served on the National Labor Relations Board in Washington, DC.

The President announced his intention to nominate John Christian Kornblum, of Michigan, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, for the rank of Ambassador during his tenure of service as Head of Delegation to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). Currently Mr. Kornblum serves as a United States Deputy Permanent Representative to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in New York, NY.

The President transmitted to the Congress the second biennial revision (1992–93) to the United States Arctic Research Plan.

#### July 24

The President met at the White House with the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff.

#### July 25

The President met at the White House with:  
—the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;

—John H. Sununu;

—the Vice President, for lunch;

—John H. Sununu.

In the afternoon, the President presented the National Security Medal to William Webster, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, in the Blue Room.

#### July 26

The President met at the White House with:  
—the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security

Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;

—John H. Sununu;

—Prime Minister Eugenia Charles of Dominica.

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush went to Camp David, MD, for the weekend.

The President named the following individuals to represent him at the formal inauguration ceremony for President Nicéphore Soglo in Benin, July 29–August 2:

#### Head of Delegation:

*Neil Bush*, and his wife, Sharon Bush.

#### Delegates:

*Lee S. Dreyfus*, of Wisconsin. Since 1984 Governor Dreyfus has served as president of Lee Sherman Dreyfus, Inc., in Waukesha, WI. Governor Dreyfus is the former Governor of the State of Wisconsin, 1979–1983.

*Michael Murphy*, of Massachusetts. Since 1990 Mr. Murphy has served as an elected member of the Governor's Council in Massachusetts.

*Maida Pearson*. Currently Ms. Pearson serves as a national GOP committeewoman from Memphis, TN.

*James Robinson Pierce, Jr.*, of Texas. Since 1986 Mr. Pierce has served as senior vice president of Energy Insurance International, Inc., in Houston, TX.

#### July 29

In the morning, the President and Mrs. Bush traveled to the Soviet Union. Upon their arrival in Moscow, they went to Spaso House, the residence of U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union Jack F. Matlock, which was their residence during their stay in Moscow.

#### July 30

In the morning, the President attended the opening session of the summit at the Kremlin. He met with President Gorbachev in the Green Room and participated in an expanded bilateral meeting with Soviet political and military leaders in St. Catherine's Hall.

In the afternoon, the President participated in a working luncheon in the Official Residence Dining Hall and then went to the Kremlin Cathedral Square for a walking tour with President Gorbachev.

The President announced his intention to appoint Clifford J. Groh, Sr., of Alaska, to be a member of the Arctic Research Commission for a term of 4 years. This is a new position. Currently Mr. Groh serves as an attorney with the law firm of Groh, Eggers & Price in Anchorage, AK.

#### July 31

In the morning, the President and Mrs. Bush participated in a wreath-laying ceremony at the

Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. Later, they went to Novo Ogaryevo, President Gorbachev's suburban residence, where President Bush met with President Gorbachev; Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Anatoliy Chernyayev, Advisor to President Gorbachev; and Aleksey Obukhov, Deputy Foreign Minister.

#### *August 1*

In the morning, the President and Mrs. Bush greeted the U.S. Embassy community and then traveled to Kiev.

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush toured St. Sophia Cathedral.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush returned to Washington, DC.

#### *August 2*

The President met at the White House with:  
—the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;

—John H. Sununu;

—the Cabinet;

—the Vice President, for lunch.

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush went to Camp David, MD, for the weekend.

The President announced his intention to nominate Mary L. Azcuenaga, of the District of Columbia, to be a Federal Trade Commissioner for the term of 7 years from September 26, 1991. This is a reappointment.

The President nominated Karen Borlaug Phillips, of Virginia, to be a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission for a term expiring December 31, 1996. This is a reappointment.

The President announced his intention to nominate Ian M. Ross, of New Jersey, to be a member of the National Science Board, National Science Foundation, for the remainder of the term expiring May 10, 1992. He would succeed Howard A. Schneiderman. Currently, Mr. Ross serves as president of AT&T Bell Laboratories in Holmdel, NJ.

The President announced his intention to nominate Allen B. Clark, Jr., of Texas, to be Director of the National Cemetery System at the Department of Veterans Affairs. He would succeed Jo Ann Krukar Webb. Currently Mr. Clark serves as Assistant Secretary for Veterans Liaison and Program Coordination at the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs in Washington, DC.

The President announced his intention to nominate Maurice T. Turner, Jr., of the District of Columbia, to be Director of the Bureau of Justice Assistance. This is a new position. From 1981 to 1989, Mr. Turner served as chief of

police for the Metropolitan Police Department of Washington, DC.

The President announced his intention to accord the personal rank of Ambassador to Jan Witold Baran, of Virginia, in his capacity as Head of U.S. Delegation for the 1992 World Administrative Radio Conference of the International Telecommunication Union to be held in Spain, February 3–March 3, 1992. Currently he serves as a partner with the law firm Wiley, Rein and Fielding in Washington, DC.

The President announced his intention to nominate the following individuals to be members of the Board of Directors of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting:

*Victor Gold*, of Virginia, for a term expiring March 26, 1996. He would succeed R. Kenneth Towery. Currently Mr. Gold is a writer.

*Kay Coles James*, of Virginia, for the remainder of the term expiring March 26, 1992. She would succeed William Lee Hanley, Jr. Currently Ms. James serves as executive vice president and chief executive officer of One to One in Washington, DC.

#### *August 4*

In the afternoon, the President returned to the White House from a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

#### *August 5*

The President met at the White House with:  
—the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;

—John H. Sununu;

—Lt. Gen. Henry J. Hatch, Chief of Engineers, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, to discuss a water diversion project in the Middle East;

—Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney;

—John H. Sununu.

In the evening, the President hosted a dinner for members of the Cabinet in the Residence.

#### *August 6*

The President met at the White House with:  
—the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;

—John H. Sununu;

—Secretary of State James A. Baker III, for lunch.

In a ceremony on the State Floor, the President received diplomatic credentials from Ambassadors Dato Mohamed Abdul Majid of Malaysia, Patrick Albert Lewis of Antigua and Barbuda,

Juan Jose Caso-Fanjul of Guatemala, and U Thaung of Myanmar (Burma).

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush traveled to Walker's Point, their home in Kennebunkport, ME.

#### *August 7*

In the morning, the President received an intelligence briefing at Walker's Point from Robert M. Gates, Assistant to the President and Deputy for National Security Affairs, and Andrew H. Card, Jr., Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff.

The President appointed Merlyn E. Carlson, of Nebraska, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Rural Telephone Bank. He would succeed Don C. Stansberry, Jr. Mr. Carlson is a farmer, rancher, and cattleman in Lodgepole, NE.

#### *August 8*

In the morning, the President received an intelligence briefing at Walker's Point from Robert M. Gates, Assistant to the President and Deputy for National Security Affairs, and Andrew H. Card, Jr., Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff.

#### *August 9*

In the morning, the President received an intelligence briefing at Walker's Point from Robert M. Gates, Assistant to the President and Deputy for National Security Affairs, and Andrew H. Card, Jr., Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff.

The President announced that he will make a recess appointment of Alan Greenspan as Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, effective August 10, 1991.

#### *August 10*

In the morning, the President received an intelligence briefing at Walker's Point from Robert M. Gates, Assistant to the President and Deputy for National Security Affairs, and Andrew H. Card, Jr., Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff.

Later in the morning, Representative Newt Gingrich and his wife, Marianne, visited the President. Following their visit, the President attended a meeting of the vestrymen of St. Ann's Episcopal Church in Kennebunkport, ME.

#### *August 11*

In the morning, the President received an intelligence briefing at Walker's Point from Robert M. Gates, Assistant to the President and Deputy for National Security Affairs, and Andrew H. Card, Jr., Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff.

#### *August 12*

In the morning, the President received an intelligence briefing at Walker's Point from Robert M. Gates, Assistant to the President and Deputy for National Security Affairs, and Andrew H. Card, Jr., Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff.

#### *August 13*

In the morning, the President received an intelligence briefing at Walker's Point from Robert M. Gates, Assistant to the President and Deputy for National Security Affairs.

#### *August 14*

In the morning, the President received an intelligence briefing at Walker's Point from Robert M. Gates, Assistant to the President and Deputy for National Security Affairs.

#### *August 15*

In the morning, the President received an intelligence briefing at Walker's Point from Robert M. Gates, Assistant to the President and Deputy for National Security Affairs.

The White House announced that President Bush has invited President Abdou Diouf of Senegal to make a state visit to the United States. President Diouf has accepted the invitation and will meet with President Bush at the White House on September 10.

#### *August 16*

In the morning, the President received an intelligence briefing at Walker's Point from Robert M. Gates, Assistant to the President and Deputy for National Security Affairs.

Later he met with local news media at his home.

The White House announced that President Bush has invited President Alberto Fujimori of Peru to make an official working visit to the United States. President Fujimori has accepted the invitation and will meet with President Bush on September 17.

#### *August 19*

In the morning, the President received an intelligence briefing at Walker's Point from Robert M. Gates, Assistant to the President and Deputy for National Security Affairs, and Andrew H. Card, Jr., Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff.

In the afternoon, the President returned to Washington, DC, to monitor the situation in the Soviet Union.

#### *August 20*

The President met at the White House with:

—the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;

—John H. Sununu.

In the morning, the President participated in a swearing-in ceremony in the Oval Office for Robert S. Strauss as U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union.

In the afternoon, the President returned to Walker's Point, his home in Kennebunkport, ME.

#### *August 21*

In the morning, the President received an intelligence briefing at Walker's Point from Robert M. Gates, Assistant to the President and Deputy for National Security Affairs, and Andrew H. Card, Jr., Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff.

The President transmitted to the Congress a budget amendment that would provide an appropriation of \$5 million to establish the Chemical Safety and Hazard Investigation Board.

The President made a recess appointment of Mary F. Wieseman as Special Counsel, Office of Special Counsel.

The President announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be members of the National Commission on Judicial Discipline and Removal. These are new positions:

*Stephen L. Carter*, of Connecticut. Since 1985 Mr. Carter has served as a professor at the Yale University School of Law in New Haven, CT.

*Charles J. Cooper*, of Virginia. Currently Mr. Cooper serves as a partner with the law firm of Shaw, Pittman, Potts and Trowbridge in Washington, DC.

*John C. Harrison*, of Virginia. Currently Mr. Harrison serves as Deputy Assistant Attorney General of the Office of Legal Counsel at the U.S. Department of Justice in Washington, DC.

#### *August 22*

In the morning, the President received an intelligence briefing at Walker's Point from Robert M. Gates, Assistant to the President and Deputy for National Security Affairs, and Andrew H. Card, Jr., Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff.

#### *August 23*

In the morning, the President met with Andrew H. Card, Jr., Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff, and spoke on the telephone with Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, and Robert M. Gates, Assistant to the President and Deputy for National Security Affairs.

#### *August 24*

In the morning, the President received an intelligence briefing at Walker's Point from Robert M. Gates, Assistant to the President and Deputy for National Security Affairs, and Andrew H. Card, Jr., Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff.

#### *August 25*

In the morning, the President received an intelligence briefing at Walker's Point from Robert M. Gates, Assistant to the President and Deputy for National Security Affairs, and Andrew H. Card, Jr., Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff.

#### *August 26*

In the morning, the President received an intelligence briefing at Walker's Point from Robert M. Gates, Assistant to the President and Deputy for National Security Affairs, and Andrew H. Card, Jr., Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff.

The President announced his intention to appoint Armando J. Bucelo, Jr., of Florida, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corporation for a term ending on the date of the next annual meeting of the voting common stockholders in 1992. This is a new position. Currently Mr. Bucelo serves as an attorney with the law offices of Armando J. Bucelo, Jr., in Miami, FL.

The President announced his intention to appoint Daniel J. Elazar, of Pennsylvania, to be a member of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations for a term of 2 years. This is a reappointment. Currently Dr. Elazar serves as a professor of political science at Temple University in Philadelphia, PA.

The President announced his intention to nominate the following individuals to be members of the Board of Directors of the United States Institute of Peace for terms expiring January 19, 1995:

*Theodore M. Hesburgh*, of Indiana. He would succeed Richard John Neuhaus. Currently Reverend Hesburgh serves as president emeritus of the University of Notre Dame in Notre Dame, IN.

*Elsbeth Davies Rostow*, of Texas. This is a reappointment. Currently Ms. Rostow serves as professor emerita of the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas in Austin, TX.

The President announced his intention to appoint John R. McCarty, of Pennsylvania, to be alternate Federal member of the Susquehanna River Basin Commission. He would succeed Warner M. Depuy. Since 1988 Mr. McCarty served as executive assistant to Senator John Heinz.

The President announced his intention to appoint Thomas Joseph Murrin, of Pennsylvania, to be a member of the President's Council of Advisors on Science and Technology. This is a new position. Currently Mr. Murrin serves as dean of the School of Business at Duquesne University in Pittsburgh, PA.

The President announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be Commissioners on the Martin Luther King, Jr., Federal Holiday Commission for a term of 1 year:

*William S. Sessions.* He would succeed Lauro F. Cavazos. Currently Director Sessions serves as the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in Washington, DC.

*Constance Berry Newman.* This is a reappointment. Currently Ms. Newman serves as Director of the Office of Personnel Management in Washington, DC.

*Jack Kemp.* This is a reappointment. Currently Secretary Kemp serves as the Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development in Washington, DC.

*Bob Martinez.* He would succeed William J. Bennett. Currently Director Martinez serves as Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy in Washington, DC.

The President announced his intention to appoint Richard A. Yudkin, of Ohio, to be a member of the Board of Visitors to the U.S. Air Force Academy for a term expiring December 30, 1993. He would succeed Nancy Schulze. General Yudkin served in the U.S. Air Force from 1940 to 1970.

#### *August 27*

In the morning, the President received an intelligence briefing at Walker's Point from Robert M. Gates, Assistant to the President and Deputy for National Security Affairs, and Andrew H. Card, Jr., Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff.

The President met with Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney; Robert S. Strauss, U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; Robert M. Gates, Assistant to the President and Deputy for National Security Affairs; and Edward A. Hewett, Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director, Soviet Affairs, to discuss the situation in the Soviet Union.

The President declared that a major disaster existed in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and in the State of Rhode Island as a result of Hurricane Bob which struck New England on August 19. He directed the Federal Emergency Management Agency to provide assistance to supplement State and local recovery efforts.

#### *August 28*

In the morning, the President received an intelligence briefing at Walker's Point from Robert

M. Gates, Assistant to the President and Deputy for National Security Affairs, and Andrew H. Card, Jr., Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff.

#### *August 29*

In the morning, the President received an intelligence briefing at Walker's Point from Robert M. Gates, Assistant to the President and Deputy for National Security Affairs, and Andrew H. Card, Jr., Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff.

#### *August 30*

In the morning, the President received an intelligence briefing at Walker's Point from Robert M. Gates, Assistant to the President and Deputy for National Security Affairs, and Andrew H. Card, Jr., Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff.

#### *August 31*

President Bush had a telephone conversation with President Vytautas Landsbergis of Lithuania.

#### *September 2*

In the morning, the President received an intelligence briefing at Walker's Point from Robert M. Gates, Assistant to the President and Deputy for National Security Affairs, and Andrew H. Card, Jr., Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff.

#### *September 3*

In the morning, the President received an intelligence briefing at Walker's Point from Robert M. Gates, Assistant to the President and Deputy for National Security Affairs, and Andrew H. Card, Jr., Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff.

In the afternoon, the President traveled to Lewiston, ME. Later, he returned to Washington, DC.

#### *September 4*

The President met at the White House with:  
—the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;  
—Secretary of State James A. Baker III;  
—John H. Sununu.

The President made a recess appointment of Ford Barney Ford, of Virginia, to be a member of the Federal Mine Safety and Health Review Commission. He will be designated Chairman.

September 5

- The President met at the White House with:
- the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
  - John H. Sununu;
  - the Vice President, for lunch;
  - Richard Armitage, Special Negotiator for Philippine Base talks;
  - John H. Sununu;
  - Yasuhiro Nakasone, former Prime Minister of Japan.

In a ceremony on the State Floor of the Residence, the President received diplomatic credentials from Ambassadors Tuliameni Kalomoh of Namibia, Carlos Santos Silva of Cape Verde, Dermot Gallagher of Ireland, Francisco Knopfli of Portugal, Sir Robin Renwick of the United Kingdom, and Rubens Ricupero of Brazil.

The President announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be members of the Environment for the Americas Board:

*Nicholas F. Brady*, Secretary of the Treasury. He will also serve as Chairman.

*James Addison Baker III*, Secretary of State. He will also serve as Vice Chairman.

*William Kane Reilly*, Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency.

*Ronald William Roskens*, of Nebraska. Since 1990 Dr. Roskens has served as Administrator of the Agency for International Development in Washington, DC.

*Bill K. Perrin*, of Washington, DC. Administrator Perrin currently serves as director of the Inter-American Foundation in Arlington, VA.

*Craig C. Black*, of California. Since 1982 Dr. Black has served as director of the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County in Los Angeles, CA.

*James T. Morris*, of Indianapolis. Since 1989 Mr. Morris has served as president, chairman, and chief executive officer of IWC Resources Corp. in Indianapolis, IN.

*Diane W. Wood*, of the District of Columbia. Since 1989 Ms. Wood has served as vice president for Latin America and Caribbean programs for the World Wildlife Fund in Washington, DC.

*John C. Sawhill*, of the District of Columbia. Since 1990 Dr. Sawhill has served as president and chief executive officer of the Nature Conservancy in Arlington, VA.

The President announced his intention to appoint James D. Range, of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the Interstate Commission on the Potomac River Basin. He would succeed Hugh C. Newton.

The President made a recess appointment of Norman D. Shumway, of California, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Legal Services Corporation. He would succeed Luis Guinot, Jr.

September 6

- The President met at the White House with:
- the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
  - John H. Sununu;
  - Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas;
  - Secretary of State James A. Baker III.

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush went to Camp David, MD, for the weekend.

The President announced his intention to nominate the following individuals to be members of the Council of Economic Advisers:

*David F. Bradford*, of New Jersey. He will succeed Richard Schmalensee. Mr. Bradford was associate dean of the Woodrow Wilson School and is a professor of economics and public affairs at Princeton University in Princeton, New Jersey. He graduated from Amherst College (B.A., 1960), Harvard University (M.S., 1962), and Stanford University (Ph.D., 1966).

*Paul Wonnacott*, of Maryland. He will succeed John B. Taylor. Currently Mr. Wonnacott is a professor in the department of economics at the University of Maryland, College Park, MD. Prior to this he served as economic adviser to the Under Secretary of State for Economic and Agricultural Affairs at the Department of State. He graduated from the University of Western Ontario (B.A., 1955) and Princeton University (M.A., 1957; Ph.D., 1959).

The President appointed Phillip D. Brady, Assistant to the President and Staff Secretary, to be a member of the Council of the Administrative Conference of the United States for a term of 3 years. This is a reappointment.

September 8

In the afternoon, the President returned to the White House from a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

September 9

- The President met at the White House with:
- the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
  - the Board of Advisors on Historically Black Colleges and Universities;
  - White House volunteers;
  - Secretary of Defense Richard B. Cheney;
  - John H. Sununu.

The President declared that a major disaster existed in New Hampshire as a result of Hurricane Bob and severe storms that began on August 18. He directed the Federal Emergency



## Appendix A / Administration of George Bush, 1991

Management Agency to provide assistance to supplement State and local recovery efforts.

The President appointed the following individuals to be members of the President's Drug Advisory Council:

*Albert Vincent Casey*, of Texas. He would succeed Elsie Hilliard Hillman. From 1974 to 1985, Mr. Casey served as chairman of AMR Corp. and American Airlines, Inc., in Dallas, TX.

*John L. Clendenin*, of Georgia. He would succeed William J. Crowe. Since 1984 Mr. Clendenin has served as president and chief executive officer of BellSouth Corp. in Atlanta, GA.

*Joseph D. Williams*, of New Jersey. This is a new position. Since 1985 Mr. Williams has served as chairman of the board and chief executive officer of the Warner-Lambert Co. in Morris Plains, NJ.

*Robert L. Soran*, of Florida. This is a new position. Since 1986 Mr. Soran has served as president of Tropicana Products, Inc., in Bradenton, FL.

*George C. Dillon*, of Missouri. This is a new position. Currently Mr. Dillon serves as chairman of the executive committee for the Manville Corp.

*Manuel A. Garcia III*, of Florida. This is a new position. Currently Mr. Garcia serves as chief executive officer of Davgar Restaurants, Inc., in Winter Park, FL.

*Christopher F. Edley, Sr.*, of New York. This is a new position. From 1973 to 1990, Mr. Edley served as president and chief executive officer of the United Negro College Fund, Inc., in New York, NY.

*Bradley L. Gates*, of California. This is a new position. Currently Mr. Gates serves as the sheriff and coroner of Orange County, CA.

The President announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be members of the Advisory Committee on the Arts for the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts:

*Ann Ascher*, of California. She would succeed Beverly J. Gosnell. Currently Ms. Ascher serves as president of Ann Ascher, Inc., in Los Angeles, CA.

*W. Gregory Wims*, of Maryland. He would succeed Margo Denny. Currently Mr. Wims serves as vice president of marketing for Westco Automated Systems & Sales, Inc., in Silver Spring, MD.

*Cal Winslow*, of Montana. He would succeed William Seims. Currently Mr. Winslow serves as president of the Deaconess Development Foundation in Billings, MT.

The President announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be members of the Commission on Management of the Agency for International Development Programs. These are new positions:

*C. Harvey Bradley*, of Indiana. From 1972 to 1987, Mr. Bradley served as director of Eli Lilly and Co.

*George M. Ferris, Jr.*, of Maryland. He will be designated Chairman. Currently Mr. Ferris serves as chairman and chief executive officer of Ferris, Baker Watts, Inc., in Washington, DC.

*Thomas P. Kemp*, of California. Currently Mr. Kemp serves as a senior consultant to World Cup '94 in Irvine, CA.

*Michael Roth*, of New York. Currently Mr. Roth serves as counsel with Rosenman & Colin in New York, NY.

*Frederick Theodore Van Dyk*, of Maryland. Currently Mr. Van Dyk serves as a corporate executive with Van Dyk Associates in Washington, DC.

### September 10

The President met at the White House with:  
—the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;

—John H. Sununu.

The President sent to the Congress an FY 1992 budget amendment that would provide \$50 million for the U.S. participation in the capital stock increase of the International Finance Corporation. This transmittal includes a request which will also make available previously appropriated FY 1991 funds for the Food Stamp Program.

The President has named the following individuals to represent him at the inaugural ceremonies for President-elect Ronald Venetiaan in Suriname, September 15–17:

### Head of Delegation:

*Gov. James Martin*, of North Carolina and his wife, Dorothy.

### Delegates:

*Osborne Day*, of the District of Columbia. Since 1973 Mr. Day has served as a consultant for nonprofit organizations in Washington, DC.

*Bill Frenzel*, of Minnesota. From 1971 to 1991, Mr. Frenzel served as a U.S. Representative from the Third District of Minnesota. Currently he serves as a guest scholar at the Brookings Institution in Washington, DC.

*Jim Oberwetter*, of Texas. Currently Mr. Oberwetter serves as vice president for government and public affairs for Hunt Consolidated, Inc., in Dallas, TX.

*Ambassador John Peter Leonard*, of Virginia. Currently Ambassador Leonard serves as U.S. Ambassador to Suriname.

### September 11

The President met at the White House with:  
—the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;

—John H. Sununu;

—businessman and former White House adviser Stan Scott;

—John H. Sununu.

### September 12

The President met at the White House with:

- the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
- John H. Sununu;
- surviving members of the Buffalo Soldiers, a group of African-American U.S. Army troops.

In the morning, in an Oval Office ceremony, the President signed the National D.A.R.E. Day proclamation.

At midday, the President attended a Republican Eagles luncheon at the Mayflower Hotel.

In the afternoon, the President had a teleconference with the National Association of Broadcasters annual radio convention, meeting in San Francisco, CA, from the Cabinet Room. Later, he traveled to Philadelphia, PA.

In the evening, the President returned to Washington, DC, and attended a reception for Operation Desert Storm veterans at Disabled American Veterans headquarters at Fort McNair.

The President announced his intention to nominate the following individuals to be Representative and Alternate Representatives to the 35th session of the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency:

*Representative:*

*James D. Watkins*, of California. Currently Secretary Watkins serves as the Secretary of Energy.

*Alternate Representatives:*

*Richard Thomas Kennedy*, of the District of Columbia. Since 1982 Mr. Kennedy has served as Ambassador-at-Large and Special Adviser to the Secretary of State on Non-Proliferation Policy and Nuclear Energy Affairs.

*Jane E. Becker*, of the District of Columbia. Since 1989 Ms. Becker has served as Deputy Assistant Secretary for International Development and Technical Specialized Agency Affairs for the Bureau of International Organization Affairs at the Department of State in Washington, DC.

*Ivan Selin*, of the District of Columbia. Currently Dr. Selin serves as Chairman of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission in Washington, DC.

The President announced his intention to nominate Reginald J. Brown, of Virginia, to be Assistant Administrator of the Agency for International Development for the Bureau for the Near East. Since 1989 Mr. Brown has served as Assistant Administrator of the Agency for International Development for Program Policy and Coordination.

*September 13*

The President met at the White House with:

- the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security

Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;

—John H. Sununu;

—the Board of the President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports.

In the afternoon, the President went to Bethesda Naval Hospital in Maryland for a scheduled cardiac evaluation.

The President announced his intention to appoint George F. Moody, of California, to serve as a Governor on the Board of Governors of the American National Red Cross for a term of 3 years. This is a reappointment. He will also be redesignated to act as Principal Officer of the Corporation. Currently Mr. Moody serves as director and chairman of the executive committee for the Security Pacific Corp. in Los Angeles, CA.

The President announced his intention to designate John M. Kent, of North Carolina, to be a member of the Board of Visitors to the U.S. Air Force Academy for a term expiring December 30, 1993. He would succeed Lawrence M. Hecker. From 1955 to 1988, Mr. Kent served as a captain for United Airlines.

The President announced his intention to appoint Mike Hayden, of Kansas, to be a Commissioner of the U.S. section of the Great Lakes Fishery Commission. He would succeed Constance B. Harriman. Currently Governor Hayden serves as Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife and Parks at the Department of the Interior.

*September 16*

The President met at the White House with:

- the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;

—John H. Sununu;

—Secretary of the Treasury Nicholas F. Brady.

The President announced his intention to nominate the following individuals to be members of the Peace Corps National Advisory Council for the terms indicated:

*Richard N. Bond*, of New York, for a term expiring October 6, 1992. He would succeed Sue Wagner. Currently Mr. Bond serves as president of Bond Donatelli, Inc., in Alexandria, VA.

*Thomas G. Kessinger*, of Pennsylvania, for a term expiring October 6, 1993. This is a reappointment. Currently Dr. Kessinger serves as president of Haverford College in Haverford, PA.

The President announced his intention to nominate Rudy Boschwitz, of Minnesota, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Communications Satellite Corporation until the date of the annual meeting of the Corporation in

1994. He would succeed Thomas C. Griscom. Senator Boschwitz served as a Senator from Minnesota, 1979–1991.

The President announced his intention to nominate Chester A. Crocker, of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the U.S. Institute of Peace for a term expiring January 19, 1995. He would succeed Sidney Lovett. Currently Dr. Crocker serves as a professor at the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in Washington, DC.

The President announced his intention to nominate Anthony Hurlbutt Flack, of Connecticut, to be a member of the National Council on Disability for a term expiring September 17, 1994. This is a reappointment. Currently Mr. Flack serves with Anthony H. Flack & Associates in Norwalk, CT.

The President announced his intention to nominate the following individuals to be members of the Board for International Broadcasting:

*Cheryl Feldman Halpern*, of New Jersey, for a term expiring April 28, 1994. This is a reappointment. Since 1988 Ms. Halpern has served as a general partner with the Then As Now Limited Partnership in Kennebunkport, ME.

*Daniel A. Mica*, of Florida, for a term expiring April 28, 1993. He would succeed James Albert Michener. Currently Congressman Mica serves as executive vice president for Federal affairs with the American Council of Life Insurance in Washington, DC.

*Penn Kemble*, of the District of Columbia, for a term expiring April 28, 1992. He would succeed Ben J. Wattenberg. Since 1988 Mr. Kemble has served as a senior associate with Freedom House in Washington, DC.

The President announced his intention to nominate the following individuals to be members of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy for the terms indicated:

*William Hybl*, of Colorado, for a term expiring July 1, 1994. This is a reappointment. Currently Mr. Hybl serves as chairman and chief executive officer of the El Pomar Foundation in Colorado Springs, CO.

*Walter R. Roberts*, of the District of Columbia, for a term expiring April 6, 1994. He would succeed Louis B. Susman. Currently Dr. Roberts serves as a diplomat-in-residence at George Washington University in Washington, DC.

The President announced his intention to nominate Stephen F. Keller, of California, to be a member of the Advisory Committee to the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation for the remainder of the term expiring February 19, 1992. He would succeed John F. Hotchkis. Currently Mr. Keller serves as an attorney with the law firm of Fulbright & Jaworski in Los Angeles, CA.

The President announced his intention to nominate Barbara J.H. Taylor, of Maryland, to be a member of the National Commission on Libraries

and Information Science for a term expiring July 19, 1995. This is a reappointment. Ms. Taylor has served as national librarian general for the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, 1986–1989; and as Commissioner of the U.S. National Commission on Libraries and Information Science, 1985–1989.

#### *September 17*

The President met at the White House with:

- the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;

- John H. Sununu;

- families of British soldiers killed in the Persian Gulf conflict.

The President declared that a major disaster existed in New York as a result of Hurricane Bob which struck the area on August 19. He directed the Federal Emergency Management Agency to provide assistance to supplement State and local recovery efforts.

The President appointed Laurence Gishey, of Arizona, as a member of the Advisory Committee of the White House Conference on Indian Education. This is a new position. Since 1989 Mr. Gishey has served as president of the Navajo Community College in Tsaile, AZ.

The President announced his intention to nominate William Stewart Johnson, of New Mexico, to be member of the Board of Trustees of the Institute of American Indian and Alaska Native Culture and Arts Development for a term expiring May 19, 1996. This is a reappointment. Currently Mr. Johnson serves as chairman of the Institute of American Indian Native Culture and Arts Development in Santa Fe, NM.

The President announced his intention to nominate Johnnie M. Smith, of South Carolina, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Commission on National and Community Service for a term of 1 year. This is a new position. Currently Pastor Smith serves as the pastor and founder of the Evangelistic Temple Church in Greenville, SC.

#### *September 18*

In the morning, the President traveled to the Grand Canyon, AZ.

In the afternoon, the President traveled to Salt Lake City, UT, where he met with the leadership of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints at their headquarters and later met with business leaders.

The President announced his intention to nominate William Carl, of Texas, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Panama Canal

Commission. He would succeed William W. Watkin, Jr. Since 1988 Mr. Carl has served as president and chief executive officer of the Carl Oil & Gas Co. in Corpus Christi, TX.

#### September 19

In the morning, the President traveled to Portland, OR, and Los Angeles, CA.

The President announced his intention to nominate the following individuals to be members of the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission for the terms indicated:

*Elizabeth Anne Moler*, of Virginia, for the term expiring June 30, 1994. This is a reappointment.

*Branko Terzic*, of Wisconsin, for the term expiring June 30, 1995. This is a reappointment.

The President announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be members of the President's Advisory Commission on Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans. These are new positions:

*Andres Bande*, of Illinois. He will be designated Chairman. Currently Mr. Bande serves as president of Ameritech International, Inc., in Chicago, IL.

*Guadalupe C. Quintanilla*, of Texas. She will be designated Vice Chairman. Currently Ms. Quintanilla serves as assistant vice president at the University of Houston in Houston, TX.

*Nancy Marie Lopez*, of Georgia. Ms. Lopez is a professional golfer on the Ladies Professional Golf Association tour.

*Diana S. Natalicio*, of Texas. Currently Dr. Natalicio serves as president of the University of Texas at El Paso in El Paso, TX.

*Raul H. Yzaguirre*, of Texas. Currently Mr. Yzaguirre serves as president and chief executive officer of the National Council of La Raza in Washington, DC.

*Robert J. Miranda*, of California. Currently Mr. Miranda serves as president and chief executive officer of Miranda, Strabala & Associates in Santa Ana, CA.

*Lyn W. Ziegenbein*, of Nebraska. Currently Ms. Ziegenbein serves as executive director of the Peter Kiewit Foundation in Omaha, NE.

*Peter George Mehas*, of California. Currently Dr. Mehas serves as Fresno County superintendent in Fresno, CA. He also serves as a member of the California State Board of Education.

*Gloria Gonzales Roemer*, of Colorado. Currently Ms. Roemer serves as vice president and co-owner of the Roemer Oil Co. in Denver, CO.

*Peter H. Coors*, of Colorado. Currently Mr. Coors serves as president of the Coors Brewing Co. in Golden, CO.

*Ernest H. Drew*, of New Jersey. Currently Dr. Drew serves as president and chief executive officer of Hoechst Celanese in Summerville, NJ.

*Donald R. Greene*, of Georgia. Currently Mr. Greene serves as president of the Coca-Cola Foundation in Atlanta, GA.

*Jacinto Pablo Juarez*, of Texas. Currently Dr. Juarez serves as vice president for instruction at Laredo Texas Junior College in Laredo, TX.

*Yvette Del Prado*, of California. Currently Dr. Prado serves as vice president for education and public affairs at Tandem Computers, Inc., in Cupertino, CA.

*Tania R. Seale*, of Florida. Currently Ms. Seale serves as an American history instructor at Miami Senior High School in Miami, FL.

*Carol Pendas Whitten*, of Maryland. Currently Ms. Whitten serves as an expert consultant and program analyst for the National Commission on Migrant Education.

*Rose Del Castillo Guilbault*, of California. Since 1978 Ms. Guilbault has served as editorial and public affairs director for KGO-TV in San Francisco, CA.

#### September 20

In the morning, the President traveled to Chicago, IL.

In the afternoon, he traveled to Camp David, MD, for the weekend.

#### September 22

In the afternoon, the President returned to the White House from a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

#### September 23

In the morning, the President met at the White House with:

- the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
- John H. Sununu.

Later in the morning, the President traveled to New York City.

At noon, the President met with the U.S. mission to the United Nations.

In the afternoon, the President held bilateral meetings with:

- United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar;
- President Fernando Collor de Mello of Brazil;
- President Alfredo Cristiani Buckard of El Salvador;
- President Roh Tae Woo of the Republic of Korea.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush hosted a reception for heads of state at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel.

#### September 24

The President held bilateral meetings with:

- Foreign Minister Boris Pankin of the Soviet Union;
- Prime Minister David Oddsson of Iceland;
- President Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia;

- President Amata Kabua of the Marshall Islands and President Bailey Olter of Micronesia;
- Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland of Norway;
- President Carlos Andrés Pérez of Venezuela;
- President Ilyas Harawi of Lebanon.

In the late afternoon, the President traveled to East Brunswick, NJ. In the evening, he returned to Washington, DC.

The President announced that the following individuals will represent him at ceremonies commemorating the 2,500th anniversary of the founding of democracy in Athens, Greece, September 27–28:

#### *Head of Delegation:*

*Nancy Ellis*, of Massachusetts.

#### *Delegates:*

*Archbishop Iakovos*, of New York. Currently Archbishop Iakovos serves as the Primate of the Greek Orthodox Church of North and South America.

*George Argyros*, of California. Currently Mr. Argyros serves as a developer with Arnel Development, Inc., in Costa Mesa, CA.

*Andrew Athens*, of Illinois. Currently Mr. Athens serves as chairman of the United Hellenic American Congress and president of the Archdiocesan Council.

*Donald Kagan*, of Connecticut. Currently Dr. Kagan serves as dean of Yale College and is an author in New Haven, CT.

*Michael Sotirhos*, of the District of Columbia. Currently Ambassador Sotirhos serves as the U.S. Ambassador to Greece.

#### *September 25*

The President met at the White House with:

- John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President;
- the Republican congressional leadership;
- the Economic Policy Council.

The President transmitted to the Congress:

- the annual report on mine safety and health activities for fiscal year 1989;
- the annual report of the Federal Prevailing Rate Advisory Committee for calendar year 1990; and
- the annual report of the National Institute of Building Sciences for fiscal year 1990.

The President announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be members of the Advisory Committee for Trade Policy and Negotiations for terms of 2 years:

*Barbara Hackman Franklin*, of Pennsylvania. This is a reappointment. Since 1984 Ms. Franklin has served as president and chief executive officer for Franklin Associates, a management consulting firm in Washington, DC.

*Curtis H. Barnette*, of Pennsylvania. This is a reappointment. Currently Mr. Barnette serves as senior vice president, director general counsel, and secretary of the Bethlehem Steel Corp., in Bethlehem, PA.

*Donald Butler*, of California. This is a reappointment. Since 1986 Mr. Butler has served as president of Shasta Foods International in Gonzalez, CA, and has served as president of the National Cattlemen's Association.

*Doreen L. Brown*, of the District of Columbia. She would succeed John J. Phelan, Jr. Currently Ms. Brown serves as president of Consumers for World Trade in Washington, DC.

*Linda J. Wachner*, of California. This is a reappointment. Since 1986 Ms. Wachner has served as president and chief executive officer of Warnaco, Inc., in New York, NY.

*Lawrence A. Bossidy*, of Connecticut. This is a reappointment. Currently Mr. Bossidy serves as vice chairman of the board and director of the General Electric Co. in Fairfield, CT.

*Edwin L. Artzt*, of Ohio. This is a reappointment. Currently Mr. Artzt serves as chairman of the board and president of Procter & Gamble International in Cincinnati, OH.

#### *September 26*

The President met at the White House with:

- the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
- the Vice President, for lunch.

#### *September 27*

The President met at the White House with:

- the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
- the Economic Policy Council;
- Prince Hans Adam II of Liechtenstein.

In the morning, in the Roosevelt Room, the President presented the Congressional Gold Medal to Laurance S. Rockefeller for his leadership on behalf of natural resource conservation and historic preservation.

#### *September 28*

In the morning, the President traveled to Sea Island, GA, for the weekend.

#### *September 30*

In the morning, the President traveled to Orlando, FL.

#### *October 1*

The President met at the White House with:

- the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, As-

sistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;

- John H. Sununu;
- the bipartisan congressional leadership;
- YMCA leaders;
- John H. Sununu.

In a ceremony on the State Floor of the Residence, the President received diplomatic credentials from Ambassadors Albert Borg Oliver De Puget of Malta, Jean Casimir of Haiti, Boris Biancheri of Italy, and Tseliso Thamae of Lesotho.

In the late afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush hosted a reception for House Republicans on the State Floor.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush attended the first annual Olympic dinner at the Washington Hilton Hotel.

The President announced his intention to appoint Barry Diller, of California, to be a member of the President's Export Council. He would succeed Stephen Mark Studdert. Since 1985 Mr. Diller has served as chairman and chief executive officer of Fox, Inc., in Los Angeles, CA.

The President announced his intention to nominate the following individuals to be members of the Peace Corps National Advisory Council:

*Ruth Gardner Cox*, of Texas, for a term expiring October 6, 1993. This is a reappointment. Currently Ms. Cox is a civic/community activist in Washington, DC.

*Roland H. Johnson*, of Pennsylvania, for a term expiring October 6, 1993. He would succeed Peter L. Boynton. Since 1974 Mr. Johnson has served as corporate secretary and senior program officer of the William Penn Foundation in Philadelphia, PA.

#### October 2

In the morning, the President traveled to Pittsburgh, PA, where he attended a fundraising luncheon for Dick Thornburgh. Following the luncheon, the President traveled to Louisville, KY.

The President designated the following individuals:

*Robert E. Allen*, of New Jersey, as Chairman of the President's National Security Telecommunications Advisory Committee. He would succeed Edward E. Hood, Jr. Currently Mr. Allen serves as chairman and chief executive officer of AT&T in New York, NY.

*Norman R. Augustine*, of Maryland, as Vice Chairman of the President's National Security Telecommunications Advisory Committee. He would succeed Robert E. Allen. Currently Mr. Augustine serves as vice chairman and chief executive officer of the Martin Marietta Corp. in Bethesda, MD.

The President appointed the following individuals to be U.S. Commissioners on the International Commission for the Conservation of Atlantic

Tunas for a term of 3 years. These are reappointments:

*Carmen Joseph Blondin*, of Maryland. Currently Mr. Blondin serves as Deputy Assistant Secretary for International Interests at the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration at the U.S. Department of Commerce in Washington, DC.

*Michael B. Montgomery*, of California. Currently Mr. Montgomery serves as president of M.B. Montgomery Law Corp. in Pasadena, CA.

#### October 3

The President met at the White House with:

- the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
- John H. Sununu;
- the National Federation of Parents for Drug-Free Youth;
- the Vice President, for lunch.

In the morning, the President hosted a reception for members of the Partnership for a Drug-Free America on the State Floor.

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush hosted a reception for the members of the National Republican Senatorial Committee Trust on the State Floor.

The President announced his intention to nominate Mark McCampbell Collins, Jr., of the District of Columbia, to be U.S. Alternate Executive Director of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development for a term of 2 years. He would succeed Mark T. Cox IV. Currently Mr. Collins serves as Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for International Affairs at the U.S. Department of the Treasury in Washington, DC.

The President announced his intention to nominate H. Edward Quick, Jr., of Maryland, to be a Commissioner of the Postal Rate Commission for the term expiring November 22, 1996. He would succeed Patti Birge Tyson. Currently Mr. Quick serves as legislative director in the office of U.S. Senator David Pryor in Washington, DC.

#### October 4

The President met at the White House with:

- the Ryder and Walker Cup teams;
- the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
- John H. Sununu;
- the national commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

At noon, the President and Mrs. Bush went to Camp David, MD, where they hosted a luncheon for the New American Schools Development Board.

The President announced his intention to nominate Janelle Block, of Wisconsin, to be a member of the National Advisory Council on Educational Research and Improvement for a term expiring September 30, 1994. Since 1987 Ms. Block has served as executive director of the National Association for Women and Children Against Assault in Brookfield, WI.

The President announced his intention to nominate Roberta Peters, of New York, to be a member of the National Council on the Arts for a term expiring September 3, 1996. She would succeed Talbot Leland MacCarthy. Currently Ms. Peters serves as a soprano with the Metropolitan Opera in New York, NY.

The President announced his intention to nominate Frank G. Zarb, of New York, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Securities Investor Protection Corporation for a term expiring December 31, 1992. This is a reappointment. Currently Mr. Zarb serves as chairman and chief executive officer of Smith Barney in New York, NY.

#### *October 7*

In the morning, the President returned to the White House from a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

- The President met at the White House with:
- the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing team;
  - John H. Sununu;
  - business leaders;
  - the Cabinet;
  - Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney.

In the afternoon, the President hosted the fourth in the Presidential Lecture Series on the State Floor.

The President selected the following individuals to represent him at the funeral of Patriarch Dimitrios I in Istanbul, Turkey, October 8:

#### *Head of Delegation:*

*Marc Grossman.* Currently Mr. Grossman serves as the Deputy Chief of Mission at the U.S. Embassy in Ankara, Turkey.

#### *Delegates:*

*Andrew Athens,* of Illinois. Currently Mr. Athens serves as president of the Archdiocesan Council and chairman of the United Hellenic American Congress.

*John Rangos, Jr.,* of Pennsylvania. Currently Mr. Rangos serves as a member of the Archdiocesan Council and

Leadership 100 and as chairman and president of Chambers Development Co. in Pittsburgh, PA.

The President announced his intention to nominate John J. Danilovich, of California, to be a member of the Board of the Panama Canal Commission. He would succeed Andrew E. Gibson. Currently Mr. Danilovich serves as a partner with the Eisenhower Group in Washington, DC, and as an executive consultant at the Inter Ocean Shipping Agency Ltd. in London, England.

The President announced his intention to appoint John H. Dasburg, of Minnesota, to be a member of the President's Commission on White House Fellowships. He would succeed James E. Seitz. Currently Mr. Dasburg serves as president and chief executive officer of Northwest Airlines in Eagan, MN.

The President announced his intention to designate Lou Gallegos, of New Mexico, to be Special Representative to the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands for the 902 consultations. He would succeed Becky Norton Dunlop. Currently Mr. Gallegos serves as general partner of the Gallegos-Nunez Association in Rio Rancho, NM.

The President announced his intention to nominate Lorraine Mindy Meiklejohn, of Colorado, to be a member of the Board of Trustees of the Harry S Truman Scholarship Foundation for a term expiring December 10, 1995. She would succeed Anita M. Miller. Currently she serves as a realtor with Van Schaack Realty in Lakewood, CO.

The President announced his intention to appoint Jerre S. Williams, of Texas, to be a member of the Board of Trustees of the James Madison Memorial Fellowship Foundation for a term of 6 years. He would succeed Dorothy Wright Nelson. Since 1980 Judge Williams has served as a judge on the U.S. Court of Appeals, Fifth Circuit, in Austin, TX.

#### *October 8*

The President met at the White House with:

- the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
- John H. Sununu;
- the Economic Policy Council.

The President transmitted to the Congress the annual reports of the Department of Education for fiscal years 1989 and 1990.

The President announced his intention to appoint Alice A. Devine, of Maryland, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Rural Telephone Bank. She would succeed Adis Maria

Vila. Currently Ms. Devine serves as Executive Assistant to Secretary Madigan at the U.S. Department of Agriculture in Washington, DC.

The President announced his intention to appoint George H. Heilmeier, of New Jersey, to be a member of the President's National Security Telecommunications Advisory Committee. He would succeed Rocco John Marano. Currently Mr. Heilmeier serves as president and chief executive officer of Bellcore in Livingston, NJ.

The President announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be members of the Advisory Committee for Trade Policy and Negotiations:

*James D. Robinson III*, of Connecticut, for a term of 2 years. This is a reappointment. Since 1977 Mr. Robinson has served as chairman and chief executive officer of the American Express Co. in New York, NY.

*Dean R. Kleckner*, of Iowa, for a term of 2 years. This is a reappointment. Currently Mr. Kleckner serves as president of the American Farm Bureau Federation in Park Ridge, IA.

*Trammell Crow*, of Texas, for a term of 2 years. This is a reappointment. Currently Mr. Crow serves as founder and chairman of the Trammell Crow Co. in Dallas, TX.

*N.J. Nicholas, Jr.*, of New York, for a term of 2 years. This is a reappointment. Since 1986 Mr. Nicholas has served as president and chief operating officer of Time, Inc., in New York, NY.

*Frank Anderson Shrontz*, of Washington, for a term of 2 years. This is a reappointment. Currently Mr. Shrontz serves as chairman and chief executive officer of the Boeing Co. in Seattle, WA.

*Marina v.N. Whitman*, of Michigan, for a term of 2 years. This is a reappointment. Currently Dr. Whitman serves as vice president and group executive for public affairs and marketing at General Motors in Detroit, MI.

#### *October 9*

- The President met at the White House with:
- the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
  - John H. Sununu;
  - the Vice President, for lunch;
  - Secretary of State James A. Baker III;
  - House Republican leaders;
  - Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas.

In the late afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush attended a Presidential roundtable discussion sponsored by the National Republican Senatorial Committee at the Corcoran Gallery of Art.

The President announced his intention to nominate David J. Armor, of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the National Advisory Council on Educational Research and Improvement for a term expiring September 30, 1992.

He would succeed Van B. Poole. Currently Dr. Armor serves as an education consultant in Washington, DC.

The President announced his intention to nominate A. David Lester, of Colorado, to be a member of the Board of Trustees of the Institute of American Indian and Alaska Native Culture and Arts Development for the remainder of the term expiring May 19, 1994. He would succeed Irving James Toddy. Currently Mr. Lester serves as executive director of the Council of Energy Resource Tribes in Denver, CO.

The President announced his intention to nominate James E. Lyons, of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science for a term expiring July 19, 1994. He would succeed Daniel H. Carter. Since 1975 Mr. Lyons has served as publisher of the University Press of America, Inc., in Lanham, MD.

The President announced his intention to nominate the following individuals to be members of the National Museum Services Board for the terms indicated:

*Robert C. Breunig*, of Arizona, for a term expiring December 6, 1993. He would succeed Pauline Crowe Naftzger. Currently Dr. Breunig serves as executive director of the Desert Botanical Garden in Phoenix, AZ.

*Eunice B. Whittlesey*, of New York, for a term expiring December 6, 1994. She would succeed Alice Wright Algood. Currently Ms. Whittlesey serves as a Republican national committeewoman for New York.

*Ruth K. Watanabe*, of California, for a term expiring December 6, 1993. She would succeed Richard J. Herczog. Currently Ms. Watanabe serves as president of RDW Enterprises in Los Angeles, CA.

#### *October 10*

- The President met at the White House with:
- the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
  - John H. Sununu;
  - Chancellor Franz Vranitzky of Austria.

#### *October 11*

- The President met at the White House with:
- the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
  - John H. Sununu;
  - Secretary of State James A. Baker III;
  - Manfred Woerner, Secretary General of NATO.



In the afternoon, the President attended a commemoration ceremony for fallen firefighters.

Later in the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush went to Camp David, MD, for the weekend.

*October 14*

In the afternoon, the President returned to the White House from a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

*October 15*

The President met at the White House with:  
—the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;  
—John H. Sununu.

In the morning, the President met with Amir 'Isa Khalifa of Bahrain in the Oval Office and then hosted a formal luncheon for the Amir in the State Dining Room.

The President announced his intention to nominate John W. Crawford, Jr., of Maryland, to be a member of the Defense Nuclear Facilities Safety Board for a term expiring October 18, 1996. This is a reappointment.

The President announced his intention to appoint Mark J. D'Arcangelo, of Florida, to be a member of the board of directors of the Federal Prison Industries. He would succeed Paul T. Shirley. From 1975 to 1988, Mr. D'Arcangelo served as vice president of corporate marketing and sales for customer development at the GE Corp. in Fairfield, CT.

The President announced his intention to nominate Carol K. DiPrete, of Rhode Island, to be a member of the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science for a term expiring July 19, 1996. This is a reappointment. Since 1983 Ms. DiPrete has served as assistant dean for academic services and library at Roger Williams College in Bristol, RI.

*October 16*

The President met at the White House with:  
—the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;  
—John H. Sununu;  
—House Democratic leaders, to discuss the crime bill;  
—the Vice President, for lunch;  
—Prime Minister Poul Schlüter of Denmark.

In the morning, the President participated in a ceremony honoring members of the VANPAC

Task Force of the Department of Justice in the Rose Garden.

The President announced his intention to nominate William Barr to be Attorney General of the United States.

*October 17*

The President met at the White House with:  
—the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;  
—John H. Sununu;  
—Gen. John W. Vessey, Special Emissary for POW/MIA Affairs;  
—banking industry officials.

In the evening, the President hosted the Team 100 dinner on the State Floor.

The President transmitted to the Congress the annual report of the Tourism Policy Council for fiscal year 1990.

The President announced his intention to appoint Susan Allen, of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the Council of the Administrative Conference of the United States for a term of 3 years. She would succeed Trudi Morrison. Since 1984 Ms. Allen has served as a partner with the law firm of Paul Shearman Allen and Associates in Washington, DC.

The President announced his intention to nominate Piestwa Robert Harold Ames, of California, to be a member of the Board of Trustees of the Institute of American Indian and Alaska Native Culture and Arts Development for a term expiring October 18, 1996. He would succeed Herman Agoyo. Currently Mr. Ames serves as a senior partner with the law firm of Pioda, Bryan, Ames, Helfrich & Wills in Salinas, CA.

The President announced his decision that Jewett Monroe Fulkerson, of Missouri, will continue to serve as a member of the Commission on Presidential Scholars.

The President announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be members of the Joint Federal-State Commission on Policies and Programs Affecting Alaska Natives. These are new positions:

*Frances E. Hamilton*, of Alaska. Ms. Hamilton serves as a community volunteer in Ketchikan, AK.

*John W. Schaeffer, Jr.*, of Alaska. Currently Mr. Schaeffer serves as vice president of U-JIN Enterprises in San Francisco, CA.

*Morris Thompson*, of Alaska. Currently Mr. Thompson serves as vice president of shareholder relations and corporate development with Doyon, Ltd., in Fairbanks, AK.

*James A. Sebesta*, of Alaska. Reverend Sebesta is a Jesuit priest in St. Mary's, AK.

The President announced his intention to designate Perry R. Eaton as cochairman of the Commission. Mr. Eaton has served as a member of the Commission since August 2, 1991.

The President announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be members of the President's Council on Rural America:

*J. Randolph Ayre*, of Idaho. This is a new position. Currently Mr. Ayre serves as a partner with the law firm of Givens, Pursley, Webb & Huntley in Boise, ID.  
*Merlin Kalock*, of Illinois. He would succeed Ralph E. Bodine. Currently Mr. Kalock serves as chairman of the board and president of the Municipal Trust and Savings Bank in Bourbonnais, IL.

The President announced his intention to nominate the following individuals to be Governors of the U.S. Postal Service for the terms indicated:

*Tirso del Junco*, of California, for the term expiring December 8, 2000. This is a reappointment. Currently Dr. del Junco serves as a surgeon in Los Angeles, CA.

*J. Sam Winters*, of Texas, for the term expiring December 8, 1999. He would succeed Ira D. Hall, Jr. Currently Mr. Winters serves as a partner with the law firm of Clark, Thomas, Winters & Newton in Austin, TX.

#### *October 18*

The President met at the White House with:

- the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
- Harvey D. Blankespoor, 1991 Professor of the Year.

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush went to Camp David, MD, for the weekend.

#### *October 20*

In the afternoon, the President returned to the White House from a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

#### *October 21*

The President met at the White House with:

- the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
- John H. Sununu;
- Secretary of the Treasury Nicholas F. Brady.

The President announced his intention to nominate John Kenneth Blackwell, of Ohio, to be accorded the rank of Ambassador during his tenure of service as representative of the U.S. on the Human Rights Commission of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

The President announced his intention to nominate Michael S. Gelacak, of Virginia, to be a member of the U.S. Sentencing Commission for a term expiring October 31, 1997. This is a reappointment.

The President announced his intention to nominate J. Carter Beese, Jr., of Maryland, to be a member of the Securities and Exchange Commission for the term expiring June 5, 1996. He would succeed Philip R. Lochner, Jr. Since 1978 Mr. Beese has served as a partner with Alex Brown and Sons in Baltimore, MD.

#### *October 22*

The President met at the White House with:

- the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
- John H. Sununu;
- Senators George Mitchell, Robert Dole, Pete Domenici, David Boren, and Sam Nunn.

In the morning, following a welcoming ceremony for President Václav Havel of Czechoslovakia, the two Presidents met privately in the Oval Office and then with their advisers in the Cabinet Room.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush hosted a state dinner for President Havel on the State Floor.

The President declared that a major disaster existed in California as a result of a fire in Oakland Hills which began October 20. He directed the Federal Emergency Management Agency to provide assistance to supplement State and local recovery efforts.

#### *October 23*

The President met at the White House with:

- the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
- John H. Sununu;
- officers of the Vietnam Veterans of America;
- the leadership of Associated Builders and Contractors.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush attended the President's Club dinner at the Grand Hyatt Hotel.

The President announced his intention to nominate Peter S. Watson, of California, to be a member of the U.S. International Trade Commission for the term expiring December 16, 2000. He would succeed Seeley Lodwick. Currently Mr. Watson serves as Director of Asian Affairs for

## Appendix A / Administration of George Bush, 1991

the National Security Council at the White House in Washington, DC.

### October 24

The President met at the White House with:  
—the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;  
—John H. Sununu.

### October 25

The President met at the White House with:  
—the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;  
—John H. Sununu;  
—Secretary of State James A. Baker III;  
—President Askar Akayev of Kyrgystan.

The President announced his intention to nominate Wiley T. Buchanan, of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the Board of Trustees of the Institute of American Indian and Alaska Native Culture and Arts Development for a term expiring May 19, 1996. He would succeed Edith Colvard Crutcher. Since 1983 Mr. Buchanan has served as chairman of Chetwood Investments, Inc., in Washington, DC.

The President announced his intention to nominate the following individuals to be Representatives and Alternate Representatives of the United States of America to the 46th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations:

#### *Representatives:*

*Thomas R. Pickering*, of New Jersey. Currently Ambassador Pickering serves as Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations and to the Security Council of the United Nations in New York, NY.

*Alexander Fletcher Watson*, of Massachusetts. Currently Ambassador Watson serves as Deputy Representative of the United States to the United Nations.

*Joseph Verner Reed, Jr.*, of Connecticut. From 1989 to 1991, Ambassador Reed served as Chief of Protocol at the United States Department of State in Washington, DC.

*Mervyn M. Dymally*, of California. Congressman Dymally serves as a U.S. Representative from the Thirty-First District of California in Washington, DC.

*Dan Burton*, of Indiana. Congressman Burton serves as U.S. Representative from the Sixth District of Indiana in Washington, DC.

#### *Alternate Representatives:*

*George Edward Moose*, of Maryland. Currently Ambassador Moose serves as Deputy Representative of the United States to the Security Council of the United Nations.

*Jonathan Moore*, of Massachusetts. Currently Ambassador Moore serves as Representative of the United States to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations in New York, NY.

*Shirin Raziuddin Tahir-Kheli*, of Pennsylvania. Currently Ambassador Tahir-Kheli serves as Alternate Representative of the United States for Special Political Affairs in the United Nations.

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush went to Camp David, MD, for the weekend.

### October 27

In the morning, the President returned to the White House from a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush attended a performance of the Ballet Folklórico de Mexico at Lisner Auditorium on the campus of George Washington University with President Carlos Salinas de Gortari of Mexico and his wife, Occelli.

### October 28

The President met at the White House with:  
—the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;  
—Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney;  
—John H. Sununu.

In the evening, the President hosted a private dinner for Queen Sirikit of Thailand. Later in the evening, the President traveled to Madrid, Spain, for the Middle East peace conference.

The President selected the following individuals to represent him at the inauguration ceremony of the American University in Bulgaria, October 29–November 2:

#### *Head of Delegation:*

*Elaine Chao*, of California. Currently Ms. Chao serves as Director of the Peace Corps.

#### *Delegates:*

*David Grimes*, of California. Mr. Grimes is the former chairman and CEO of Brentwood Bank in California.

*Michael Horowitz*, of Virginia. Currently Mr. Horowitz is a partner with the law firm of Windels, Marx, Davies & Ives. Prior to this he was the General Counsel of the Office of Management and Budget from 1981 to 1985.

*John C. Hitt*, of Maine. Currently Mr. Hitt is the interim president of the University of Maine in Oronoco, ME.

*Hugh Kenneth Hill*, of California. Currently Mr. Hill is U.S. Ambassador to Bulgaria.

### October 29

In the morning, the President arrived at Barajas Airport, Madrid, Spain, where he was greeted by Deputy Prime Minister Narcis Serra of Spain.

He then went to the residence of U.S. Ambassador Joseph Zappala, the President's residence during his stay in Madrid.

In the afternoon, President Bush went to the Soviet Embassy where he met with President Mikhail Gorbachev for a working luncheon in the Dining Hall and a bilateral meeting in the Music Salon. Following the meeting, President Bush returned to the U.S. Ambassador's residence where he greeted the U.S. Embassy community. Later he went to Moncloa Palace, Council of Ministers Building, for a bilateral meeting with Prime Minister Felipe González of Spain.

In the evening, the President attended a dinner at Zarzuela Palace hosted by King Juan Carlos I and Queen Sophia of Spain.

#### *October 30*

In the morning, the President held bilateral meetings with the following participants in the Middle East peace conference:

- the Israeli delegation;
- the Egyptian delegation;
- the Lebanese delegation;
- the Syrian delegation;
- the joint Jordanian/Palestinian delegation.

At noon, the President left Madrid and returned to Washington, DC.

#### *October 31*

The President met at the White House with:

- the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
- representatives of the National Fish and Wildlife Foundation.

In the afternoon, the President met with a group representing small business. Later the President and Mrs. Bush traveled to Houston, TX.

The President announced that the following individuals will represent him at the enthronement ceremony for the newly elected Orthodox Patriarch, Dr. Bartholomew Archondonis, in Istanbul, Turkey, November 2:

#### *Head of Delegation:*

*William H.T. Bush, and his wife, Patty.* Currently Mr. Bush is chairman of the Bush-O'Donnell Co.

#### *Delegates:*

*Representative Michael Bilirakis*, of Florida.

*William Butts Macomber, Jr.*, of Massachusetts. Ambassador Macomber is the former U.S. Ambassador to Turkey, 1973–1977.

*Frank Shakespeare*, of California. Ambassador Shakespeare is the former U.S. Ambassador to the Holy See, 1986–1989, and Portugal, 1985–1986.

*Marc Grossman*, Chargé d'Affaires, a.i., U.S. Embassy in Ankara, Turkey.

The President announced his intention to nominate the following individuals to be members of the Advisory Board for Radio Broadcasting to Cuba for the terms indicated:

*Joseph Francis Glennon*, of Florida, for a term expiring October 27, 1994. This is a reappointment.

*Clair W. Burgener*, of California, for a term expiring October 27, 1994. He would succeed Antonio Navarro.

*Jose A. Costa, Jr.*, of Florida, for a term expiring October 27, 1994. He would succeed Danford L. Sawyer, Jr. Currently Mr. Costa is president of Costa Nursery Farms in Goulds, FL.

#### *November 1*

In the morning, the President and Mrs. Bush traveled to Dallas, TX.

In the afternoon, they attended a private reception at the residence of T. Boone Pickens.

#### *November 2*

In the morning, the President and Mrs. Bush traveled to Kennebunkport, ME, to inspect damage at their home as a result of a major coastal storm. Later in the day, they returned to Washington, DC.

#### *November 4*

In the morning, the President and Mrs. Bush traveled to Simi Valley, CA, where they attended ceremonies marking the opening of the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library. Following a luncheon hosted by President and Mrs. Reagan, the President and Mrs. Bush returned to Washington, DC.

#### *November 5*

The President met at the White House with:

- the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
- John H. Sununu;
- members of the National Catholic Education Association.

The President declared that a major disaster existed in the State of Massachusetts as a result of a major coastal storm on October 30. He directed the Federal Emergency Management Agency to provide assistance to supplement State and local recovery efforts.

#### *November 6*

In the morning, the President and Mrs. Bush traveled to Rome, Italy, for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization summit. Upon their arrival, they went to the U.S. Ambassador's residence,

## *Appendix A / Administration of George Bush, 1991*

the Villa Taverna, which was their residence during their stay in Rome.

### *November 7*

In the morning, the President met with Prime Minister John Major of the United Kingdom for a working breakfast in the dining room at the Villa Taverna. He then went to the Sheraton Hotel where he held bilateral meetings with Secretary General Manfred Woerner of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti of Italy. Following the bilateral meetings, the President, accompanied by Secretary of State James A. Baker III and U.S. Ambassador to NATO Robert Taft, met with NATO leaders for an informal coffee reception. They then attended to the first working session of the NATO summit in the summit conference room at the Sheraton Hotel.

In the afternoon, the President participated in a working luncheon with NATO leaders at the Tivoli Restaurant. Following the luncheon, he returned to the Sheraton Hotel for the second working session of the summit, at which he addressed the NATO leaders. The President then held a bilateral meeting with Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany.

In the evening, President Bush met with President Francesco Cossiga of Italy at the Quirinale Palace. Later in the evening, following an arrival ceremony, the President and Mrs. Bush attended a reception and dinner hosted by President Cossiga.

### *November 8*

In the morning, the President greeted the U.S. Embassy community at the Embassy. He then went to the Sheraton Hotel where he had a bilateral meeting with President François Mitterrand of France and then attended the final working session of the NATO summit.

In the afternoon, the President went to the Vatican where he had a private audience with the Pope.

Later in the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush traveled to The Hague, The Netherlands, where they attended a dinner hosted by Her Majesty Queen Beatrix at Noordeinde Palace.

### *November 9*

In the afternoon, following his return from The Hague, The Netherlands, the President traveled to Camp David, MD.

### *November 11*

In the morning, the President returned to the White House from a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

In the afternoon, the President addressed the Grass Roots Organization Political Action Committee at the Willard Hotel.

### *November 12*

The President met at the White House with the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff.

In the morning, the President traveled to New York, NY.

In the afternoon, the President met with Jewish leaders at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York City to discuss the Middle East peace process.

In the evening, the President returned to Washington, DC.

### *November 13*

The President met at the White House with:

—the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;

—John H. Sununu.

In the afternoon, the President traveled to Kansas City, MO.

In the evening, he returned to Washington, DC.

The President announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be members of the Board of Directors of the Student Loan Marketing Association:

*David Q. Bates, Jr.*, of Texas. He would succeed Richard D. Shelby. Currently Mr. Bates serves as a partner with the law firm of Bayless, Bolland, Bates & Madigan in Washington, DC.

*C. Austin Fitts*, of New York. She would succeed James E. Brandon. Currently Ms. Fitts serves as president and cofounder of the Hamilton Group in Washington, DC.

The President announced his intention to nominate George C. White, of Connecticut, to be a member of the National Council on the Arts for a term expiring September 3, 1996. He would succeed Lloyd George Richards. Currently Mr. White serves as the founder and president of the Eugene O'Neill Memorial Theater Center in New York, NY.

The President appointed Bernard M. Barrett, Jr., of Texas, to be a member of the Federal Council on the Aging for a term of 3 years. He would succeed Gloria Sherwood. Currently Dr. Barrett serves as chairman of the Texas Institute of Plastic Surgery and attending surgeon at St. Luke's Episcopal Hospital in Houston, TX.

The President appointed Charles F. Nielson, of Texas, to be a member of the President's Drug Advisory Council. This is a new position. Currently Mr. Nielson serves as vice president for human resources of Texas Instruments in Dallas, TX.

The President declared that a major disaster existed in the State of New Hampshire as a result of a major coastal storm on October 30. He directed the Federal Emergency Management Agency to provide assistance to supplement State and local recovery efforts.

The President declared that a major disaster also existed in the State of Washington as a result of fires which began on October 16. He directed the Federal Emergency Management Agency to provide assistance to supplement State and local recovery efforts.

#### *November 14*

The President met at the White House with:

- the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
- John H. Sununu;
- the Vice President, for lunch.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush hosted a state dinner for President Carlos Menem of Argentina on the State Floor.

The President announced his intention to nominate James H. Grossman, of California, to be Chairman of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States for the term expiring September 30, 1994. He would succeed Stanley J. Glod. Currently Mr. Grossman serves as a partner with the law firm of Buchalter, Nemer, Fields & Younger in Los Angeles, CA.

The President announced his intention to nominate Kenny Jackson Williams, of North Carolina, to be a member of the National Council on the Humanities for a term expiring January 26, 1996. She would succeed Mary Josephine Conrad Cresimore. Currently Dr. Williams serves as a professor of English at Duke University in Durham, NC.

The President announced his intention to nominate Alan Robert Swendiman, of Maryland, to be General Counsel of the Federal Labor Relations Authority for a term of 5 years. He would succeed Kathleen Day Koch. Currently Mr. Swendiman serves as a partner with the law firm of Jackson & Campbell in Washington, DC.

The President announced his intention to appoint Mary L. Good, of New Jersey, to be a member of the President's Council of Advisors on Science and Technology. This is a new position. Currently Dr. Good serves as senior vice president for technology with Allied-Signal, Inc., in Morristown, NJ.

The President announced his intention to nominate Debra Russell Bowland, of Louisiana, to be Director of the Office for Victims of Crime. This is a new position. Currently Ms. Bowland serves as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Policy at

the U.S. Department of Labor in Washington, DC.

#### *November 15*

The President met at the White House with:

- the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
- John H. Sununu;
- Arab-American leaders, to discuss the Middle East peace process;
- His Holiness Aleksey II, Patriarch of Moscow.

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush went to Camp David, MD, for the weekend.

Later, the President had lunch with the President's Drug Advisory Council at Camp David.

#### *November 17*

In the afternoon, the President returned to the White House from a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

#### *November 18*

The President met at the White House with:

- the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
- John H. Sununu;
- Reba McEntire, chairperson of the 1991 Christmas Seals campaign;
- Secretary of State James A. Baker III;
- officers of the National Conference of State Legislatures;
- Secretary of the Treasury Nicholas F. Brady.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush attended the Victory Awards ceremony at the Kennedy Center sponsored by the National Rehabilitation Hospital.

The President announced his intention to appoint Thomas J. Walsh, of Oregon, to be a member of the Endangered Species Committee. Currently Mr. Walsh serves as general manager of Tri-Met in Portland, OR.

#### *November 19*

The President met at the White House with:

- the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
- John H. Sununu.

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush attended the Presidential Forum luncheon spon-

sored by the National Republican Congressional Committee at the Capital Hilton Hotel.

*November 20*

The President met at the White House with:  
—the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;  
—John H. Sununu;  
—State Senator Paul White, chairman of the Council of State Governments;  
—Combined Federal Campaign Cochairmen;  
—Secretary of State James A. Baker III.

In the evening, the President attended a fundraising dinner for the Republican Party at the Grand Hyatt Hotel.

The President announced his intention to designate John Schrote, of Ohio, as Chief Financial Officer at the U.S. Department of the Interior. This is a new position. Mr. Schrote has served as Assistant Secretary for Policy, Management and Budget at the Department of the Interior since August 5, 1991, and will continue to serve in this capacity.

The President announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be members of the Federal Salary Council:

*Anthony F. Ingrassia*, of Virginia. He will be designated Vice Chairman. Currently Mr. Ingrassia serves as Chairman of the Federal Prevailing Rate Advisory Committee in Washington, DC.

*Charles H. Fay*, of New Jersey. Since 1988 Dr. Fay has served as associate director and associate professor of industrial relations and human resources at the Institute of Management and Labor Relations at Rutgers University in New Brunswick, NJ.

*John N. Sturdivant*, of Virginia. Currently Mr. Sturdivant serves as national president of the American Federation of Government Employees in Washington, DC.

*Peter A. Tchirkow*, of the District of Columbia. Currently Mr. Tchirkow serves as compensation specialist and statistician in the field services department of the American Federation of Government Employees at the AFL-CIO in Washington, DC.

*John F. Leyden*, of Maryland. Currently Mr. Leyden serves as secretary-treasurer of the public employee department of the AFL-CIO in Washington, DC.

*Sheila K. Velazco*, of the District of Columbia. Currently Ms. Velazco serves as national president of the National Federation of Federal Employees in Washington, DC.

*Robert M. Tobias*, of Maryland. Currently Mr. Tobias serves as national president of the National Treasury Employees Union in Washington, DC.

*Lucille A. Joel*, of New Jersey. Currently Dr. Joel serves as national president of the American Nurses Association in Kansas City, MO.

*November 21*

The President met at the White House with:  
—the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;  
—John H. Sununu;  
—the Vice President, for lunch;  
—the 1991 Federal Duck Stamp Design Award winner.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush attended the Chairman's Advisory Board dinner sponsored by the Republican National Committee at the Four Seasons Hotel.

The President announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be members of the National Nutrition Monitoring Advisory Council for the terms indicated. These are new positions:

*For a term of 4 years:*

*David L. Call*, of New York. Currently Dr. Call serves as dean of the College of Agriculture and Life Sciences at Cornell University in Ithaca, NY.

*For terms of 3 years:*

*Shiriki K. Kumanyika*, of Pennsylvania. Currently Dr. Kumanyika serves as associate professor of nutritional epidemiology in the department of nutrition at Pennsylvania State University in University Park, PA.

*Suzanne S. Harris*, of Virginia. Currently Dr. Harris serves as director of the Human Nutrition Institute at the International Life Sciences Institute in Washington, DC.

*For terms of 2 years:*

*Charles H. James III*, of West Virginia. Currently Mr. James serves as president and chief executive officer of C.H. James & Co. in Charles Town, WV.

*Helen E. Lee*, of California. Since 1987, Ms. Lee has served as a member of the Vocational Nurse and Psychiatric Technician Examiners Board.

*November 22*

The President met at the White House with:  
—the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;  
—John H. Sununu;  
—Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir of Israel;  
—Secretary of State James A. Baker III.

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush went to Camp David, MD, for the weekend.

The President nominated Trevor Alexander McClurg Potter, of Virginia, to be a member of the Federal Election Commission for a term expiring April 30, 1997. He would succeed Thomas

John Josefiak. Currently Mr. Potter serves as a partner with the law firm of Wiley, Rein & Fielding in Washington, DC.

The President nominated Scott E. Thomas, of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the Federal Election Commission for a term expiring April 30, 1997. This is a reappointment.

#### *November 24*

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush returned to the White House from a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

#### *November 25*

The President met at the White House with:  
—the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;  
—Kirk Fordice, Governor-elect of Mississippi;  
—Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney.

Later in the morning, the President traveled to Columbus, OH, where he visited the Fort Hayes Metropolitan Education Center and attended a reception with Ohio education leaders at Veterans Memorial Auditorium.

In the afternoon, the President returned to Washington, DC.

In a ceremony on the State Floor of the Residence, the President received diplomatic credentials from Ambassadors Luvsandorj Dawagiv (Mongolia), Abul Ahsan (Bangladesh), Pal Tar (Hungary), Alphonse Berns (Luxembourg), Ernst Jaakson (Estonia), Rudi Valentine Webster (Barbados), Yog Prasad Upadhyay (Nepal), and Abdul Rahman bin Fares Al-Khalifa (Bahrain).

#### *November 26*

The President met at the White House with:  
—the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;  
—John H. Sununu;  
—Deputy Secretary of Defense Donald J. Atwood, Jr.;  
—the presidents of Key Club International and Circle K International;  
—Christopher H. Phillips, U.S. Ambassador to Brunei.

In the afternoon, the President participated in a teleconference with the 41st annual Association of Christian Schools meeting in Anaheim, CA.

#### *November 27*

The President met at the White House with:  
—the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, As-

sistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;

—John H. Sununu;  
—Secretary of State James A. Baker III;  
—Ukrainian-American leaders.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush went to Camp David, MD, for the Thanksgiving holiday weekend.

Later in the evening, the President recorded his Thanksgiving address to the Nation for broadcast on November 28.

The President announced his intention to designate the following individuals to be Representatives on the Consultative Committee established by the Panama Canal Treaty of 1977:

*William R. Haynes*, of Texas. He would succeed Joel Pritchard. From 1973 to 1991, Mr. Haynes served as an independent oil and gas operator in Houston, TX.

*Maxwell R. Thurman*, of Virginia. He would succeed Nestor D. Sanchez. From 1970 to 1991, General Thurman served in the U.S. Army in various capacities including Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Forces Southern Command.

*William J. Jorden*, of Virginia. He would succeed W. Henson Moore. From 1974 to 1978, Ambassador Jorden served as the U.S. Ambassador to Panama.

The President announced his intention to nominate the following individuals to be Commissioners of the United States Parole Commission for the terms indicated:

*Edward F. Reilly*, of Kansas, for the remainder of the term expiring November 1, 1997. He would succeed Benjamin F. Baer. Upon appointment, he will be designated Chairman. Currently Mr. Reilly serves as a State senator for the Third District of Kansas.

*John R. Simpson*, of Maryland, for the remainder of the term expiring November 1, 1997. He would succeed Cameron M. Batjer. Currently Mr. Simpson serves as Director of the U.S. Secret Service in Washington, DC.

#### *November 30*

The President met with Secretary of State James A. Baker III in Laurel Lodge at Camp David, MD.

#### *December 1*

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush returned to the White House from a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

Later in the afternoon, the President met with Chief of Staff John H. Sununu in the Oval Office.

In the evening, the President had dinner with Secretary of Transportation Samuel K. Skinner in the Residence.

#### *December 2*

The President met at the White House with:



- the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
- John H. Sununu;
- Real Estate Industry Association leaders;
- the Vice President, for lunch;
- Secretary of the Treasury Nicholas F. Brady.

In the morning, the President participated in a Hanukkah celebration for the White House staff in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building.

#### *December 3*

In the morning, President Bush had a telephone conversation with President Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine to congratulate him on his election. Later in the morning, the President traveled to Bradenton, FL, and Meridian, MS.

In the afternoon, the President returned to Washington, DC.

#### *December 4*

The President met at the White House with:

- the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
- John H. Sununu;
- Secretary of State James A. Baker III.

The President declared that a major disaster existed in the Territory of Guam as a result of a typhoon that struck on November 27. He directed the Federal Emergency Management Agency to provide assistance to supplement State and local recovery efforts.

The White House announced that the President has approved Frank Bracken to represent him at the ceremonies commemorating the 50th anniversary of the invasion of Guam, December 10–11.

The White House announced that the President will meet with Prime Minister Anan Panyarachun of Thailand at the White House on December 17.

#### *December 5*

The President met at the White House with:

- the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
- John H. Sununu;
- House of Representatives leaders;
- Toys for Tots Program representatives;
- the National Association of Manufacturers Executive Committee.

#### *December 6*

The President met at the White House with the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff.

In the morning, the President and Mrs. Bush traveled to Ontario, CA.

#### *December 7*

In the morning, the President gave an interview to CBS and attended a briefing with U.S. Ambassadors to Pacific Rim countries.

The President declared that a major disaster existed in the Republic of the Marshall Islands and ordered Federal aid to supplement State and local recovery efforts in the area struck by Typhoon Zelda on November 28–29.

#### *December 8*

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush returned to Washington, DC.

Later in the afternoon, the President had a telephone conversation with President Boris Yeltsin of the Russian Republic.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush attended the John F. Kennedy Center Honors performing arts achievement awards ceremony.

#### *December 9*

The President met at the White House with:

- the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
- Mother Teresa.

The President announced his intention to designate Ralph W. Tarr, of California, to be U.S. Commissioner on the Upper Colorado River Commission. He would succeed J.F. Ross. Currently Mr. Tarr serves as partner with the law firm of Andrews & Kurth in Los Angeles, CA.

The President announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be members of the Advisory Committee on the Arts, John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts:

*Candace Somerville*, of the District of Columbia. She would succeed Ann Rydalph. Currently Ms. Somerville serves as assistant vice president of Begg International in Washington, DC.

*Helen V. Meyer*, of Kansas. She would succeed Harriet Slaybaugh. Currently Ms. Meyer serves as a director of the Wichita Symphony Association and of the Wichita Music Theatre in Wichita, KS.

*Mary Welch Rogers*, of Georgia. She would succeed Julie P. Montgomery. Ms. Rogers is a Catholic contemporary Christian artist in Atlanta, GA.

*Henry J. Smith*, of Texas. He would succeed Eileen S.S.C. Slocum. Currently Mr. Smith serves as chairman of Clark Bades, Inc., in Dallas, TX.

*Marcia Poulsen Price*, of Utah. She would succeed John Piercey. Currently Ms. Price serves as a board member on the Utah Arts Council and on the Governor's Executive Residence Commission in Salt Lake City, UT.

*H. E. Monroe, Jr.*, of Alabama. This is an initial appointment. From 1970 to 1986, Mr. Monroe served as president and chief executive officer of the Monroe Business Equipment Co. in Huntsville, AL.

#### December 10

In the morning, the President traveled to Chicago, IL.

In the afternoon, he returned to Washington, DC.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush hosted the congressional Christmas ball on the State Floor.

The President announced his intention to appoint Edwin D. Brubeck, of Indiana, to be Chairman of the Federal Service Impasses Disputes Panel. Since 1976 Mr. Brubeck has served as a business representative on the Indiana State Building Trades Council in Indianapolis, IN.

The President announced his intention to appoint David F. Egan, of Connecticut, to be a U.S. Commissioner on the Council and Commissions of the North Atlantic Salmon Conservation Organization. He would succeed Frank Eberle Carlton. Since 1982, Mr. Egan has served as a public defender for the Judicial District of Ansonia/Milford in Milford, CT.

The President announced his intention to appoint Avery C. Faulkner, of Virginia, to be a member of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation for a term expiring June 10, 1995. This is a reappointment. Currently Mr. Faulkner serves as a senior partner with Avery Faulkner, FAIA in Washington, DC.

The President announced his intention to appoint Richard G. Schreitmuller, of Georgia, to be a member of the Department of Defense Retirement Board of Actuaries for a term expiring September 16, 2004. He would succeed Thomas P. Bowles, Jr. Currently Mr. Schreitmuller serves as a senior research actuary for Alexander & Alexander Consulting Group, Inc., in Atlanta, GA.

The President declared that a major disaster existed in the Federated States of Micronesia and ordered Federal aid to supplement State and local recovery efforts in the area struck by Typhoon Yuri on November 25–29.

#### December 11

The President met at the White House with:  
—the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, As-

sistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;

—John H. Sununu;

—Secretary of State James A. Baker III;

—James A. Baker III; Robert S. Strauss, Ambassador to the Soviet Union; and Brent Scowcroft.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush hosted a Christmas reception on the State Floor.

The President announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be members of the Christopher Columbus Quincentenary Jubilee Commission:

*William M. Ray*, of Oregon. He would succeed Jane Lee Garcia. Since 1986, Mr. Ray has served on the economic development committee of the Klamath Tribe in Portland, OR.

*John B. Tsu*, of California. He would succeed Lee Collins. From 1985 to 1986, Dr. Tsu served as a professor and director of the Asian Pacific Institute of the John F. Kennedy University in Burlingame, CA.

*Mary Jane Checchi*, of the District of Columbia. This is a reappointment.

*Ricardo S. Pines*, of Florida. He would succeed James J. O'Connor. Currently Mr. Pines serves as president of the Pines Group, Inc., in Coral Gables, FL.

#### December 12

The President met at the White House with:

—the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;

—John H. Sununu;

—Republican Senators;

—Prime Minister Constantinos Mitsotakis of Greece, for lunch.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush hosted a Christmas reception on the State Floor.

The White House announced that the President will travel to Dallas/Fort Worth, TX, on Wednesday, December 18, to sign the surface transportation bill and address the American Association of State Highway and Transportation Officials.

#### December 13

The President met at the White House with:

—the Vice President; John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;

—John H. Sununu;

—private sector health care groups;

—Secretary of State James A. Baker III;

- Prime Minister Andre Milongo of the Republic of the Congo;
- the Vice President, for lunch.

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush attended the diplomatic corps Christmas tea on the State Floor.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush went to Camp David, MD, for the weekend.

The President designated Don E. Newquist as Chairman of the United States International Trade Commission for the term expiring June 16, 1992. Mr. Newquist has served as a member of the Commission since October 11, 1988.

The President declared that a major disaster existed in the Territory of American Samoa and ordered Federal aid to supplement State and local recovery efforts in the area struck by Hurricane Val on December 6–10.

#### *December 14*

In the morning, the President met with President Carlos Salinas of Mexico at Camp David, MD.

#### *December 15*

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush returned to the White House from a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush attended the “Christmas in Washington” show at the Pension Building.

#### *December 16*

The President met at the White House with:

- the Vice President; Samuel K. Skinner, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
- Samuel K. Skinner;
- Secretary of the Treasury Nicholas F. Brady.

In the evening, the President attended a fund-raising dinner for Representative Robert H. Michel at the Capitol Hill Club.

Later in the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush hosted a Christmas reception on the State Floor.

The President announced his intention to appoint Maj. Gen. Russell Clark Davis, of Virginia, to be Commanding General of the Militia of the District of Columbia. He would succeed Calvin G. Franklin. Currently Major General Davis serves as Air National Guard Assistant to the Commander of the Tactical Airlift Command at Langley Air Force Base, VA.

#### *December 17*

- The President met at the White House with:
- the Vice President; Samuel K. Skinner, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft,

Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;

- Samuel K. Skinner;
- the Advisory Committee of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Tenth Anniversary.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush hosted a Christmas reception on the State Floor.

#### *December 18*

In the morning, the President traveled to Dallas, TX.

In the afternoon, he returned to Washington, DC.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush hosted a Christmas reception on the State Floor.

#### *December 19*

The President met at the White House with:

- the Vice President; Samuel K. Skinner, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;
- Samuel K. Skinner;
- members of the Presidential business leaders delegation to Singapore, Korea, and Japan;
- the Vice President, for lunch;
- the Domestic Policy Council.

In the evening, the President had a telephone conversation with Gov. George Mickelson of South Dakota in Rapid City to discuss the America 2000 education initiative.

Later in the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush hosted a Christmas reception on the State Floor.

The President announced his intention to appoint Shirley V. Peterson, of California, to be a member of the National Commission for Employment Policy for a term expiring September 30, 1994. She would succeed Frank D. McDonald. Currently Ms. Peterson serves as corporate vice president of ethics and business conduct for the Northrop Corp. in Los Angeles, CA.

The President announced his intention to designate Robert S. Ross, Jr., of Pennsylvania, to be Vice Chairman of the Council of the Administrative Conference of the United States. He would succeed James C. Miller III. Currently Mr. Ross serves as Director of the Office of International Affairs at the Department of Justice in Washington, DC.

#### *December 20*

The President met at the White House with:

- the Vice President; Samuel K. Skinner, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security

ty Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;

—Samuel K. Skinner.

In an Oval Office ceremony in the afternoon, the President signed the National Sanctity of Human Life Day proclamation.

In the evening, the President and Mrs. Bush hosted a Christmas reception on the State Floor.

#### *December 21*

In the morning, the President participated in a budget briefing in the Oval Office.

#### *December 23*

The President met at the White House with:  
—the Vice President; Samuel K. Skinner, Chief of Staff to the President; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and members of the CIA briefing staff;

—Samuel K. Skinner;

—Secretary of the Treasury Nicholas F. Brady;  
—the national leadership of the Coalition for Health Care Reform.

In the afternoon, the President participated in a budget briefing in the Oval Office. The President and Mrs. Bush then went to Camp David, MD, for the Christmas holiday.

#### *December 24*

In the afternoon, the President placed telephone calls to U.S. military personnel stationed overseas.

#### *December 25*

In the evening, the President returned to the White House from Camp David, MD, to give an address to the Nation. Following his address, the President returned to Camp David.

#### *December 26*

In the afternoon, the President returned to the White House from Camp David, MD.

The President met at the White House with Mike Ockrent, producer of "Crazy for You" at the National Theatre, and his family. Later the President participated in a signing ceremony for ratification of the Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) treaty and in a budget briefing in the Oval Office.

#### *December 27*

In the morning, the President traveled to Beeville, TX.

In the evening, he visited the Texas Grand Dance Hall near Beeville. The President then went to Will Farish's ranch for the weekend.

The President declared that a major disaster existed in Iowa and Minnesota as a result of severe ice storms which occurred October 31–November 2. He directed the Federal Emergency Management Agency to provide assistance to supplement State and local recovery efforts.

The President also declared that a major disaster existed in Texas as a result of severe thunderstorms and flooding which began on December 20. He directed the Federal Emergency Management Agency to provide assistance to supplement State and local recovery efforts.

#### *December 29*

In the afternoon, the President returned to Washington, DC, from Beeville, TX.

#### *December 30*

In the morning, the President and Mrs. Bush traveled to Sydney, Australia.

#### *December 31*

In the evening, following their arrival, the President and Mrs. Bush went to the Admiralty House to watch the New Year's Eve fireworks display and then attended a reception at Kirribilli House. Later, they went to the Ritz-Carlton Hotel, their residence during their stay in Sydney.



## Appendix B—Nominations Submitted to the Senate

*The following list does not include promotions of members of the Uniformed Services, nominations to the Service Academies, or nominations of Foreign Service officers.*

### *Submitted July 10*

Robert S. Strauss,  
of Texas, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

David A. Colson,  
of Maryland, a career member of the Senior Executive Service, for the rank of Ambassador during his tenure of service as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Oceans and Fisheries Affairs.

### *Submitted July 15*

Jill E. Kent,  
of the District of Columbia, to be Chief Financial Officer, Department of State (new position).

Donald A. Laidlaw,  
of New York, to be Deputy Under Secretary for Management, Department of Education, vice Thomas E. Anfinson.

The following-named persons to be members of the National Advisory Council on Educational Research and Improvement for the terms indicated:

#### *For a term expiring September 30, 1991:*

Marjorie Arsht, of Texas, vice Robert H. Mattson, term expired.

#### *For a term expiring September 30, 1993:*

Kenneth H. Bastian, Jr., of Texas, vice J. Wade Gilley, term expired.

#### *For a term expiring September 30, 1994:*

Marjorie Arsht, of Texas (reappointment).

### *Submitted July 16*

Sylvia Chavez Long,  
of New Mexico, to be an Assistant Secretary of Veterans Affairs (Congressional Affairs), vice Edward G. Lewis, resigned.

Norman Kelson,  
of Iowa, to be a member of the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science for a term expiring July 19, 1995, vice Frank Gannon, term expired.

### *Submitted July 17*

Richard Clark Barkley,  
of Michigan, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Turkey.

Marshall Jordan Breger,  
of the District of Columbia, to be Solicitor for the Department of Labor, vice Robert P. Davis, resigned.

Delbert Leon Spurlock, Jr.,  
of California, to be Deputy Secretary of Labor, vice Roderick Allen DeArment, resigned.

### *Submitted July 18*

Ellis B. Bodron,  
of Mississippi, to be a member of the National Council on Disability for a term expiring September 17, 1993, vice Margaret Chase Hager.

### *Submitted July 19*

Alan Greenspan,  
of New York, to be Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System for a term of 4 years (reappointment).

Alan Greenspan,  
of New York, to be a member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System for a term of 14 years from February 1, 1992 (reappointment).

### *Submitted July 22*

Parker W. Borg,  
of Minnesota, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Union of Burma (Myanmar).

## *Appendix B / Administration of George Bush, 1991*

James F. Dobbins,  
of New York, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Representative of the United States of America to the European Communities, with the rank and status of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary.

C. Payne Lucas,  
of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the African Development Foundation for the remainder of the term expiring September 22, 1993, vice David C. Miller, Jr.

Donald R. Livingston,  
of Georgia, to be General Counsel of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission for a term of 4 years, vice Charles A. Shanor, resigned.

Charles Szu,  
of California, to be a member of the Board of Trustees of the Barry M. Goldwater Scholarship and Excellence in Education Foundation for a term expiring February 4, 1996, vice Thomas G. Pownall, term expired.

Ben-Chieh Liu,  
of Illinois, to be a member of the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science for the remainder of the term expiring July 19, 1993, vice Margaret Phelan.

Mary Matthews Raether,  
of Virginia, to be a member of the National Council on Disability for a term expiring September 17, 1994 (reappointment).

Michael B. McCaskey,  
of Illinois, to be a member of the Peace Corps National Advisory Council for a term expiring October 6, 1992, vice Josephine K. Olsen.

The following-named persons to be members of the Board of Directors of the Commission on National and Community Service for the terms indicated (new positions):

### *For terms of 1 year:*

Gayle Edlund Wilson, of California.  
George Wilcken Romney, of Michigan.  
Karen Susan Young, of California.  
William J. Byron, of the District of Columbia.  
Glen W. White, of Kansas.  
Thomas Ehrlich, of Indiana.

### *For terms of 2 years:*

Richard Frederick Phelps, of Indiana.  
Leslie Lenkowsky, of Indiana.  
Alan Khazei, of Massachusetts.  
Paul N. McCloskey, Jr., of California.

Reatha Clark King, of Minnesota.  
Shirley Sachi Sagawa, of Virginia.  
Wayne W. Meisel, of Minnesota.

### *For terms of 3 years:*

Daniel J. Evans, of Washington.  
Maria Hernandez Ferrier, of Texas.  
Frances Hesselbein, of Pennsylvania.  
Patricia Traugott Rouse, of Maryland.  
Jack A. MacAllister, of Colorado.  
Joyce M. Black, of New York.  
Robert L. Woodson, of Maryland.

William Ho-Gonzalez,  
of Virginia, to be Special Counsel for Immigration-Related Unfair Employment Practices for a term of 4 years, vice Lawrence J. Siskind, resigned.

James C. Kenny,  
of Illinois, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the National Corporation for Housing Partnerships for the term expiring October 27, 1993, vice James Coles, term expired.

### *Submitted July 24*

John Christian Kornblum,  
of Michigan, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, for the rank of Ambassador during his tenure of service as Head of Delegation to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

Lacey A. Collier,  
of Florida, to be U.S. District Judge for the Northern District of Florida (new position).

Anne C. Conway,  
of Florida, to be U.S. District Judge for the Middle District of Florida, vice George C. Carr, deceased.

Wayne R. Andersen,  
of Illinois, to be U.S. District Judge for the Northern District of Illinois, vice Stanley J. Roszkowski, retired.

Ronald E. Longstaff,  
of Iowa, to be U.S. District Judge for the Southern District of Iowa (new position).

John W. Lungstrum,  
of Kansas, to be U.S. District Judge for the District of Kansas, vice Dale E. Saffels, retired.

Stewart R. Dalzell,  
of Pennsylvania, to be U.S. District Judge for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania (new position).

Terry R. Means,  
of Texas, to be U.S. District Judge for the Northern District of Texas, vice David O. Belew, Jr., retired.

Arthur J. Rothkopf,  
of the District of Columbia, to be General Counsel of the Department of Transportation, vice Phillip D. Brady.

Mary Cracraft,  
of Kansas, to be a member of the National Labor Relations Board for the term of 5 years expiring August 27, 1996 (reappointment).

*Submitted July 31*

William Caldwell Harrop,  
of New Jersey, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Career Minister, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Israel.

Russell K. Paul,  
of Georgia, to be an Assistant Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, vice Timothy J. Coyle, resigned.

John J. Easton, Jr.,  
of Vermont, to be General Counsel of the Department of Energy, vice Stephen A. Wakefield, resigned.

Mary Sheila Gall,  
of Virginia, to be a Commissioner of the Consumer Product Safety Commission for a term of 7 years from October 27, 1991, vice Anne Graham, term expiring.

Ming Hsu,  
of Arizona, to be a Federal Maritime Commissioner for the term expiring June 30, 1996 (reappointment).

*Submitted August 1*

Philip G. Reinhard,  
of Illinois, to be United States District Judge for the Northern District of Illinois (new position).

Jon P. McCalla,  
of Tennessee, to be United States District Judge for the Western District of Tennessee (new position).

C. Wesley Phinney, Jr.,  
of Maine, to be United States Marshal for the District of Maine for the term of 4 years, vice Emery R. Jordan, retired.

B. Robert Okun,  
of the District of Columbia, to be Assistant Secretary for Legislation and Congressional Affairs,

Department of Education, vice Nancy Mohr Kennedy, resigned.

Francis S.M. Hodsoll,  
of Virginia, to be Deputy Director for Management, Office of Management and Budget (new position).

Edward Joseph Mazur,  
of Virginia, to be Controller, Office of Federal Financial Management, Office of Management and Budget (new position).

Gary C. Byrne,  
of California, to be a member of the Farm Credit Administration Board for the term expiring May 21, 1996, vice Marvin Duncan, resigned.

Karen Borlaug Phillips,  
of Virginia, to be a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission for a term expiring December 31, 1996 (reappointment).

Maurice T. Turner, Jr.,  
of the District of Columbia, to be Director of the Bureau of Justice Assistance (new position).

Allen B. Clark, Jr.,  
of Texas, to be Director of the National Cemetery System, Department of Veterans Affairs, vice Jo Ann Krukar Webb, resigned.

The following-named persons to be members of the Board of Directors of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting for the terms indicated:

*For the remainder of the term expiring March 26, 1992:*

Kay Coles James, of Virginia, vice William Lee Hanley, Jr., resigned.

*For a term expiring March 26, 1996:*

Victor Gold, of Virginia, vice R. Kenneth Towery, term expired.

Ian M. Ross,  
of New Jersey, to be a member of the National Science Board, National Science Foundation, for the remainder of the term expiring May 10, 1992, vice Howard A. Schneiderman, deceased.

*Submitted August 2*

Jo Ann Krukar Webb,  
of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of Veterans Affairs (Policy and Planning), vice Allen B. Clark, Jr., resigned.



*Appendix B / Administration of George Bush, 1991*

Mary L. Azcuenaga,  
of the District of Columbia, to be a Federal  
Trade Commissioner for the term of 7 years from  
September 26, 1991 (reappointment).

*Submitted September 11*

John F.W. Rogers,  
of New York, to be Under Secretary of State for  
Management, vice Ivan Selin.

Arnold Lee Kanter,  
of Virginia, to be Under Secretary of State for  
Political Affairs, vice Robert Michael Kimmitt.

Edward Gibson Lanpher,  
of the District of Columbia, a career member of  
the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-  
Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and  
Plenipotentiary of the United States of America  
to Zimbabwe.

Carolynn Reid-Wallace,  
of the District of Columbia, to be Assistant Sec-  
retary for Postsecondary Education, Department of  
Education, vice Leonard L. Haynes III, resigned.

Thomas Michael Tolliver Niles,  
of the District of Columbia, a career member of  
the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Career Min-  
ister, to be an Assistant Secretary of State, vice  
Raymond G.H. Seitz.

David F. Bradford,  
of New Jersey, to be a member of the Council of  
Economic Advisers, vice Richard Schmalensee,  
resigned.

Paul Wonnacott,  
of Maryland, to be a member of the Council of  
Economic Advisers, vice John B. Taylor, resigned.

William Taylor,  
of Illinois, to be a member of the Board of Direc-  
tors of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corpora-  
tion for a term expiring February 28, 1993, vice  
L. William Seidman.

Franklin S. Van Antwerpen,  
of Pennsylvania, to be U.S. Circuit Judge for the  
Third Circuit, vice A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr.,  
retired.

Nancy G. Edmunds,  
of Michigan, to be U.S. District Judge for the  
Eastern District of Michigan, vice Richard F.  
Suhreheinrich, elevated.

Joe B. McDade,  
of Illinois, to be U.S. District Judge for the Cen-  
tral District of Illinois (new position).

David W. McKeague,  
of Michigan, to be U.S. District Judge for the  
Western District of Michigan, vice Douglas W.  
Hillman, retired.

Jerry G. Cunningham,  
of Tennessee, to be U.S. Attorney for the Eastern  
District of Tennessee for the term of 4 years, vice  
John W. Gill, Jr., term expired.

Herbert Tate,  
of New Jersey, to be an Assistant Administrator of  
the Environmental Protection Agency, vice  
James J. Strock.

Paul H. Cooksey,  
of Virginia, to be Deputy Administrator of the  
Small Business Administration (new position).

Edward P. Djerejian,  
of Maryland, a career member of the Senior For-  
eign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be  
an Assistant Secretary of State, vice John Hubert  
Kelly.

Shirlee Bowné,  
of Florida, to be a member of the National Credit  
Union Administration Board for a term of 6 years  
expiring April 10, 1997, vice Elizabeth Flores  
Burkhart, resigned.

Jose E. Martinez,  
of Texas, to be Director of the Trade and Devel-  
opment Program (new position).

*Withdrawn September 11*

Luis Guinot, Jr.,  
of Puerto Rico, to be a member of the Board of  
Directors of the Legal Services Corporation for a  
term expiring July 13, 1993, which was sent to  
the Senate on February 7, 1991.

*Submitted September 12*

Frederick J. Scullin, Jr.,  
of New York, to be U.S. District Judge for the  
Northern District of New York (new position).

A. Peter Burleigh,  
of California, a career member of the Senior For-  
eign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, for the  
rank of Ambassador during his tenure of service  
as Coordinator for Counter-Terrorism.

Robert Stephen Pastorino,  
of California, a career member of the Senior For-  
eign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be  
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of  
the United States of America to the Dominican  
Republic.

James Ashley Endicott, Jr., of Texas, to be General Counsel, Department of Veterans Affairs, vice Raoul Lord Carroll, resigned.

Reginald J. Brown, of Virginia, to be an Assistant Administrator of the Agency for International Development (reappointment).

John A. Shaw, of Maryland, to be an Assistant Secretary of Commerce, vice Quincy Mellon Krosby.

The following named persons to be the Representative and Alternate Representatives of the United States of America to the 35th session of the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency:

*Representative:*

James D. Watkins, of California

*Alternate Representatives:*

Richard T. Kennedy, of the District of Columbia

Jane E. Becker, of the District of Columbia  
Ivan Selin, of the District of Columbia

The following named persons to be members of the Board of Directors of the United States Institute of Peace for terms expiring January 19, 1995:

Theodore M. Hesburgh, of Indiana, vice Richard John Neuhaus, term expired.

Elsbeth Davies Rostow, of Texas (reappointment).

*Submitted September 16*

Michael H. Moskow, of Illinois, to be a Deputy United States Trade Representative, with the rank of Ambassador, vice Sidney Linn Williams, resigned.

Alan M. Dunn, of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of Commerce, vice Eric I. Garfinkel, resigned.

*Submitted September 17*

Johnnie M. Smith, of South Carolina, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Commission on National and Community Service for a term of 1 year (new position).

Steven E. Steiner, of Maryland, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, for the rank of Ambassador during his tenure of service

as the U.S. Representative to the START Joint Compliance and Inspection Commission.

Elaine L. Chao, of California, to be Director of the Peace Corps, vice Paul D. Coverdell, resigned.

Rudy Boschwitz, of Minnesota, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Communications Satellite Corporation until the date of the annual meeting of the Corporation in 1994, vice Thomas C. Griscom, term expired.

Chester A. Crocker, of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the U.S. Institute of Peace for a term expiring January 19, 1995, vice Sidney Lovett, term expired.

The following-named persons to be members of the United States Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy:

William Hybl, of Colorado, for a term expiring July 1, 1994 (reappointment).

Walter R. Roberts, of the District of Columbia, for a term expiring April 6, 1994, vice Louis B. Susman, term expired.

The following-named persons to be members of the Peace Corps National Advisory Council:

Richard N. Bond, of New York, for a term expiring October 6, 1992, vice Sue Wagner.

Tom G. Kessinger, of Pennsylvania, for a term expiring October 6, 1993 (reappointment).

Barbara J.H. Taylor, of Maryland, to be a member of the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science for a term expiring July 19, 1995 (reappointment).

Anthony Hurlbutt Flack, of Connecticut, to be a member of the National Council on Disability for a term expiring September 17, 1994 (reappointment).

The following-named persons to be members of the Board for International Broadcasting:

Penn Kemble, of the District of Columbia, for a term expiring April 28, 1992, vice Ben J. Wattenberg, resigned.

Daniel A. Mica, of Florida, for a term expiring April 28, 1993, vice James Albert Michener, term expired.

Cheryl Feldman Halpern, of New Jersey, for a term expiring April 28, 1994 (reappointment).

*Appendix B / Administration of George Bush, 1991*

*Submitted September 19*

Kathleen Day Koch,  
of Virginia, to be Special Counsel, Office of Special Counsel, for the term of 5 years, vice Mary F. Wieseman, term expired.

William Carl,  
of Texas, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Panama Canal Commission, vice William W. Watkin, Jr., resigned.

William Stewart Johnson,  
of New Mexico, to be a member of the Board of Trustees of the Institute of American Indian and Alaska Native Culture and Arts Development for a term expiring May 19, 1996 (reappointment).

*Submitted September 20*

Reggie Barnett Walton,  
of the District of Columbia, to be an Associate Judge of the Superior Court of the District of Columbia for the term of 15 years, vice Sylvia A. Bacon, retired.

Mary Jane Maddox,  
of Texas, to be Deputy Director of the ACTION agency, vice Jane A. Kenny, resigned.

William Kane Reilly,  
of Virginia, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Inter-American Foundation for a term expiring September 20, 1994, vice Richard Thomas McCormack, resigned.

The following-named persons to be members of the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission:

Elizabeth Anne Moler, of Virginia, for the term expiring June 30, 1994 (reappointment).

Branko Terzic, of Wisconsin, for the term expiring June 30, 1995 (reappointment).

Emmet Gael Sullivan,  
of the District of Columbia, to be an Associate Judge of the District of Columbia Court of Appeals for the term of 15 years, vice James A. Belson, retired.

*Submitted September 23*

Steven D. Merryday,  
of Florida, to be U.S. District Judge for the Middle District of Florida, (new position).

John M. Roll,  
of Arizona, to be U.S. District Judge for the District of Arizona, vice Alfred C. Marquez, retired.

*Submitted September 27*

Susan Meredith Phillips,  
of Iowa, to be a member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System for the unexpired term of 14 years from February 1, 1984, vice Martha R. Seger, resigned.

Ernest Wilson Williams,  
of Tennessee, to be United States Attorney for the Middle District of Tennessee for the term of 4 years, vice Joe B. Brown, term expired.

*Submitted October 1*

Edith Brown Clement,  
of Louisiana, to be U.S. District Judge for the Eastern District of Louisiana, vice Charles Schwartz, Jr., retired.

Sue L. Robinson,  
of Delaware, to be U.S. District Judge for the District of Delaware, vice Jane R. Roth, elevated.

Sam Sparks,  
of Texas, to be U.S. District Judge for the Western District of Texas, (new position).

Andrew S. Natsios,  
of Massachusetts, to be an Assistant Administrator of the Agency for International Development, vice Philip Lawrence Christenson, resigned.

Leslee B. Alexander,  
of Tennessee, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting for a term expiring March 26, 1996 (reappointment).

*Submitted October 2*

The following-named persons to be Judges of the United States Court of Military Appeals:

Robert E. Wiss, of Illinois, for the term of 7 years to expire on the date prescribed by law (new position).

Herman F. Gierke, of North Dakota, for the term of 13 years to expire on the date prescribed by law (new position).

The following-named persons to be members of the Peace Corps National Advisory Council for terms expiring October 6, 1993:

Ruth Gardner Cox, of Texas (reappointment).  
Roland H. Johnson, of Pennsylvania, vice Peter L. Boynton.

*Submitted October 3*

Michael G. Kozak,  
a career member of the Senior Executive Service, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipo-

tenitary of the United States of America to the Republic of El Salvador.

Donald C. Fraser,  
of Massachusetts, to be Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition, vice Donald J. Yockey.

Victor H. Reis,  
of the District of Columbia, to be Director of Defense Research and Engineering, vice Charles M. Herzfeld, resigned.

*Submitted October 17*

Alan Greenspan,  
of New York, to be Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System for a term of 4 years, to which position he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

Ford Barney Ford,  
of Virginia, to be a member of the Federal Mine Safety and Health Review Commission for a term of 6 years expiring August 30, 1996 (reappointment), to which position he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

The following-named persons to be Governors of the U.S. Postal Service:

Tirso del Junco, of California, for the term expiring December 8, 2000 (reappointment).

J. Sam Winters, of Texas, for the term expiring December 8, 1999, vice Ira D. Hall, Jr., term expired.

Piestwa Robert Harold Ames,  
of California, to be a member of the Board of Trustees of the Institute of American Indian and Alaska Native Culture and Arts Development for a term expiring October 18, 1996, vice Herman Agoyo, term expired.

*Submitted October 23*

Kevin V. Schieffer,  
of South Dakota, to be U.S. Attorney for the District of South Dakota, for the term of 4 years, vice Philip N. Hogen, term expired.

*Submitted October 24*

Kevin E. Moley,  
of Louisiana, to be Deputy Secretary of Health and Human Services, vice Constance Horner, resigned.

Peter S. Watson,  
of California, to be a member of the U.S. International Trade Commission for the term expiring

December 16, 2000, vice Seeley Lodwick, term expiring.

*Submitted October 25*

William Pelham Barr,  
of Virginia, to be Attorney General.

The following named persons to be Representatives and Alternate Representatives of the United States of America to the Forty-sixth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations:

*Representatives:*

Thomas R. Pickering, of New Jersey.

Alexander Fletcher Watson, of Massachusetts.

Joseph Verner Reed, Jr., of Connecticut.

Dan Burton, of Indiana.

Mervyn M. Dymally, of California.

*Alternate Representatives:*

George Edward Moose, of Maryland.

Jonathan Moore, of Massachusetts.

Shirin Raziuddin Tahir-Kheli, of Pennsylvania.

Oscar Padilla, of California.

Margaretta F. Rockefeller, of New York.

Wiley T. Buchanan,  
of the District of Columbia, to be a Member of the Board of Trustees of the Institute of American Indian and Alaska Native Culture and Arts Development for a term expiring May 19, 1996, vice Edith Colvard Crutcher, term expired.

*Withdrawn October 25*

John Ashcroft,  
of Missouri, to be a Member of the Board of Trustees of the Harry S Truman Scholarship Foundation for a term expiring December 10, 1993, vice Terry Edward Brandstad, term expired, which was sent to the Senate on January 4, 1991.

*Submitted October 29*

William Edwin Ryerson,  
of Virginia, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Albania.

*Submitted October 31*

Lisa A. Hembry,  
of Texas, to be a member of the National Museum Services Board for a term expiring December 6, 1995, vice Diana D. Denman, term expired.

## *Appendix B / Administration of George Bush, 1991*

The following named persons to be members of the Advisory Board for Cuba Broadcasting for terms expiring October 27, 1994:

Clair W. Burgener, of California, vice Antonio Navarro, term expired.

Jose A. Costa, Jr., of Florida, vice Danford L. Sawyer, Jr., term expired.

Joseph Francis Glennon, of Florida (reappointment).

### *Submitted November 1*

The following named persons to be Assistant Secretaries of Energy:

Leo P. Duffy of Pennsylvania, (Environmental Restoration and Waste Management), vice Donna R. Fitzpatrick, resigned.

James G. Randolph, of Oklahoma, (Fossil Energy), vice Robert H. Gentile, resigned.

Greg Ward, of Virginia, (Congressional and Intergovernmental Affairs), vice Jacqueline Knox Brown, resigned.

### *Submitted November 5*

J. Curtis Joyner, of Pennsylvania, to be U.S. District Judge for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania (new position).

Roderick R. McKelvie, of Delaware, to be U.S. District Judge for the District of Delaware vice Murray M. Schwartz, retired.

John R. Padova, of Pennsylvania, to be U.S. District Judge for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania (new position).

James Roderick Lilley, of Maryland, to be an Assistant Secretary of Defense vice Henry S. Rowen, resigned.

Jimm Larry Hendren, of Arkansas, to be U.S. District Judge for the Western District of Arkansas (new position).

### *Withdrawn November 5*

Jimm Larry Hendren, of Arkansas, to be U.S. District Judge for the Eastern District of Arkansas vice G. Thomas Eisele, retired, which was sent to the Senate on October 24, 1991.

### *Submitted November 6*

Morris S. Arnold, of Arkansas, to be U.S. Circuit Judge for the Eighth Circuit vice Donald P. Lay, retired.

### *Submitted November 7*

John R. Davis, Jr., of California, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Romania.

Charles Tyroler II, of Virginia, to be a member of the Advisory Board for Cuba Broadcasting for a term expiring October 27, 1992, vice John R. Silber, term expired.

Pamela J. Turner, of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy for a term expiring July 1, 1992, vice Priscilla L. Buckley, term expired.

### *Submitted November 12*

Richard B. Stone, of the District of Columbia, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Denmark.

Sandra A. O'Connor, of Maryland, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the State Justice Institute for a term expiring September 17, 1992 (reappointment).

### *Submitted November 13*

Arnold R. Tompkins, of Maryland, to be an Assistant Secretary of Health and Human Services, vice Mary Sheila Gall.

Arnold R. Tompkins, of Maryland, to be Chief Financial Officer, Department of Health and Human Services (new position).

George C. White, of Connecticut, to be a member of the National Council on the Arts for a term expiring September 3, 1996, vice Lloyd George Richards, term expired.

### *Submitted November 14*

Francis A. Keating II, of Oklahoma, to be U.S. Circuit Judge for the Tenth Circuit (new position).

Ira DeMent, of Alabama, to be U.S. District Judge for the Middle District of Alabama, vice Truman M. Hobbs, retired.

Joseph E. Irenas,  
of New Jersey, to be U.S. District Judge for the  
District of New Jersey (new position).

Tony Michael Graham,  
of Oklahoma, to be U.S. District Judge for the  
Northern District of Oklahoma (new position).

Donald J. Stohr,  
of Missouri, to be U.S. District Judge for the East-  
ern District of Missouri (new position).

William J. Traxler, Jr.,  
of South Carolina, to be U.S. District Judge for  
the District of South Carolina, vice Clyde H.  
Hamilton, elevated.

*Submitted November 15*

Debra Russell Bowland,  
of Louisiana, to be Director of the Office for  
Victims of Crime (new position).

James H. Grossman,  
of California, to be Chairman of the Foreign  
Claims Settlement Commission of the United  
States for the term expiring September 30, 1994,  
vice Stanley L. Glod, term expired.

Alan Robert Swendiman,  
of Maryland, to be General Counsel of the Feder-  
al Labor Relations Authority for a term of 5  
years, vice Kathleen Day Koch.

Kenny Jackson Williams,  
of North Carolina, to be a member of the Nation-  
al Council on the Humanities for a term expiring  
January 26, 1996, vice Mary Josephine Conrad  
Cresimore, term expired.

Frederick Vreeland,  
of the District of Columbia, to be Ambassador  
Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United  
States of America to the Kingdom of Morocco.

*Withdrawn November 15*

Eric I. Garfinkel,  
of Maryland, to be Under Secretary of Com-  
merce for Export Administration, vice Dennis  
Edward Kloske, resigned, which was sent to the  
Senate on June 24, 1991.

Carol Iannone,  
of New York, to be a member of the National  
Council on the Humanities for a term expiring  
January 26, 1996, vice Mary Josephine Conrad  
Cresimore, term expired, which was sent to the  
Senate January 23, 1991.

*Submitted November 18*

John Hubert Kelly,  
of Georgia, a career member of the Senior For-  
eign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be  
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of  
the United States of America to the Republic of  
Finland.

*Submitted November 19*

Paul J. Kelly, Jr.,  
of New Mexico, to be U.S. Circuit Judge for the  
Tenth Circuit (new position).

*Submitted November 20*

James Buchanan Busey IV,  
of Illinois, to be Deputy Secretary of Transporta-  
tion, vice Elaine L. Chao.

Robert Edward Grady,  
of New Jersey, to be Deputy Director of the  
Office of Management and Budget, vice William  
M. Diefenderfer III, resigned.

Henry Edward Hudson,  
of Virginia, to be Director of the U.S. Marshals  
Service, vice K. Michael Moore.

G.O. Griffith, Jr.,  
of Mississippi, to be Assistant Secretary for Inter-  
governmental and Interagency Affairs, Depart-  
ment of Education, vice Michelle Easton.

Carlos Bea,  
of California, to be U.S. District Judge for the  
Northern District of California (new position).

Timothy D. Leonard,  
of Oklahoma, to be U.S. District Judge for the  
Western District of Oklahoma, vice Layn R. Phil-  
lips, resigned.

Robert E. Payne,  
of Virginia, to be U.S. District Judge for the East-  
ern District of Virginia, vice J. Calvitt Clarke, Jr.,  
retired.

Ewing Werlein, Jr.,  
of Texas, to be U.S. District Judge for the South-  
ern District of Texas (new position).

*Submitted November 21*

Trevor Alexander McClurg Potter,  
of Virginia, to be a member of the Federal Elec-  
tion Commission for a term expiring April 30,  
1997, vice Thomas John Josefiak, term expired.

*Appendix B / Administration of George Bush, 1991*

Scott E. Thomas,  
of the District of Columbia, to be a member of  
the Federal Election Commission for a term ex-  
piring April 30, 1997 (reappointment).

*Submitted November 22*

Anita A. Brody,  
of Pennsylvania, to be U.S. District Judge for the  
Eastern District of Pennsylvania (new position).

Jerry Ralph Curry,  
of Virginia, to be Administrator of the Federal  
Aviation Administration, vice James Buchanan  
Busey IV.

Scott M. Spangler,  
of Arizona, to be Associate Administrator of the  
Agency for International Development (Oper-  
ations), vice C. Anson Franklin, resigned.

*Submitted November 26*

James B. Franklin,  
of Georgia, to be U.S. District Judge for the  
Southern District of Georgia, vice Anthony A.  
Alaimo, retired.

Eduardo C. Robreno,  
of Pennsylvania, to be U.S. District Judge for the  
Eastern District of Pennsylvania, vice Louis H.  
Pollak, retired.

Ursula Mancusi Ungaro,  
of Florida, to be U.S. District Judge for the South-  
ern District of Florida, a new position created by  
Public Law 101-650, approved December 1,  
1990.

David James Jordan,  
of Utah, to be United States Attorney for the  
District of Utah for a term of 4 years, vice Dee V.  
Benson, resigned.

The following named persons to be Commission-  
ers of the United States Parole Commission for  
the remainder of terms expiring November 1,  
1997:

Edward F. Reilly, of Kansas, vice Benjamin F.  
Baer.

John R. Simpson, of Maryland, vice Cameron  
M. Batjer, resigned.

## *Appendix C—Checklist of White House Press Releases*

*The following list contains releases of the Office of the Press Secretary which are not included in this book.*

### *Released July 2*

**Transcript:**

Press briefing on the visit of President Roh Tae Woo of the Republic of Korea—by Richard Solomon, Assistant Secretary of State for Asian and Pacific Affairs

### *Released July 3*

**Announcement:**

Presidential Citizen's Medals citations

**Announcement:**

Presidential Medals of Freedom citations

**Advance text:**

Remarks at the dedication ceremony of Mount Rushmore National Memorial in South Dakota

### *Released July 4*

**Advance text:**

Remarks at an Independence Day celebration in Marshfield, MO

**Advance text:**

Remarks at an Independence Day celebration in Grand Rapids, MI

### *Released July 8*

**Announcement:**

National Medal of Arts recipients

**Fact sheet:**

National Medal of Arts

### *Released July 9*

**Advance text:**

Remarks at the presentation ceremony for the National Medal of Arts

**Announcement:**

National Medal of Arts citations

**Announcement:**

Presidential Citations recipients

### *Released July 10*

**Transcript:**

Press briefing on the upcoming London economic summit—by Secretary of the Treasury Nicholas F. Brady

**Transcript:**

Press briefing on the removal of sanctions against South Africa—by Herman J. Cohen, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs

**Transcript:**

Press briefing on the upcoming London economic summit and the President's trip to Greece and Turkey—by Secretary of State James A. Baker III

### *Released July 14*

**Announcement:**

Declaration of the Legion of Merit, Degree of Chief Commander, award recipients

### *Released July 15*

**Transcript:**

Press briefing on the opening session of the London economic summit—by Secretary of the Treasury Nicholas F. Brady

### *Released July 16*

**Transcript:**

Press briefing on economic issues related to the London economic summit—by David C. Mulford, Under Secretary of the Treasury for International Affairs

**Transcript:**

Press briefing on the London economic summit—by Secretary of State James A. Baker III

### *Released July 18*

**Advance text:**

Remarks at the arrival ceremony in Athens, Greece

**Advance text:**

Remarks to the Greek Parliament in Athens

**Advance text:**

Remarks at a state dinner in Athens, Greece



*Appendix C / Administration of George Bush, 1991*

*Released July 19*

Advance text:  
Remarks to United States and Greek armed forces in Souda Bay, Crete

*Released July 20*

Advance text:  
Remarks at the arrival ceremony in Ankara, Turkey

Advance text:  
Remarks at a dinner hosted by President Turgut Özal in Istanbul, Turkey

*Released July 23*

Announcement:  
Nomination of Wayne R. Andersen to be U.S. District Judge for the Northern District of Illinois

Announcement:  
Nomination of Lacey A. Collier to be U.S. District Judge for the Northern District of Florida

Announcement:  
Nomination of Anne C. Conway to be U.S. District Judge for the Middle District of Florida

Announcement:  
Nomination of Stewart R. Dalzell to be U.S. District Judge for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania

Announcement:  
Nomination of Ronald E. Longstaff to be U.S. District Judge for the Southern District of Iowa

Announcement:  
Nomination of John W. Lungstrum to be U.S. District Judge for the District of Kansas

Announcement:  
Nomination of Terry R. Means to be U.S. District Judge for the Northern District of Texas

Fact sheet:  
The President's Commission on Environmental Quality

*Released July 24*

Transcript:  
Press briefing on the visit of President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe—by Herman J. Cohen, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs

*Released July 25*

Advance text:  
Remarks at the Antiochian Orthodox Christian Church annual convention in Arlington, VA

Announcement:  
Nomination of Edmund Kavanagh to be U.S. District Judge for the Northern District of New York

*Released July 26*

Transcript:  
Press briefing on the economy—by Michael J. Boskin, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers

Announcement:  
Nomination of Sandra S. Beckwith to be U.S. District Judge for the Southern District of Ohio

Announcement:  
Nomination of Jay C. Waldman to be U.S. Circuit Court Judge for the Third Circuit

Announcement:  
Nomination of Kevin C. Potter to be U.S. Attorney for the Western District of Wisconsin

Announcement:  
Nomination of Mary L. Parell to be U.S. District Judge for the District of New Jersey

Announcement:  
Reappointment of Robert Q. Whitwell to be U.S. Attorney for the Northern District of Mississippi

Announcement:  
Nomination of William D. Hyslop to be U.S. Attorney for the Eastern District of Washington

Announcement:  
Nomination of Monti L. Belot to be U.S. District Judge for the District of Kansas

Announcement:  
Nomination of Richard Cullen to be U.S. Attorney for the Eastern District of Virginia

Fact sheet:  
President Bush's proposed California Public Lands Wilderness Act

Announcement:  
Nomination of Ronald M. Whyte to be U.S. District Judge for the Northern District of California

Announcement:  
Nomination of David C. Bramlette to be U.S. District Judge for the Southern District of Mississippi

Announcement:  
Nomination of Thomas E. Sholts to be U.S. District Judge for the Southern District of Florida

Transcript:  
Press briefing on the upcoming summit in Moscow—by Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

*Released July 30*

Advance text:  
Remarks at the arrival ceremony in Moscow

Transcript:  
Interview of Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, by Paula Zahn, CBS News

Advance text:  
Remarks at the Moscow State Institute for International Relations

Fact sheet:  
Memorandum of understanding concerning cooperation on civil aviation security

Fact sheet:  
Defense conversion

Fact sheet:  
Memorandum of understanding on disaster assistance

Fact sheet:  
Agreement on emergency medical supplies and related assistance

Fact sheet:  
Energy sector cooperation

Fact sheet:  
Food distribution

Fact sheet:  
Memorandum of understanding on housing and economic development

Fact sheet:  
Special association of the Soviet Union

Fact sheet:  
Soviet-U.S. tax and investment treaties

Fact sheet:  
U.S. technical assistance for the Soviet Union

Fact sheet:  
Protocol on technical economic cooperation

Fact sheet:  
Soviet-U.S. trade agreement

Fact sheet:  
Restriction on trade, credit, and credit guarantees to the Soviet Union

Announcement:  
Upcoming U.S. Department of Energy-sponsored workshop with the Soviet Union on fossil fuel technologies

*Released July 31*

Advance text:  
Remarks to Soviet and U.S. businessmen in Moscow

Transcript:  
Interview of Barbara Bush by Steve Fox, ABC News

Transcript:  
Interview of Barbara Bush by Paula Zahn, CBS News

Transcript:  
Interview of Barbara Bush by Jim Miklaszewski, NBC News

Transcript:  
Interview of Barbara Bush by Bernard Shaw, CNN News

Transcript:  
Press briefing on the START treaty—by Linton Brooks, Head of the U.S. Delegation to the Nuclear and Space Talks

Advance text:  
Remarks at the signing ceremony for the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty in Moscow

Advance text:  
Remarks at a dinner hosted by President Bush in Moscow

Fact sheet:  
Initiatives on expanded space cooperation

Announcement:  
Nomination of David R. Hansen to be U.S. Circuit Judge for the Eighth Circuit

*Released August 1*

Advance text:  
Remarks at the departure ceremony in Moscow

Advance text:  
Remarks at a luncheon in Kiev, Soviet Union

Advance text:  
Remarks to the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of the Ukraine in Kiev, Soviet Union

Joint statement:  
Yugoslavia

*Appendix C / Administration of George Bush, 1991*

Joint statement:  
Middle East

*Released August 22*

Joint statement:  
Cooperation in Central America

Fact sheet:  
Reduction of Bolivia's debt

Announcement:  
Nomination of Garland E. Burrell, Jr., to be U.S. District Judge for the Eastern District of California

*Released August 23*

Fact sheet:  
Reduction of Jamaica's debt

Announcement:  
Nomination of C. Wesley Phinney, Jr., to be U.S. Marshal for the District of Maine

*Released August 27*

Transcript:  
Press briefing on the situation in the Soviet Union—by Robert S. Strauss, U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union

Announcement:  
Nomination of Philip G. Reinhard to be U.S. District Judge for the Northern District of Illinois

*Released September 2*

Announcement:  
Nomination of Julie E. Carnes to be U.S. District Judge for the Northern District of Georgia

Fact sheet:  
Food assistance for the U.S.S.R.

Announcement:  
Nomination of Jon P. McCalla to be U.S. District Judge for the Western District of Tennessee

Fact sheet:  
Expanded medical assistance program for the U.S.S.R.

*Released August 2*

*Released September 4*

Announcement:  
Nomination of David A. Faber to be U.S. District Judge for the Southern District of West Virginia

Announcement:  
Nomination of Jerry G. Cunningham to be U.S. Attorney for the Eastern District of Tennessee

*Released August 6*

*Released September 6*

Advance text:  
Remarks at a kickoff ceremony for the eighth annual National Night Out Against Crime in Arlington, VA

Advance text:  
Remarks to the National Association of Towns and Townships

*Released August 9*

Fact sheet:  
Protecting America's wetlands

Transcript:  
Press briefing on the economy—by Michael Boskin, Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers

*Released August 13*

Fact sheet:  
National security strategy report

Announcement:  
Nomination of Nancy G. Edmunds to be U.S. District Judge for the Eastern District of Michigan

*Released August 14*

Announcement:  
Statement by John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President, on the death of Gov. Richard A. Snelling of Vermont

Announcement:  
Nomination of David W. McKeague to be U.S. District Judge for the Western District of Michigan

*Released August 19*

*Released September 9*

Transcript:  
Press briefing on the attempted coup in the Soviet Union—by Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

Announcement:  
Nomination of Joe B. McDade to be U.S. District Judge for the Central District of Illinois

*Released September 10*

Transcript:  
Press briefing on the visit of President Abdou Diouf of Senegal—by Herman J. Cohen, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs

*Released September 11*

Fact sheet:  
Housing guaranty program for Central and Eastern Europe

Fact sheet:  
U.S. assistance to Poland

Announcement:  
Nomination of Franklin S. Van Antwerpen to be U.S. Circuit Judge for the Third District of Pennsylvania

Advance text:  
Remarks at the Stan Scott tribute dinner

*Released September 12*

Advance text:  
Remarks to the National Association of Broadcasters annual radio convention

Advance text:  
Remarks at the Department of Veterans Affairs Medical Center in Philadelphia, PA

Advance text:  
Remarks at a fundraising dinner for senatorial candidate Dick Thornburgh in Philadelphia, PA

Advance text:  
Remarks to Disabled American Veterans

Announcement:  
Nomination of Frederick J. Scullin, Jr., to be U.S. District Judge for the Northern District of New York

*Released September 16*

Fact sheet:  
Establishment of Presidential Faculty Fellows Program

*Released September 17*

Transcript:  
Press briefing on the visit of President Alberto Fujimori of Peru—by Bernard W. Aronson, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs

Announcement:  
Foreign acquisition of Timeplex, Inc.

Advance text:  
Remarks to families of British soldiers killed during the Persian Gulf conflict

*Released September 18*

Advance text:  
Remarks upon arrival in Salt Lake City, UT

Advance text:  
Remarks to the staff of the Primary Children's Medical Center in Salt Lake City, UT

Fact sheet:  
Healthy Start initiative

Advance text:  
Remarks at a Republican Party fundraising dinner in Salt Lake City, UT

*Released September 19*

Advance text:  
Remarks at a fundraising breakfast for Senator Bob Packwood in Portland, OR

Advance text:  
Remarks at a fundraising dinner for Senator John Seymour in Los Angeles, CA

Fact sheet:  
Interstate 105, Los Angeles, CA

*Released September 20*

Advance text:  
Remarks at the annual convention of the United States Hispanic Chamber of Commerce in Chicago, IL

Announcement:  
Nomination of Emmet Gael Sullivan to be an Associate Judge of the District of Columbia Court of Appeals

Announcement:  
Nomination of John M. Roll to be United States District Judge for the District of Arizona

Announcement:  
Nomination of Reggie Barnett Walton to be an Associate Judge of the Superior Court of the District of Columbia

*Released September 23*

Transcript:  
Press briefing on the President's meeting with United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar—by John Bolton, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organizations

**Transcript:**

Press briefing on President Bush's meeting with Presidents Fernando Collor de Mello of Brazil and Alfredo Cristiani Buckard of El Salvador—by Bernard Aronson, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs

**Transcript:**

Press briefing on President Bush's meeting with President Roh Tae Woo of the Republic of Korea—by Richard Solomon, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs

**Announcement:**

Nomination of Steven D. Merryday to be U.S. District Judge for the Middle District of Florida

*Released September 24*

**Transcript:**

Press briefing on President Bush's meeting with President Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia—by Richard Solomon, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs

**Transcript:**

Press briefing on his meeting with President Bush—by Foreign Minister Boris Pankin of the Soviet Union

*Released September 26*

**Transcript:**

Press briefing on the state visit of King Hassan II of Morocco—by Frederick Vreeland, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs

*Released September 27*

**Announcement:**

Nomination of Ernest Wilson Williams to be U.S. Attorney for the Middle District of Tennessee

**Fact sheet:**

Presidential initiative on nuclear arms

*Released September 30*

**Advance text:**

Remarks at the Points of Light celebration in Orlando, FL

**Advance text:**

Remarks at the Beacon Council annual meeting in Miami, FL

**Advance text:**

Remarks at a fundraising dinner for Gov. Buddy Roemer in New Orleans, LA

*Released October 1*

**Announcement:**

Nomination of two Judges of the U.S. Court of Military Appeals

*Released October 2*

**Advance text:**

Remarks at the 12th annual Crime Stoppers International Conference in Louisville, KY

*Released October 4*

**Announcement:**

Nomination of K. Michael Moore to be United States District Judge for the Southern District of Florida

*Released October 10*

**Transcript:**

Press briefing on the visit of President Calderón of Costa Rica—by Bernard Aronson, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs

*Released October 15*

**Advance text:**

Remarks at the dedication of the National Law Enforcement Officers Memorial

*Released October 18*

**Transcript:**

Press briefing on the Middle East peace conference—by Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater

**Announcement:**

Nomination of Lillian R. BeVier to be U.S. Circuit Court Judge for the Fourth Circuit of Virginia

*Released October 21*

**Announcement:**

Nomination of Terrence W. Boyle to be U.S. Circuit Judge for the Fourth Circuit

*Released October 22*

**Announcement:**

Nomination of Robert L. Echols to be U.S. District Judge for the Middle District of Tennessee

**Announcement:**

Nomination of Thomas K. Moore to be a Judge of the District Court of the Virgin Islands

**Announcement:**

Nomination of Henry C. Morgan, Jr., to be U.S. District Judge for the Eastern District of Virginia

Fact sheet:

U.S. assistance to the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic

Statement:

Investigation of the Bank of Credit and Commerce International

Transcript:

Press briefing on the visit of President Václav Havel of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic—by Thomas Niles, Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs

*Released October 23*

Fact sheet:

Executive order on civil justice reform

Advance text:

Remarks at the Veterans of the Office of Strategic Services dinner

Announcement:

Nomination of Kevin V. Schieffer to be U.S. Attorney for the District of South Dakota

*Released October 24*

Announcement:

Nomination of Jimm Larry Hendren to be U.S. District Judge for the Western District of Arkansas

*Released October 25*

Transcript:

Press briefing on civil rights legislation—by C. Boyden Gray, Counsel to the President

*Released October 30*

Transcript:

Press briefing on the Middle East peace conference—by Secretary of State James A. Baker III

*Released October 31*

Announcement:

Presidential Medals for Environmental Achievements

Advance text:

Remarks at the Bush-Quayle fundraising dinner in Houston, TX

*Released November 1*

Advance text:

Remarks to Marlow Industries employees in Dallas, TX

*Released November 4*

Transcript:

Remarks by former President Richard Nixon at the dedication of the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library in Simi Valley, CA

Transcript:

Remarks by former President Gerald Ford at the dedication of the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library in Simi Valley, CA

Transcript:

Remarks by former President Jimmy Carter at the dedication of the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library in Simi Valley, CA

Transcript:

Remarks by former President Ronald Reagan at the dedication of the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library in Simi Valley, CA

*Released November 5*

Announcement:

Nomination of Morris S. Arnold to be United States Circuit Judge for the Eighth Circuit

Announcement:

Nomination of Roderick R. McKelvie to be United States District Judge for the District of Delaware

Announcement:

Nomination of John R. Padova to be United States District Judge for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania

Transcript:

Press briefing on the NATO summit—by Secretary of State James A. Baker III

*Released November 7*

Advance text:

Remarks to NATO summit

Transcript:

Press briefing on the NATO summit—by Secretary of State James A. Baker III

*Released November 8*

Fact sheet:

NATO summit

Fact sheet:

Highlights of principal initiatives

Fact sheet:

NATO's new strategic concept

*Appendix C / Administration of George Bush, 1991*

Fact sheet:  
Expanding and institutionalizing the liaison program

Fact sheet:  
Developments in the Soviet Union

Fact sheet:  
Strengthening the European identity in security and defense

Fact sheet:  
Further strengthening of the CSCE

*Released November 9*

Advance text:  
Remarks at a luncheon hosted by Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers of The Netherlands in The Hague

Joint statement:  
European Community-U.S. statement on peaceful and democratic transformation in Eastern Europe

Joint statement:  
European Community-U.S. statement on arms transfer register

*Released November 12*

Announcement:  
Nomination of George L. O'Connell to be U.S. Attorney for the Eastern District of California

Announcement:  
Nomination of Andrew P. O'Rourke to be U.S. District Judge for the Southern District of New York

Advance text:  
Remarks to the Asia Society in New York City

*Released November 13*

Announcement:  
Nomination of Joseph E. Irenas to be U.S. District Judge for the District of New Jersey

Announcement:  
Nomination of Donald J. Stohr to be U.S. District Judge for the Eastern District of Missouri

Announcement:  
Nomination of Francis A. Keating II, to be U.S. Circuit Judge for the Tenth Circuit of Oklahoma

Announcement:  
Nomination of Tony M. Graham to be U.S. District Judge for the Northern District of Oklahoma

Announcement:  
Nomination of William B. Traxler, Jr., to be U.S. District Judge for the District of South Carolina

Announcement:  
Nomination of Ira DeMent to be U.S. District Judge for the Middle District of Alabama

Advance text:  
Remarks to the Future Farmers of America in Kansas City, MO

Advance text:  
Remarks at a fundraising dinner for Senator Christopher S. Bond in St. Louis, MO

*Released November 19*

Advance text:  
Remarks at a luncheon for the National Republican Congressional Committee

Announcement:  
Nomination of Paul J. Kelly, Jr., to be U.S. Circuit Judge for the Tenth Circuit

Announcement:  
Nomination of Carlos Bea to be U.S. District Judge for the Northern District of California

Announcement:  
Nomination of Timothy D. Leonard to be U.S. District Judge for the Western District of Oklahoma

Announcement:  
Nomination of Robert E. Payne to be U.S. District Judge for the Eastern District of Virginia

Announcement:  
Nomination of Ewing Werlein, Jr., to be U.S. District Judge for the Southern District of Texas

*Released November 22*

Announcement:  
Nomination of Anita A. Brody to be U.S. District Judge for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania

*Released November 25*

Announcement:  
Nomination of Ursula Mancusi Ungaro to be U.S. District Judge for the Southern District of Florida

*Released November 26*

Announcement:  
Nomination of James B. Franklin to be U.S. District Judge for the Southern District of Georgia

Announcement:  
Nomination of David J. Jordan to be U.S. Attorney for the District of Utah

Announcement:

Nomination of Eduardo C. Robreno to be U.S. District Judge for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania

*Released December 5*

Fact sheet:

Acceleration Project

*Released December 6*

Transcript:

Press briefing on the resignation of John H. Sununu, Chief of Staff to the President

*Released December 7*

Advance text:

Remarks to the Pearl Harbor Survivors Association in Honolulu, HI

Advance text:

Remarks at a ceremony commemorating the 50th anniversary of Pearl Harbor

Advance text:

Remarks to World War II veterans and families in Honolulu, HI

*Released December 9*

Fact sheet:

High-performance computing and communications

*Released December 12*

Transcript:

Press briefing on the meeting with Prime Minister Constantinos Mitsotakis of Greece—by Thomas Niles, Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs

Transcript:

Press briefing on the North American free trade agreement negotiations—by Carla A. Hills, U.S. Trade Representative

*Released December 13*

Transcript:

Press briefing on the Soviet Union and the Republics—by Secretary of State James A. Baker III

*Released December 16*

Advance text:

Remarks on signing the proclamation commemorating the bicentennial of the Bill of Rights in Orange County, VA

*Released December 18*

Advance text:

Remarks on signing the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act of 1991

Advance text:

Remarks to the American Association of State Highway and Transportation Officials in Dallas, TX

Fact sheet:

Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act

*Released December 20*

Transcript:

Press briefing on the President's trip to Australia, Singapore, Korea, and Japan—by Chief of Staff Samuel K. Skinner and Secretary of Commerce Robert A. Mosbacher

*Released December 25*

Advance text:

Address to the Nation on the Commonwealth of Independent States

*Released December 26*

Fact sheet:

U.S. Policy on Foreign Direct Investment

Announcement:

Nomination of four Associate Judges of the Superior Court of the District of Columbia





## *Appendix D—Acts Approved by the President*

### *Approved July 2*

H.R. 2332 / Public Law 102-65

To amend the Immigration Act of 1990 to extend for 4 months the application deadline for special temporary protected status for Salvadorans

H.J. Res. 259 / Public Law 102-66

Designating July 2, 1991, as “National Literacy Day”

### *Approved July 9*

H.R. 749 / Public Law 102-67

To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to accept a donation of land for addition to the Ocmulgee National Monument in the State of Georgia

H.J. Res. 72 / Public Law 102-68

To designate December 7, 1991, as “National Pearl Harbor Remembrance Day”

### *Approved July 10*

H.J. Res. 138 / Public Law 102-69

Designating the week beginning July 21, 1991, as “Lyme Disease Awareness Week”

H.J. Res. 149 / Public Law 102-70

Designating March 1991 and March 1992 both as “Women’s History Month”

S. 674 / Public Law 102-71

To designate the building in Monterey, Tennessee, which houses the primary operations of the United States Postal Service as the “J.E. (Eddie) Russell Post Office Building”, and for other purposes

### *Approved July 23*

H.J. Res. 255 / Public Law 102-72

Designating the week beginning July 21, 1991, as the “Korean War Veterans Remembrance Week”

### *Approved July 25*

H.R. 751 / Public Law 102-73

National Literacy Act of 1991

### *Approved July 26*

H.J. Res. 279 / Public Law 102-74

To declare it to be the policy of the United States that there should be a renewed and sustained

commitment by the Federal Government and the American people to the importance of adult education

H.R. 427 / Public Law 102-75

To disclaim any interests of the United States in certain lands on San Juan Island, Washington, and for other purposes

H.R. 998 / Public Law 102-76

To designate the building in Vacherie, Louisiana, which houses the primary operations of the United States Postal Service as the “John Richard Haydel Post Office Building”

H.R. 2347 / Public Law 102-77

To redesignate the Midland General Mail Facility in Midland, Texas, as the “Carl O. Hyde General Mail Facility”, and for other purposes

### *Approved August 2*

S.J. Res. 121 / Public Law 102-78

Designating September 12, 1991, as “National D.A.R.E. Day”

### *Approved August 6*

H.J. Res. 181 / Public Law 102-79

Designating the third Sunday of August of 1991 as “National Senior Citizens Day”

S.J. Res. 40 / Public Law 102-80

Designating the week beginning September 8, 1991, and the week beginning September 6, 1992, each as “National Historically Black Colleges Week”

S.J. Res. 142 / Public Law 102-81

To designate the week beginning July 28, 1991, as “National Juvenile Arthritis Awareness Week”

H.R. 153 / Public Law 102-82

To amend title 38, United States Code, to make miscellaneous administrative and technical improvements in the operation of the United States Court of Veterans Appeals, and for other purposes

H.R. 2525 / Public Law 102-83

Department of Veterans Affairs Codification Act

*Appendix D / Administration of George Bush, 1991*

*Approved August 10*

H.R. 1779 / Public Law 102-84

To designate the Federal building being constructed at 77 West Jackson Boulevard in Chicago, Illinois, as the "Ralph H. Metcalfe Federal Building"

S.J. Res. 179 / Public Law 102-85

To designate the week beginning August 25, 1991, as "National Parks Week"

*Approved August 14*

H.R. 1047 / Public Law 102-86

Veterans' Benefits Programs Improvement Act of 1991

H.R. 1448 / Public Law 102-87

To amend the Act of May 12, 1920 (41 Stat. 596), to allow the city of Pocatello, Idaho, to use certain lands for a correctional facility for women, and for other purposes

H.R. 1455 / Public Law 102-88

Intelligence Authorization Act, Fiscal Year 1991

H.R. 2031 / Public Law 102-89

Rural Telephone Cooperative Associations ERISA Amendments Act of 1991

H.R. 2506 / Public Law 102-90

Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1992

H.R. 2901 / Public Law 102-91

To authorize the transfer by lease of 4 naval vessels to the Government of Greece

H.J. Res. 166 / Public Law 102-92

To designate September 13, 1991, as "Commodore John Barry Day"

H.J. Res. 264 / Public Law 102-93

Designating August 1, 1991, as "Helsinki Human Rights Day"

H.J. Res. 309 / Public Law 102-94

Designating August 29, 1991, as "National Sarcoidosis Awareness Day"

S. 1593 / Public Law 102-95

National Commission on Libraries and Information Science Act Amendments of 1991

S. 1594 / Public Law 102-96

Terry Beirn Community Based AIDS Research Initiative Act of 1991

S.J. Res. 72 / Public Law 102-97

To designate the week of September 15, 1991, through September 21, 1991, as "National Rehabilitation Week"

*Approved August 17*

H.R. 904 / Public Law 102-98

African American History Landmark Theme Study Act

H.R. 991 / Public Law 102-99

Defense Production Act Extension and Amendments of 1991

H.R. 1006 / Public Law 102-100

Federal Maritime Commission Authorization Act of 1991

H.R. 1143 / Public Law 102-101

To authorize a study of nationally significant places in American labor history

H.R. 2123 / Public Law 102-102

District of Columbia Budgetary Efficiency Act of 1991

H.R. 2313 / Public Law 102-103

To amend the School Dropout Demonstration Assistance Act of 1988 to extend authorization of appropriations through fiscal year 1993, and for other purposes

H.R. 2427 / Public Law 102-104

Energy and Water Development Appropriations Act, 1992

H.R. 2968 / Public Law 102-105

To waive the period of Congressional review for certain District of Columbia acts

H.R. 2969 / Public Law 102-106

District of Columbia Emergency Deficit Reduction Act of 1991

H.R. 3201 / Public Law 102-107

Emergency Unemployment Compensation Act of 1991

S. 1608 / Public Law 102-108

To make Technical Amendments to the Nutrition Information and Labeling Act, and for other purposes

*Approved September 30*

H.J. Res. 332 / Public Law 102-109

Making continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1992, and for other purposes

*Approved October 1*

S. 296 / Public Law 102-110

Armed Forces Immigration Adjustment Act of 1991

H.R. 3291 / Public Law 102-111

Making appropriations for the government of the District of Columbia and other activities chargeable in whole or in part against the revenues of said District for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1992, and for other purposes

*Approved October 3*

H.J. Res. 23 / Public Law 102-112

To authorize the President to issue a proclamation designating each of the weeks beginning on November 24, 1991, and November 22, 1992, as "National Family Week"

H.J. Res. 233 / Public Law 102-113

Designating September 20, 1991, as "National POW/MIA Recognition Day", and authorizing display of the National League of Families POW/MIA flag

S.J. Res. 73 / Public Law 102-114

Designating October 1991 as "National Domestic Violence Awareness Month"

S.J. Res. 125 / Public Law 102-115

To designate October 1991 as "Polish-American Heritage Month"

S.J. Res. 126 / Public Law 102-116

To designate the second Sunday in October of 1991 as "National Children's Day"

S.J. Res. 151 / Public Law 102-117

To designate October 6, 1991, and October 6, 1992, as "German-American Day"

*Approved October 4*

S. 363 / Public Law 102-118

To authorize the addition of 15 acres to Morristown National Historical Park

*Approved October 7*

S. 1106 / Public Law 102-119

Individuals with Disabilities Education Act Amendments of 1991

S.J. Res. 95 / Public Law 102-120

Designating October 1991 as "National Breast Cancer Awareness Month"

*Approved October 8*

S.J. Res. 78 / Public Law 102-121

To designate the month of November 1991 and 1992 as "National Hospice Month"

S.J. Res. 156 / Public Law 102-122

To designate the week of October 6, 1991, through October 12, 1991, as "Mental Illness Awareness Week"

*Approved October 9*

S.J. Res. 172 / Public Law 102-123

To authorize and request the President to proclaim each of the months of November 1991 and 1992 as "National American Indian Heritage Month"

S. 1773 / Public Law 102-124

To extend until October 18, 1991, the legislative reinstatement of the power of Indian tribes to exercise criminal jurisdiction over Indians

*Approved October 10*

H.J. Res. 189 / Public Law 102-125

Designating October 8, 1991, as "National Firefighters Day"

H.J. Res. 305 / Public Law 102-126

To designate the month of October 1991, as "Country Music Month"

S. 868 / Public Law 102-127

Veterans' Educational Assistance Amendments of 1991

S.J. Res. 132 / Public Law 102-128

To designate the week of October 13, 1991, through October 19, 1991, as "National Radon Action Week"

*Approved October 15*

H.R. 2935 / Public Law 102-129

To designate the building located at 6600 Lorain Avenue in Cleveland, Ohio, as the "Patrick J. Patton United States Post Office Building"

*Approved October 17*

H.R. 2387 / Public Law 102-130

Striped Bass Act of 1991

H.J. Res. 303 / Public Law 102-131

To designate October 1991 as "Crime Prevention Month"

*Approved October 18*

H.R. 3259 / Public Law 102-132

To authorize appropriations for drug abuse education and prevention programs relating to youth gangs and to runaway and homeless youth; and for other purposes

S.J. Res. 107 / Public Law 102-133

To designate October 15, 1991, as "National Law Enforcement Memorial Dedication Day"

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*Approved October 21*

H.J. Res. 230 / Public Law 102-134  
Designating October 16, 1991, and October 16, 1992, each as "World Food Day"

*Approved October 24*

H.R. 3280 / Public Law 102-135  
Decennial Census Improvement Act of 1991

*Approved October 25*

H.R. 2426 / Public Law 102-136  
Military Construction Appropriations Act, 1992

*Approved October 28*

H.R. 972 / Public Law 102-137  
To make permanent the legislative reinstatement, following the decision of Duro against Reina (58 U.S.L.W. 4643, May 29, 1990), of the power of Indian tribes to exercise criminal jurisdiction over Indians

H.R. 1415 / Public Law 102-138  
Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1992 and 1993

H.R. 2519 / Public Law 102-139  
Departments of Veterans Affairs and Housing and Urban Development, and Independent Agencies Appropriations Act, 1992

H.R. 2608 / Public Law 102-140  
Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1992

H.R. 2622 / Public Law 102-141  
Treasury, Postal Service and General Government Appropriations Act, 1992

H.R. 2698 / Public Law 102-142  
Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1992

H.R. 2942 / Public Law 102-143  
Department of Transportation and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1992

H.J. Res. 340 / Public Law 102-144  
To designate October 19 through 27, 1991 as "National Red Ribbon Week for a Drug-Free America"

H.J. Res. 360 / Public Law 102-145  
Making further continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1992, and for other purposes

S.J. Res. 131 / Public Law 102-146  
Designating October 1991 as "National Down Syndrome Awareness Month"

S.J. Res. 192 / Public Law 102-147  
Designating October 30, 1991 as "Refugee Day"

*Approved October 30*

H.R. 470 / Public Law 102-148  
To authorize the Secretary of Transportation to release the restrictions, requirements, and conditions imposed in connection with the conveyance of certain lands to the city of Gary, Indiana

S.J. Res. 160 / Public Law 102-149  
Designating the week beginning October 20, 1991, as "World Population Awareness Week"

*Approved October 31*

H.R. 1720 / Public Law 102-150  
District of Columbia Mental Health Program Assistance Act of 1991

*Approved November 5*

S. 1823 / Public Law 102-151  
To amend the Veterans' Benefit and Services Act of 1988 to authorize the Department of Veterans Affairs to use for the operation and maintenance of the National Memorial Cemetery of Arizona funds appropriated during fiscal year 1992 for the National Cemetery System

*Approved November 12*

H.R. 1046 / Public Law 102-152  
Veterans' Compensation Rate Amendments of 1991

H.J. Res. 280 / Public Law 102-153  
To designate the week beginning November 10, 1991, as "Hire a Veteran Week"

*Approved November 13*

H.R. 2686 / Public Law 102-154  
Department of the Interior and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1992

H.J. Res. 175 / Public Law 102-155  
To designate the weeks beginning December 1, 1991, and November 29, 1992, as "National Home Care Week"

H.J. Res. 177 / Public Law 102-156  
To designate November 16, 1991, as "Dutch-American Heritage Day"

H.J. Res. 281 / Public Law 102-157

Approving the extension of nondiscriminatory treatment with respect to the products of the Mongolian People's Republic

H.J. Res. 282 / Public Law 102-158

Approving the extension of nondiscriminatory treatment with respect to the products of the People's Republic of Bulgaria

S. 1848 / Public Law 102-159

Dropout Prevention Technical Correction Amendment of 1991

S.J. Res. 36 / Public Law 102-160

To designate the months of November 1991, and November 1992, as "National Alzheimer's Disease Month"

S.J. Res. 145 / Public Law 102-161

Designating the week beginning November 10, 1991, as "National Women Veterans Recognition Week"

S.J. Res. 188 / Public Law 102-162

Designating November 1991 as "National Red Ribbon Month"

*Approved November 15*

H.J. Res. 374 / Public Law 102-163

Making further continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1992, and for other purposes

H.R. 3575 / Public Law 102-164

Emergency Unemployment Compensation Act of 1991

*Approved November 18*

H.J. Res. 140 / Public Law 102-165

Designating November 19, 1991, as "National Philanthropy Day"

*Approved November 21*

S. 1745 / Public Law 102-166

Civil Rights Act of 1991

*Approved November 26*

H.R. 3350 / Public Law 102-167

United States Commission on Civil Rights Reauthorization Act of 1991

H.R. 3402 / Public Law 102-168

Health Information, Health Promotion, and Vaccine Injury Compensation Amendments of 1991

H.J. Res. 215 / Public Law 102-169

Acknowledging the sacrifices that military families have made on behalf of the Nation and designating November 25, 1991, as "National Military Families Recognition Day"

H.R. 3839 / Public Law 102-170

Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1992

S. 374 / Public Law 102-171

Aroostook Band of Micmacs Settlement Act

H.R. 2521 / Public Law 102-172

Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 1992

*Approved November 27*

S. 1475 / Public Law 102-173

Protection and Advocacy for Mentally Ill Individuals Amendments Act of 1991

S.J. Res. 207 / Public Law 102-174

To designate the period commencing on November 24, 1991, and ending on November 30, 1991, and the period commencing on November 22, 1992, and ending on November 28, 1992, each as "National Adoption Week"

*Approved December 2*

H.R. 2270 / Public Law 102-175

Senior Executive Service Improvements Act

H.J. Res. 125 / Public Law 102-176

To designate the week beginning November 24, 1991, and the week beginning November 22, 1992, each as "National Family Caregivers Week"

H.J. Res. 130 / Public Law 102-177

Designating January 1, 1992, as "National Ellis Island Day"

H.J. Res. 327 / Public Law 102-178

Designating 1992 as the "Year of the Gulf of Mexico"

S. 1568 / Public Law 102-179

To amend the Act incorporating The American Legion so as to redefine eligibility for membership therein

S. 1720 / Public Law 102-180

Navajo-Hopi Relocation Housing Program Reauthorization Act of 1991

*Approved December 3*

H.R. 3728 / Public Law 102-181

To provide for a 6-month extension of the Commission on the Bicentennial of the Constitution

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*Approved December 4*

H.R. 1724 / Public Law 102-182  
To provide for the termination of the application of title IV of the Trade Act of 1974 to Czechoslovakia and Hungary

H.R. 2038 / Public Law 102-183  
Intelligence Authorization Act, Fiscal Year 1992

H.R. 3394 / Public Law 102-184  
Tribal Self-Governance Demonstration Project Act

H.R. 3624 / Public Law 102-185  
To amend the Tariff Act of 1930 to provide appropriate procedures for the appointment of the Chairman of the United States International Trade Commission

S. 1563 / Public Law 102-186  
National Sea Grant College Program Authorization Act of 1991

S.J. Res. 187 / Public Law 102-187  
To make a technical correction in Public Law 101-549

S.J. Res. 217 / Public Law 102-188  
To authorize and request the President to proclaim 1992 as the "Year of the American Indian"

H.J. Res. 201 / Public Law 102-189  
Designating the week beginning December 1, 1991, and the week beginning November 15, 1992, each as "Geography Awareness Week"

*Approved December 5*

H.R. 2100 / Public Law 102-190  
National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1992 and 1993

H.R. 2629 / Public Law 102-191  
Women's Business Development Act of 1991

S.J. Res. 184 / Public Law 102-192  
Designating the month of November 1991, as "National Accessible Housing Month"

*Approved December 6*

H.R. 3919 / Public Law 102-193  
To temporarily extend the Defense Production Act of 1950

*Approved December 9*

S. 272 / Public Law 102-194  
High-Performance Computing Act of 1991

H.R. 1988 / Public Law 102-195  
National Aeronautics and Space Administration Authorization Act, Fiscal Year 1992

H.R. 3370 / Public Law 102-196  
To direct the Secretary of the Interior to carry out a study and make recommendations to the Congress regarding the feasibility of establishing a Native American cultural center in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

H.J. Res. 346 / Public Law 102-197  
Approving the extension of nondiscriminatory treatment with respect to the products of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

S. 1284 / Public Law 102-198  
To make certain technical corrections in the Judicial Improvements Act of 1990 and other provisions of law relating to the courts

*Approved December 10*

H.R. 525 / Public Law 102-199  
To amend the Federal charter for the Boys' Clubs of America to reflect the change of the name of the organization to the Boys & Girls Clubs of America

H.R. 829 / Public Law 102-200  
To amend title 28, United States Code, to make changes in the composition of the Eastern and Western Districts of Virginia

H.R. 848 / Public Law 102-201  
Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument

H.R. 990 / Public Law 102-202  
To authorize additional appropriations for land acquisition at Monocacy National Battlefield, Maryland

H.R. 3322 / Public Law 102-203  
To designate the building in St. Louis, Missouri, which is currently known as the Wellston Station, as the "Gwen B. Giles Post Office Building"

H.R. 3531 / Public Law 102-204  
Patent and Trademark Office Authorization Act of 1991

H.R. 3709 / Public Law 102-205  
To waive the period of Congressional review for certain District of Columbia acts

H.J. Res. 191 / Public Law 102-206  
Designating January 5, 1992 through January 11, 1992 as "National Law Enforcement Training Week"

H.J. Res. 212 / Public Law 102-207  
To designate the week beginning February 16, 1992, as "National Visiting Nurse Associations Week"

H.J. Res. 300 / Public Law 102-208  
Designating the month of May 1992 as "National Trauma Awareness Month"

H.J. Res. 356 / Public Law 102-209  
Designating December 1991 as "Bicentennial of the District of Columbia Month"

H.J. Res. 372 / Public Law 102-210  
Designating December 21, 1991, as "Basketball Centennial Day"

*Approved December 11*

H.R. 690 / Public Law 102-211  
To authorize the National Park Service to acquire and manage the Mary McLeod Bethune Council House National Historic Site, and for other purposes

H.R. 794 / Public Law 102-212  
To establish the Silvio O. Conte National Fish and Wildlife Refuge along the Connecticut River, and for other purposes

H.R. 948 / Public Law 102-213  
To designate the United States courthouse located at 120 North Henry Street in Madison, Wisconsin, as the "Robert W. Kastenmeier United States Courthouse"

H.R. 1099 / Public Law 102-214  
Lamprey River Study Act of 1991

H.R. 3012 / Public Law 102-215  
White Clay Creek Study Act

H.R. 3169 / Public Law 102-216  
To lengthen from five to seven years the expiration period applicable to legislative authority relating to construction of commemorative works on Federal land in the District of Columbia and its environs

H.R. 3245 / Public Law 102-217  
Chattahoochee National Forest Protection Act of 1991

H.R. 3327 / Public Law 102-218  
To amend title 38, United States Code, to provide for the designation of an Assistant Secretary of the Department of Veterans Affairs as the Chief Minority Affairs Officer of the Department

H.R. 3387 / Public Law 102-219  
To amend the Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation Act of 1972 to authorize appropriations for implementation of the development plan for Pennsylvania Avenue between the Capitol and the White House, and for other purposes

H.R. 3604 / Public Law 102-220  
Green Spring Acquisition and Protection Act of 1991

H.R. 3932 / Public Law 102-221  
To improve the operational efficiency of the James Madison Memorial Fellowship Foundation, and for other purposes

S. 2050 / Public Law 102-222  
To ensure that the ceiling established with respect to health education assistance loans does not prohibit the provision of Federal loan insurance to new and previous borrowers under such loan program, and for other purposes

S. 2098 / Public Law 102-223  
To authorize the President to appoint Major General Jerry Ralph Curry to the Office of Administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration

S.J. Res. 198 / Public Law 102-224  
To recognize contributions Federal civilian employees provided during the attack on Pearl Harbor and during World War II

H.R. 3881 / Public Law 102-225  
To expand the boundaries of Stones River National Battlefield, Tennessee, and for other purposes

H.R. 2105 / Public Law 102-226  
To designate an area as the "Myrtle Foester Whitmire Division of the Aransas National Wildlife Refuge"

H.R. 3909 / Public Law 102-227  
Tax Extension Act of 1991

S. 159 / Private Law 102-1  
For the relief of Maria Erica Bartschi

*Approved December 12*

H.R. 3807 / Public Law 102-228  
Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty Implementation Act of 1991

H.J. Res. 157 / Public Law 102-229  
Dire Emergency Supplemental Appropriations and Transfers for Relief From the Effects of Natural Disasters, for Other Urgent Needs, and for Incremental Cost of 'Operation Desert Shield/Desert Storm' Act of 1992

H.R. 3576 / Public Law 102-230  
To amend the Cranston-Gonzalez National Affordable Housing Act to reserve assistance under the HOME Investment Partnerships Act for certain insular areas



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H.R. 1476 / Public Law 102-231  
San Carlos Indian Irrigation Project Divestiture  
Act of 1991

H.R. 3049 / Public Law 102-232  
Miscellaneous and Technical Immigration and  
Naturalization Amendments of 1991

H.R. 3435 / Public Law 102-233  
Resolution Trust Corporation Refinancing, Re-  
structuring, and Improvement Act of 1991

H.R. 3595 / Public Law 102-234  
Medicaid Voluntary Contribution and Provider-  
Specific Tax Amendments of 1991

S. 367 / Public Law 102-235  
Nontraditional Employment for Women Act

S. 1532 / Public Law 102-236  
Abandoned Infants Assistance Act Amendments  
of 1991

H.R. 635 / Private Law 102-2  
For the relief of Abby Cooke

*Approved December 13*

H.R. 3029 / Public Law 102-237  
Food, Agriculture, Conservation, and Trade Act  
Amendments of 1991

*Approved December 17*

S. 1193 / Public Law 102-238  
Technical Amendments to Various Indian Laws  
Act of 1991

S. 1891 / Public Law 102-239  
To permit the Secretary of Health and Human  
Services to waive certain recovery requirements  
with respect to the construction or remodeling of  
facilities, and for other purposes

*Approved December 18*

H.R. 2950 / Public Law 102-240  
Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act  
of 1991

*Approved December 19*

H.R. 1776 / Public Law 102-241  
Coast Guard Authorization Act of 1991

S. 543 / Public Law 102-242  
Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation Improve-  
ment Act of 1991

*Approved December 20*

S. 1462 / Public Law 102-243  
Telephone Consumer Protection Act of 1991

## Appendix E—Proclamations and Executive Orders

*The texts of the proclamations and Executive orders are printed in the Federal Register (F.R.) at the citations listed below. The documents are also printed in title 3 of the Code of Federal Regulations and in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents.*

### PROCLAMATIONS

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6343	Sept. 28	To Implement an Accelerated Schedule of Duty Elimination Under the United States-Canada Free-Trade Agreement, To Make Technical and Conforming Changes to the Harmonized Tariff Schedule of the United States, and for Other Purposes.....	50003
6344	Oct. 1	White Cane Safety Day, 1991.....	50029
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6350	Oct. 8	National Disability Employment Awareness Month, 1991.....	51145
6351	Oct. 8	Mental Illness Awareness Week, 1991.....	51313
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EXECUTIVE ORDERS

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*The President named the following individuals and institutions as exemplars of his commitment to making community service central to the life and work of every American. The daily recognition program, which began on November 22, 1989, was a national tribute to voluntarism. The recipients for the period covered by this volume are listed in chronological order.*

John Smith, of Oklahoma City, OK  
Nancy Yoho, of Mansfield, OH  
Orville and Goldie Sharp, of Nobleton, FL  
Alvin, Gwendolyn, and Brittany Sims, of Chicago, IL  
St. Francis Conference—Devereaux Apartments, of Salem, OR  
Victor Valley Child Abuse Task Force, of Victorville, CA  
Yakima Greenway Foundation, of Yakima, WA  
Shofield Residence, of Kenmore, NY  
Columbus Youth Corps, of Columbus, OH  
KIRO, Inc., of Seattle, WA  
KiDsGyM USA, of College Park, GA  
Sgt. Michael Erickson, USAF, of San Angelo, TX  
John Post, of Hermosa Beach, CA  
Boys and Girls Clubs of Sarasota County, Inc., of Sarasota, FL  
Senior Life Enrichment Visitation Program, of Baltimore, MD  
Beginning Babies with Books, of St. Louis, MO  
ALPHA—"A Beginning" of Tampa, Inc., of Tampa, FL  
Patient Pride, of Paradise Valley, AZ  
Deborah Roberts, of Austin, TX  
Posada, of Pueblo, CO  
Estuary Council of Senior Clubs, of Clinton, CT  
Serenity House Pediatric AIDS Foundation, Inc., of Orlando, FL  
The American Variety Theatre Company, of Minneapolis, MN  
Zipper Club, of Roslyn, PA  
Ocie M. Harris, of Columbus, GA  
Operation Breakingthrough, of Newport News, VA  
Variety Preschooler's Workshop, of Syosset, NY  
Mel Blount, of Washington, PA  
Saint Joseph Ballet Company, of Santa Ana, CA

Headrest, of Lebanon, NH  
Parents Helping Parents, of San Jose, CA  
Womanline, of Dayton, OH  
Learn To Read of Northwest Florida, Inc., of Pensacola, FL  
Cornerstone Project, Inc., of Little Rock, AR  
J.R. Rosencrans, of Anderson, IN  
Human Service Alliance, of Winston-Salem, NC  
MediVan Project, of Fort Lauderdale, FL  
Jack Smith, of Sioux City, IA  
Edmonson Youth Outreach YMCA, of Omaha, NE  
Little Light House, of Tulsa, OK  
Methodist Medical Center, of Dallas, TX  
Age Center of Worcester Area, Inc., of Worcester, MA  
Step 13, of Denver, CO  
The Mendenhall Ministries, of Mendenhall, MS  
Juanita Blackmon, of Wichita, KS  
The Learning Place, of Syracuse, NY  
People Attempting To Help, of Tyler, TX  
St. Patrick Center, of St. Louis, MO  
Lola Reppenhagen, of Kenmore, NY  
Near North Little League, of Chicago, IL  
Religious Community Services, Inc., of Clearwater, FL  
Children's Home-Chambliss Shelter, of Chattanooga, TN  
Regula Josi, of Toledo, OH  
Eastman Chemical's Research Meals on Wheels Team, of Kingsport, TN  
Donaldini Cameron House, of San Francisco, CA  
Youth Crime Watch, of Dade County, FL  
Helping Our Brothers Out, Inc., of Austin, TX  
Hope House Ministries, of Port Jefferson, NY  
Wooster Volunteer Network at the College of Wooster, of Wooster, OH  
Community Intervention Program, of Wilmington, DE  
Literacy Education Action Program, of El Paso, TX  
Mesa County Partners, of Grand Junction, CO  
Sheilah Belle, of Richmond, VA  
Dennis Downs, of Anchorage, AK

*Appendix F / Administration of George Bush, 1991*

- Ruth Beard*, of Roanoke, VA  
*Spelman College students*, of Atlanta, GA  
*Indiana Literacy Coalition for the Deaf*, of Indianapolis, IN  
*Steve Elliott and his student volunteers*, of Cincinnati, OH  
*Aslan Youth Ministries*, of Red Bank, NJ  
*Tennis With a Different Swing, Inc.*, of Orlando, FL  
*Edward Sardisco*, of Rochester, NY  
*Liliana Narvaez*, of Los Angeles, CA  
*Hemet Honey Bears*, of Hemet, CA  
*Tillie Black Bear*, of St. Francis, SD  
*Bedford-Stuyvesant Volunteer Ambulance Corps*, of Brooklyn, NY  
*Children's Bereavement Art Group*, of Sacramento, CA  
*Ada Cooper*, of Statesboro, GA  
*Julie Harms*, of Houston, TX  
*Francis Wilson*, of Binghamton, NY  
*Anorexia Bulimia Care, Inc.*, of Lincoln Center, MA  
*Senior Volunteers of the Elvin Hill Elementary School*, of Columbiana, AL  
*Fresh Force*, of Minneapolis, MN  
*Match-Two Prisoner Outreach Program of the Richmond J. Donovan Correction Facility*, of San Diego, CA  
*Free Medical Clinic*, of Cleveland, OH  
*North Dakota 41st Air Force Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps Squadron*, of Fargo, ND  
*Sadie Tomy*, of Phoenix, AZ  
*Saint Joseph's Chapin Street Health Center*, of South Bend, IN  
*Youth Development, Inc.*, of Albuquerque, NM  
*Leo Seba*, of North Glen, CO  
*Dixie Randolph and the King's Messenger Puppeteers*, of San Bernardino, CA  
*Life Issues for the Elderly (LIFE)*, of Charlottesville, VA  
*Ambrose Elliott, Jr.*, of Des Moines, IA  
*Laverna Wilkie*, of Peoria, IL  
*Project C.A.R.E. (Caring Always Reaps Enjoyment)*, of Wanamassa, NJ  
*Student Volunteers of DePauw University*, of Greencastle, IN  
*Lynn Minick*, of Fayetteville, NC  
*Eldercare Access Center Mobile Meals*, of Oklahoma City, OK  
*Laura Rodriguez*, of San Diego, CA  
*Delaware Pre-Release Program at the Delaware Correctional Center*, of Smyrna, DE  
*Bone Marrow Transplant Volunteers of the University of Nebraska Medical Center*, of Omaha, NE  
*Mimi Roy*, of Memphis, TN  
*Gwendolyn Williams*, of Dallas, TX  
*John Fling*, of Columbia, SC  
*Theanvy Kuoch*, of West Hartford, CT  
*Twelve Together Program*, of Detroit, MI  
*Sunlight Club, Inc.*, of Washington, PA  
*Urban Education Project of the Denver Audubon Society*, of Denver, CO  
*Ruth House Ministries*, of Tampa, FL  
*Nekonnen Meshesha*, of Boston, MA  
*Mose and Garrison Siskin Memorial Foundation Pre-School*, of Chattanooga, TN  
*Casa de Amparo*, of Oceanside, CA  
*Dr. and Mrs. Michael Gerald*, of Miami, FL  
*Wingate College*, of Wingate, NC  
*Southside Preparatory Association, Inc.*, of Syracuse, NY  
*Sister Elizabeth Stoup*, of Orlando, FL  
*Camp Baskervill*, of Pawley's Island, SC  
*Carl Pangle*, of Toledo, OH  
*Garland Handy*, of Burlington, NC  
*Elizabeth Ano*, of Baltimore, MD  
*Peter Geiger and the Geiger Brothers Adopt-a-School Program*, of Lewiston, ME  
*Volunteers of Johnson Elementary School*, of Cedar Rapids, IA  
*University Migrant Services*, of Fresno, CA  
*Volunteers of O.W. Motivational, Inc.*, of Cincinnati, OH  
*Powell Hollings*, of Westbury, NY  
*South King County Multi-Service Center Literacy Program*, of Federal Way, WA  
*Operation SHARE*, of Phoenix, AZ  
*Williamsport Students Engaged in Real Volunteer Efforts (WillSERVE)*, of Williamsport, PA  
*Linda McKeenan*, of Golden Valley, MN  
*Connecticut Institute for the Blind Adult Day-care Program*, of Windsor, CT  
*Danny Davey*, of Santa Ana, CA  
*Dr. Allan Lansing*, of Louisville, KY  
*Boy Scout Troop 4*, of Ann Arbor, MI  
*Negro Educational Emergency Drive (NEED)*, of Pittsburgh, PA  
*Betty Shirley*, of Tuscaloosa, AL  
*Goochland Fellowship and Family Service*, of Goochland, VA  
*Isabella Elsey*, of Tucson, AZ  
*Pioneer Potlatch*, of The Dalles, OR

<i>Jewish Family Service of Colorado</i> , of Denver, CO	<i>Rev. Art Ernst</i> , of Lexington, NE
<i>Reinette Greaves</i> , of Attleboro Falls, MA	<i>Doug and Carol McAllister</i> , of Orange, CA
<i>William Foster</i> , of Brush Prairie, WA	<i>Employee volunteers of the Ka'anapali Beach Hotel</i> , of Lahaina, Maui, HI
<i>Nguyet Lam</i> , of Atlanta, GA	<i>Zachary deVries</i> , of Shirley, NY
<i>Community Kitchen</i> , of Chattanooga, TN	<i>Brian "Scooter" Cantrell</i> , of Houston, TX
<i>Bonnie Bailey</i> , of Terrytown, LA	<i>Officer Ted Glaude</i> , of Highland Springs, VA
<i>Voices From the Streets</i> , of Washington, DC	<i>Edward and Theresa Marusa</i> , of Daytona Beach, FL
<i>Explosive Ordnance Disposal, Mobile Unit NINE, Navy Diver/Hearing Impaired Student Tutoring Program</i> , of Alameda, CA	<i>Warm Springs 4-H Search and Rescue Cadet Program</i> , of Warm Springs, OR
<i>SPINS/PLAN (Substance Prevention &amp; Intervention Network in School/Pupils, Lawyers and Nurses) Against Drugs</i> , of Bronx, NY	<i>Suspected Child Abuse and Neglect (SCAN) Volunteer Service, Inc.</i> , of Little Rock, AR
<i>Ralph Jones and the volunteers of the John 3:16 Mission</i> , of Tulsa, OK	<i>Establishing Services To Enhance Esteem and Motivation (ESTEEM), Inc.</i> , of Euclid, OH





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